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HENSLOWE'S DIARY

EDITED BY

WALTER W. GREG, M.A.

PART II. COMMENTARY

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PART II. COMMENTARY

A. H. BULLEN
47 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.
1908

PREFACE

OF the difficulties that lie in the way of an editor of Henslowe's Diary—at least if he regards his work as historical rather than romantic—not the least is to avoid writing a general history of the Elizabethan stage. There is no such thing as a clearly defined historical field ; facts are linked to other facts in all directions, and investigation merely leads to further and yet further questions. Every custom and every institution at once raises the problem of its own origin ; every corporation and every social fact is influenced by other corporations or reacts on other social facts. Thus to treat intelligibly any of the several dramatic companies at the end of the seventeenth century, or any series of events in the dramatic history of the time, necessarily demands a knowledge of the constitution of other companies and of the sequence of other events such as at present can hardly be said to exist. My only course under the circumstances seemed to be to discuss as fully as possible those companies and events actually mentioned in the Diary itself, and to touch on other matters only so far as appeared necessary for the immediate purposes of such discussion.

A critic might urge that the fact that I have avoided writing a general history is more obvious than the desirability of so doing. To this I could only reply that since I had—perhaps rashly—undertaken to produce an edition of Henslowe's Diary, it was necessary to complete it within a reasonable period. Whether the time which has elapsed, since the appearance of the first volume of this edition in the autumn of 1904, can be considered to be within the limits of reason is not perhaps for me to judge ; but if the sanguine forecasts in which I have from time to time indulged have been doomed to repeated disappointment, that seems after all to be but the common experience of writers with whom I am acquainted. Still I feel that some word of explanation at least, if not apology, is needed.

I had not long been at work upon the elucidation of Henslowe's affairs when I began to feel the great inconvenience of the fact that the only reprints of the documents preserved at Dulwich, many of which are of the first importance for the history of the Elizabethan stage, were scattered through a number of different publications. Some had been published in Malone's *Shakespeare* as early as 1790, others first saw the light in Boswell's Variorum of 1821, others again were published by Collier either in his *Memoir of Edward Alleyn* or in his *Alleyn Papers*, while for a few it was even necessary to go to Mr. William Young's learned but ponderous *History of Dulwich*. Nor was this all. It was clear from Dr. Warner's admirable catalogue that, quite apart from the question of deliberate fabrication, the texts printed by Collier were quite untrustworthy. It therefore seemed necessary, as an indispensable preliminary to further research, that the material should be put into a more accessible, complete, and authoritative shape. The result was the volume of *Henslowe Papers* published last year. I should be glad if this came to be regarded as a companion and supplement to Dr. Warner's catalogue of the Dulwich Manuscripts—a work which mine is in no way intended to supersede, and which, indeed, must always remain one of the most important books of reference for the student of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. Having thus got the material, in so far as it is contained in the Dulwich documents, into more convenient shape, I again turned to my work upon the Diary, and have now the satisfaction of penning this prefatory postscript to the second volume just three and a half years after that to the first, the whole having occupied something over five years of fairly continuous work.

It was in a way unfortunate that circumstances necessitated the publication of the Diary without commentary, since the chaotic state of the document and the vagaries of the scribe have been a source of bewilderment to some people. One reviewer accused me of haughtiness in the treatment of my readers in that I omitted to explain certain common Elizabethan phrases. Apparently my sin consisted in crediting students of Henslowe with more intelligence than the critic possessed. Lest, however, his estimate of the general intelligence should unfortunately prove more correct than mine, I have carefully revised and enlarged my former Glossary and incorporated it in the Index at the end of the present volume. This has given me the opportunity of elucidating several terms which were before obscure. For a number of explanations I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Warner and Mr. Fleay, both of whom, for instance, sent me the correct interpretation of the puzzling phrase 'an Jsaprise.' As regards the text of the Diary a glance at the list of Corrigenda will show that the work on the second volume has revealed a certain number of errors in the first. When, however, I think of the numerous passages which I have suspected, and which on comparison with the original have proved correct, I am inclined to be almost surprised at my moderation in this respect. One thing only I seriously regret; namely, that I did not in the reprint itself indicate the passages which had been crossed off in the original. This omission has more than once given me trouble, and I fear may have misled others also. I can only suggest that the student should go carefully through the notes, where all the deletions are duly recorded, and by their help mark in some way the corresponding passages in the text.

My obligations to predecessors and fellow students are many, as will be seen at a glance from the list of authorities following the Preface. Upon one rather controversial matter I should like to say a few words in this place: the value, namely, of the work done by Mr. F. G. Fleay. With those who would minimize its importance I cannot agree. It constitutes the first serious attempt to trace the fortunes of the various theatrical companies from 1583 to 1642, and the first serious attempt to survey the external history of the dramatic authorship of that period. Those familiar with the *Chronicle History of the London Stage* and the *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama* will have no difficulty in seeing how much of my own work is based—though I hope not blindly—upon those volumes. By means of a number of ingenious, and sometimes daring, arguments, founded upon a singularly minute and at the same time wide examination of the existing evidence, Mr. Fleay has revolutionized the methods of theatrical history. That this revolution has been accompanied by an equal advance in positive knowledge can hardly perhaps be maintained, but that may not be altogether the fault of the method, and it would in any case, I think, be foolish to neglect so powerful an instrument of research on the ground that it can seldom produce results capable of absolute proof. No historical fact is capable either of philosophical proof or of direct demonstration. Under these circumstances the development of method and the suggestive use of evidence become of really serious importance by the side of the careful chronicling of ascertained results, and it is on this ground that I hold the publication of the two books above mentioned to be the most important event in the study of the English drama since the appearance of Collier's great work in 1831, just as I place Mr. Fleay's *Life of Shakespeare* above Mr. Lee's, not because it tells us as much, but because it puts us in the way of discovering more.

In discussing Mr. Fleay's views, as I have frequently had occasion to do in the present volume, I have of course been concerned with his published statements alone. These are, indeed, not always consistent in themselves, and it must not be assumed that the author would defend to-day every opinion which he formed some twenty years ago. I happen, indeed, to know that his opinions have undergone substantial alteration, for upon a number of disputed points I have had the advantage of a detailed exchange of views—a correspondence in which I have always met with the most ready courtesy and consideration.

It is all the greater pleasure to me to have this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of Mr. Fleay's labours because, unless I am mistaken, his work contains certain incidental defects which will always prevent its being generally recognized at its true value. These are of several kinds. In the first place, there is a tendency to substitute confidence of assertion for the production of satisfactory evidence. An instance of this will be found mentioned on pp. 144–5. The point under discussion is the number of plague deaths per week which caused the suspension of dramatic activity. The dates particularly mentioned are 1593 and 1603, and Mr. Fleay maintains that the number was, not thirty, but forty. 'Allusions to this regulation are numerous,' he writes; and again, 'forty is well known to be the correct number' (*Stage*, pp. 162, 191). No evidence is adduced. In point of fact an automatic restraint is first heard of in 1603, and the number was then thirty. The number forty does not occur till 1619. The second defect is the occurrence of serious inconsistencies between different portions of his work. Take, as an instance, his treatment of the *Thracian Wonder*, discussed on p. 200. This piece, says Mr. Fleay (*Drama*, i. p. 287), was the same as Heywood's *War without Blows*, written in 1598–9; but it was also founded upon William Webster's *Curan and Argentile*, published in 1617 (*Drama*, ii. p. 332). Such inconsistencies may easily arise in a work of this sort, but they should not be defended as Mr. Fleay endeavours to do. Noticing such 'apparent contradictions,' he writes (*Drama*, ii. p. 415): 'I thought it better to send forth the arguments for rival hypotheses, and leave the decision to the reader.' The presentation, however, of both sides of a disputed question is a very different thing from the dogmatic assertion of incompatible propositions. The third fault is great and frequent inaccuracy of detail. Examples are numerous. Typical is the entry (*Stage*, p. 104) of £1. 15*s*. in place of £35 in the Abstract of Henslowe's accounts (cf. p. 136, last line of note). Take again such an entry as the following: 'Damon and Pythias, by Richard Edwards, "Master of Her Majesty's Revels." So says the title of the 1570 edition. . . . He was really Master of the children of Her Majesty's chapel, by whom, no doubt, this "tragical comedy" was performed' (*Stage*, p. 60). The date should be 1571, for the edition of 1570, if it ever existed, is not now known, and the words on the title-page are: 'Maister of the Children . . . of her Graces Chappell.' Such errors argue a considerable degree of carelessness. Others are more difficult to account for and almost amount to misrepresentation. Such are the incomplete list of play-licences discussed on p. 114, and the 'fetching of Brown' mentioned on p. 246; also the astonishing explanation elsewhere advanced of Henslowe's 'valy a for' (see p. 174). These defects sufficiently account for the prejudice against Mr. Fleay's work entertained by certain critics, and this prejudice is not lessened by the contemptuous manner of his references to others, who have fallen into errors very similar to those which disfigure his own work. It will be sufficient to mention his remarks upon the latinity of that by no means impeccable scholar A. B. Grosart (*Drama*, i. p. 155), remarks which do not, however, prevent his committing such a solecism as 'Iphigenia at Tauri' (*Drama*, ii. p. 151). *Ex uno disce omnia* is the standard of criticism which in an unguarded moment he set up for the judgment of another (*Drama*, ii. p. 136); he will have no right to complain if posterity applies it to his own writings. I am not, however, reviewing Mr. Fleay's works, and if I have quoted certain lapses, it is with no malicious intent, but because having spoken of his work in general as I have done above, I wish to make clear that I am in no way blind to its imperfections. It may be true that Collier was a 'slovenly and dishonest antiquary,' and it may be true that many of Mr. Fleay's arguments are fantastic and many of his facts incorrect, but that does not prevent either writer being a prominent figure in the history of English scholarship, and modern critics of the drama, whether they like it or not, will have to acknowledge them alike for literary godfathers.

There is one other point upon which it may be well that I should add a word of explanation. I have had occasion, on p. 169, to draw attention to a certain fact in connection with Dr. A. W. Ward's edition of *Faustus.* The implied charge is a serious one to bring against a literary editor; and I therefore take this opportunity of saying that, since I feel sure there must be some satisfactory explanation of the fact I have mentioned, I hope Dr. Ward will see his way to making it public without delay.

It is a pleasant task to put on record the generous help I have received from a number of personal friends. First and foremost I should mention the assistance given me on many points by Mr. E. K. Chambers, unquestionably the most competent scholar in the field of English stage history. To him and to Mr. A. W. Pollard I submitted the manuscript of the second chapter of the present volume, and their criticisms resulted in a recasting of the whole. Large portions of the volume have also been read either in manuscript or proof by Mr. Frank Sidgwick and Mr. R. B. McKerrow, and have benefited greatly thereby. To these, as also to such others as Dr. G. F. Warner and Mr. E. H. Young, who have come to my rescue on particular points, I hereby tender my very hearty thanks.

Finally I should mention that through the kindness of the Governors of Dulwich College and the generous hospitality of the authorities of the British Museum, I was enabled to take or have taken over a hundred photographs from Henslowe's Diary and other related documents. A volume containing prints of these has been deposited in the Department of Manuscripts.

WALTER W. GREG.

Park Lodge, Wimbledon,
February 1908.

LIST OF BOOKS CONSULTED

THE following are the more important works which have been used in the preparation of the present volume, together with the short titles by which reference has been made:

Acts P. C. Acts of the Privy Council of England. New Series. Edited by J. R. Dasent. 1890, &c.

Alleyn Memoirs. Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, founder of Dulwich College: by J. Payne Collier. Shakespeare Society. 1841.

Alleyn Papers. The Alleyn Papers. A collection of original documents illustrative of the life and times of Edward Alleyn, with an introduction by J. Payne Collier. Shakespeare Society. 1843.

Boswell. The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare with the corrections and illustrations of various commentators: comprehending a life of the poet and an enlarged history of the stage by the late E. Malone, with a new glossarial index. [Edited by J. Boswell.] 21 vols. 1821. [The 1821 'Variorum.']

Cal. State Papers, Dom. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, preserved in the Public Record Office. 1856-9.

Chambers, *Tudor Revels.* Notes on the History of the Revels Office under the Tudors. By E. K. Chambers. 1906.

Cohn. Shakespeare in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: an account of English Actors in Germany and the Netherlands and of the Plays performed by them during the same period. By Albert Cohn. 1865.

Collier, *Actors.* Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare. By J. Payne Collier. Shakespeare Society. 1846. (These Memoirs are included in the third volume of the 1879 edition of the *Annals.*)

Collier, *Annals.* The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the time of Shakespeare: and Annals of the Stage to the Restoration. By J. Payne Collier. 1831. 3 vols. (References are always to the original edition, except when that of 1879 is distinctly specified. The latter contains some additions of importance, and has the advantage of a full index; it also, however, contains a number of small and unspecified alterations which are capable of proving sources of error if supposed to belong to 1831; cf. *Modern Language Review*, i. p. 44.)

Collier, *Diary.* The Diary of Philip Henslowe, from 1591 to 1609. Edited by J. Payne Collier. Shakespeare Society. 1845.

D. N. B. Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. 63 vols. 1885-1900.

Fleay, *Drama.* A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642, by F. G. Fleay. 2 vols. 1891.

Fleay, *Shakespeare.* A Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare, Player, Poet, and Playmaker, by F. G. Fleay. 1886.

Fleay, *Stage.* A Chronicle History of the London Stage, 1559-1642, by F. G. Fleay. 1890.

Halliwell, *Arch. Dic.* A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words. By J. O. Halliwell. 2 vols. 1889.

Halliwell, *Illustrations.* Illustrations of the Life of Shakespeare in a discursive series of essays [by J. O. Halliwell]. 1874. (Chiefly valuable for the documents printed at the end. I have given references to this work rather than to the *Outlines*, where the same matter was reprinted, owing to the convenience of there being only one edition.)

Halliwell, *Plays.* A Dictionary of Old English Plays, by James O. Halliwell. 1860.

Hazlitt. The English Drama and Stage under the Tudor and Stuart Princes, 1543-1664, illustrated by a series of documents, treatises, and poems. With a preface [by W. C. Hazlitt] and index. Roxburghe Library. 1869. (References, other than those in Chap. III, are to this work.)

Hazlitt, *Manual.* A Manual for the Collector and Amateur of Old English Plays. Edited by W. Carew Hazlitt. 1892.

Herz. Englische Schauspieler und englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland. Von Dr. E. Herz. (Theater geschichtliche Forschungen.) Hamburg und Leipzig. 1903. (This work includes with additions the material printed by W. Creizenach in the Introduction to his *Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten.*)

Kelly. Notices illustrative of the drama and other popular amusements, chiefly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, incidentally illustrating Shakespeare and his contemporaries; extracted from the Chamberlain's accounts and other manuscripts of the borough of Leicester. With an Introduction and notes by W. Kelly. 1865.

Lee, *Shakespeare.* A Life of William Shakespeare by Sidney Lee. Fifth Edition. 1905.

Maas. Äussere Geschichte der Englischen Theatertruppen in dem Zeitraum von 1559 bis 1642. Zusammengestellt von Hermann Maas. (Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, Band 19.) 1907. (Through the kindness of the author and of Prof. Bang, the editor of the series, I was enabled to use advance sheets of this work, which I found a considerable help. Since, however, it is a compilation of previously published materials, I have not given any references to it.)

Malone, *Inquiry*. An inquiry into the authenticity of certain miscellaneous papers and legal instruments published Dec. 24, 1795, and attributed to Shakespeare [by S. Ireland], by E. Malone. 1766.

Malone, *Shakespeare*. The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare . . . collated verbatim with the most authentic copies . . . With . . . an historical account of the English stage . . . by E. Malone. 10 vols. 1790.

Mantzius. A History of Theatrical Art in Ancient and Modern Times by Karl Mantzius. Authorised Translation by Louise von Cossel. Volume III. The Shakespearean Period in England. 1904.

N. E. D. A New English Dictionary on historical principles; founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society. Edited by J. A. H. Murray [and others]. 1888, &c.

Ordish. Early London Theatres. (In the Fields.) By T. Fairman Ordish. 1899.

Remembrancia. Analytical Index to the Series of Records known as the Remembrancia. Preserved among the Archives of the City of London. 1579–1664. Edited by W. H. and H. C. Overall. 1878. (Quoted by pages; where the reference is by roman followed by arabic figures it is to the original documents; see the Malone Society's *Collections*, I. i.)

Rendle, *Bankside*. The Bankside, Southwark, and the Globe Playhouse, by William Rendle. 1877. Appendix I in Harrison's Description of England, edited by F. J. Furnivall. Part II. 1878. p. i.

Rendle, *Henslowe*. Philip Henslowe. In the *Genealogist* for 1887, new series, vol. iv, p. 149.

Rendle, *Inns*. The Inns of Old Southwark and their Associations. By William Rendle and Philip Newman. 1888.

Rendle, *Southwark*. Old Southwark and its people. By W. Rendle. 1878.

Revels. Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I, by Peter Cunningham. Shakespeare Society. 1842. (The elaborate new and enlarged edition by Prof. A. Feuillerat, published in Prof. Bang's *Materialien*, only appeared as these sheets were going to press.)

S. R. (*Stationers' Register*.) A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554–1640 A.D. Edited by Edward Arber. 5 vols. 1875–1894.

Ward. A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne, by A. W. Ward. 3 vols. 1899.

Ward, *Faustus*. Marlowe: Tragical History of Dr. Faustus. Greene: Honourable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay. Edited by A. W. Ward [with appendices by F. G. Fleay]. Third edition. 1892.

Warner. Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich, by George F. Warner. 1881. (Dulwich documents are quoted by the numbers they bear in this catalogue.)

Young. The History of Dulwich College, with a Life of the Founder, Edward Alleyn, and an accurate transcript of his Diary, 1617–1622, by William Young, one of the Governors of the College. 2 vols. 1889.

It should be noted that in Chap. III some references are made in a shorter manner. There references to Collier are to his edition of the *Diary*, references to Fleay to his *Biographical Chronicle*, references to Hazlitt to his *Manual for the Collector of Old Plays*, and to Halliwell to his *Dictionary of Old Plays*. These works being either alphabetically arranged or provided with full indexes need no more specific reference.

The Manuscripts and Muniments of the Dulwich collection are referred to directly (without further specification) by the numbers they officially bear, and will be found either in Warner's Catalogue or in the volume of *Henslowe Papers*.

References to Henslowe's Diary are made by bold faced numerals corresponding to the folios of the original as reproduced in the first volume of this edition. Roman page numerals refer to the Introduction to that volume, arabic to the second volume. Appendices referred to are those in the *Henslowe Papers*.

This may also be a convenient place in which to mention certain conventions with regard to dates. Many of Henslowe's entries are undated and can only be fixed as lying between other dated entries. In these cases the limiting dates have been given. Thus '1/5 May' should be read: 'at an unspecified date between 1 and 5 May inclusive.' So also '–/5 May' stands for 'on or before 5 May,' '5 May/–' for 'on or after 5 May'; while '–/5 May/–' indicates an undefined period including 5 May. Again, the uncertainty of the date at which the year begun must be remembered. In many cases the period between 1 Jan. and 24 Mar. inclusive has been referred to by the double date, thus: 1597/8 (to be carefully distinguished from a period extending over portions of two years, e.g.: the winter of 1597–8). Where only one date is quoted, the modern convention is to be supposed, thus 10 Feb. 1597 means 1596/7 not 1597/8. Further, it must be borne in mind that Henslowe often carried on the old year-date beyond 25 Mar. In these cases, if the double date is given the incorrect figure is enclosed in square brackets, thus 2 Apr. 159[7/]8 means 1598 erroneously written 1597 by Henslowe. His diurnal dates are also frequently wrong, but as these cannot always be corrected with certainty, they are quoted as they appear in the original, the probable correction being added in parentheses; thus '10 (12) June' should be read '10, probably by error for 12, June.' On these questions of correction see Chap. V, § 11.

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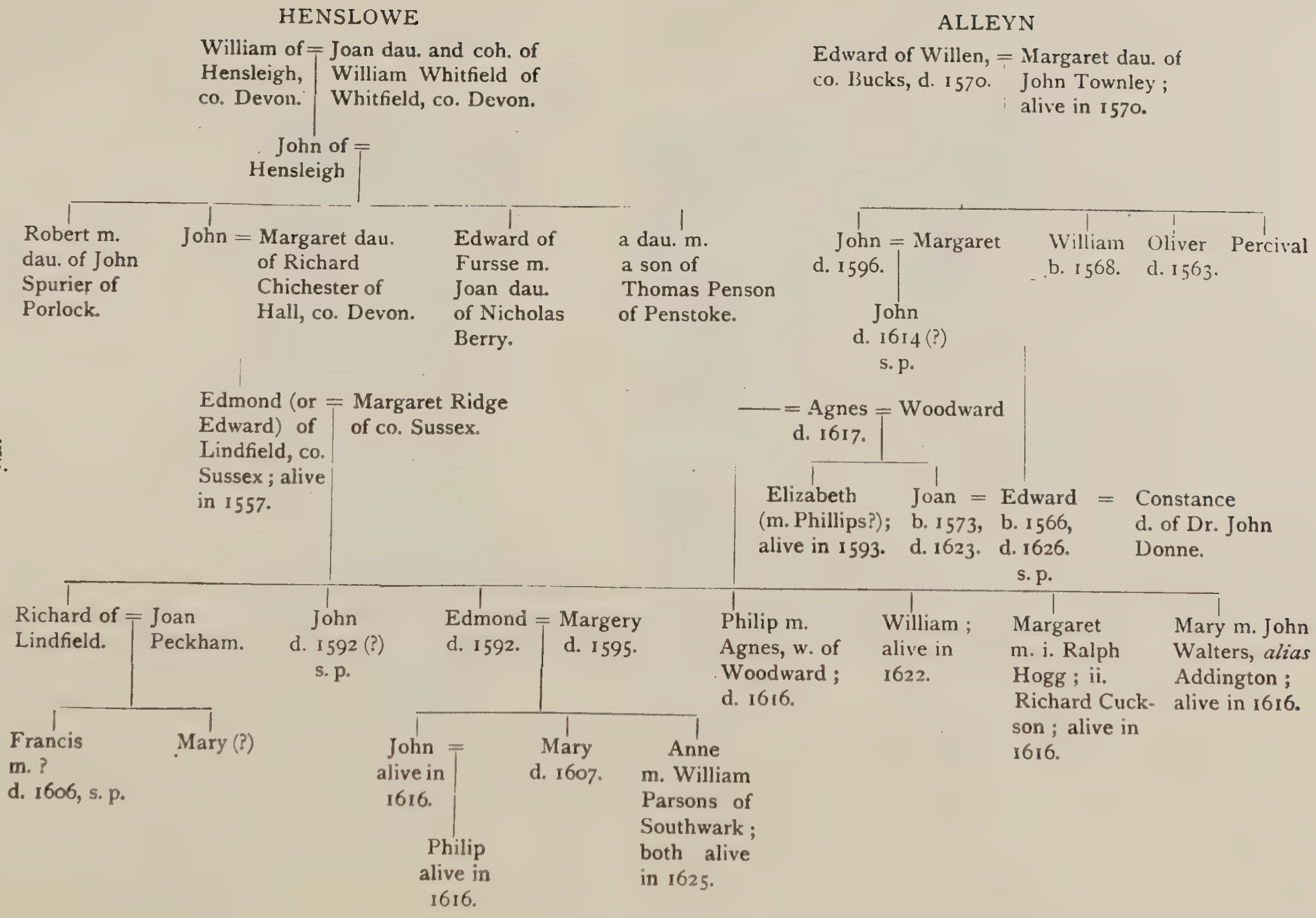

HENSLOWE
William of Hensleigh, co. Devon. = Joan dau. and coh. of William Whitfield of Whitfield, co. Devon.
John of Hensleigh =
Robert m. dau. of John Spurier of Porlock.
John = Margaret dau. of Richard Chichester of Hall, co. Devon.
Edward of Fursse m. Joan dau. of Nicholas Berry.
a dau. m. a son of Thomas Penson of Penstoke.
Edmond (or Edward) of Lindfield, co. Sussex; alive in 1557. = Margaret Ridge of co. Sussex.
Richard of Lindfield. = Joan Peckham.
John d. 1592 (?) s. p.
Edmond d. 1592. = Margery d. 1595.
Philip m. Agnes, w. of Woodward; d. 1616.
William; alive in 1622.
Margaret m. i. Ralph Hogg; ii. Richard Cuckson; alive in 1616.
Mary m. John Walters, alias Addington; alive in 1616.
Francis m. ? d. 1606, s. p.
Mary (?)
John = alive in 1616.
Philip alive in 1616.
Mary d. 1607.
Anne m. William Parsons of Southwark; both alive in 1625.
ALLEYN
Edward of Willen, co. Bucks, d. 1570. = Margaret dau. of John Townley; alive in 1570.
John d. 1596. = Margaret
William b. 1568.
Oliver d. 1563.
Percival
John d. 1614 (?) s. p.
—— = Agnes d. 1617. = Woodward
Elizabeth (m. Phillips?); alive in 1593.
Joan b. 1573, d. 1623. = Edward b. 1566, d. 1626. s. p. = Constance d. of Dr. John Donne.

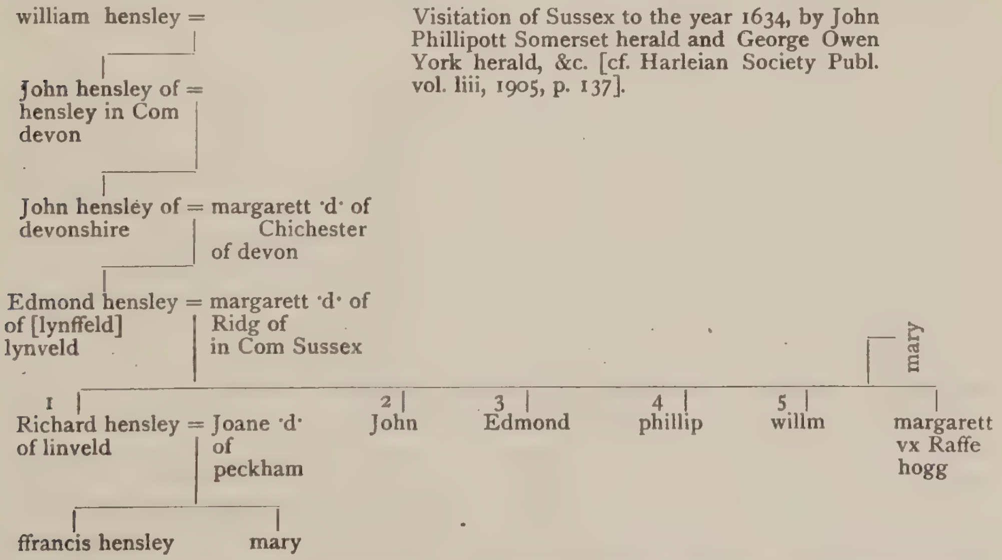
CHAPTER I

HENSLOWE'S FAMILY AND PRIVATE AFFAIRS

THE family of Henslowe or Hensley—these appear to be the most authoritative of an innumerable variety of spellings—traced its origin to Devonshire, and its name, according to the heralds' visitation, to the village of Hensley or Hensleigh in that county.[1] It seems to have been Edmond Henslowe, the father of Philip, who first left the west country and, settling at Lindfield on the borders of Ashdown Forest, married a Sussex girl of the name of Margaret Ridge. By her he had, so far as can be discovered, five sons and two daughters, Philip being the fourth son. The date at which he removed to Sussex is uncertain, but he is mentioned as master of the game in Ashdown Forest and Broil Park as early as 1539 and again

---

[1] British Museum, MS. Harley 1562, fol. 114ʳ. The following table is reprinted exactly from the MS. A comparison with that given opposite will show the points in which it is incomplete.


william hensley =
John hensley of = hensley in Com devon
John hensley of = margarett ·d· of Chichester of devon
devonshire
Edmond hensley = margarett ·d· of Ridg of in Com Sussex
of [lynffeld] lynveld
mary
1 Richard hensley = Joane ·d· of peckham
of linveld
2 John
3 Edmond
4 phillip
5 willm
margarett vx Raffe hogg
ffrancis hensley
mary

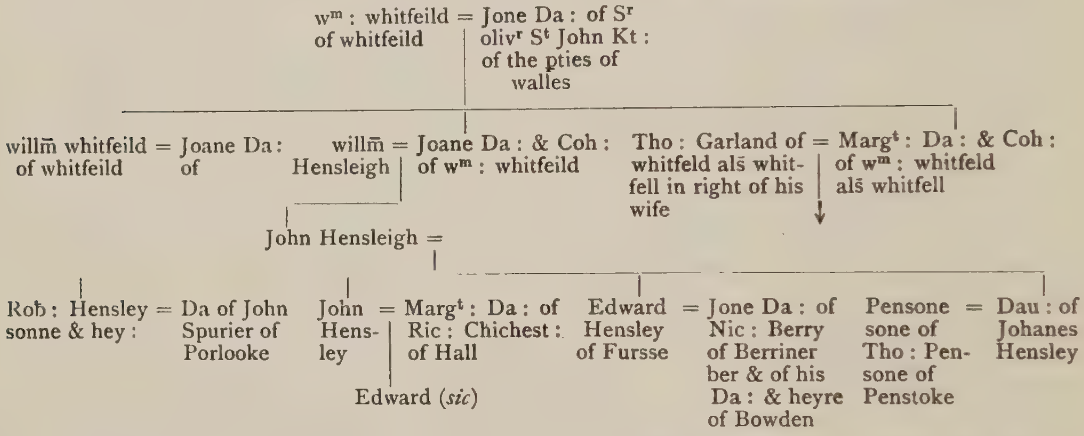
Visitation of Sussex to the year 1634, by John Phillipott Somerset herald and George Owen York herald, &c. [cf. Harleian Society Publ. vol. liii, 1905, p. 137].

MS. Harley 1163 contains the Visitation of Devonshire made in 1620, and on fol. 136ʳ is found the following, which forms part of a much larger table witnessed by John Garland :

in 1556–7.[1] It is not known when he died. We shall, in the sequel, find plenty of evidence to show that the family connection with Sussex was maintained, though the personal relations of Philip Henslowe with that county are slight.

Philip Henslowe.

We first hear of Philip in 1577, when he was already living in the Liberty of the Clink in Southwark, where he continued till his death in 1616.[2] By trade he was a dyer, but though the occupation was much followed on the Bankside, it is uncertain whether he was ever actively engaged in it. The earliest document in which he is so designated concerns a deal in leather, but suggests rather a financial speculation than an ordinary trade transaction. The date is 1584.[3] It is not till the following year that we find him acquiring


wm : whitfeild = Jone Da : of Sr
of whitfeild
oliv^r St John Kt : of the pties of walles
willm whitfeild = Joane Da : of
of whitfeild
willm = Joane Da : & Coh : of wm : whitfeild
Hensleigh
Tho : Garland of = Margt : Da : & Coh : of wm : whitfeld als whitfell
whitfeld als whitfell in right of his wife
John Hensleigh =
Rob : Hensley = Da of John Spurier of Porlooke
sonne & hey :
John Hensley = Margt : Da : of Ric : Chichest : of Hall
Edward (sic)
Edward Hensley of Fursse = Jone Da : of Nic : Berry of Berriner ber & of his Da : & heyre of Bowden
Pensone sone of Tho : Pensone of Penstoke = Dau : of Johanes Hensley

The entry concerning Jone Berry is puzzling, and the reading is not quite certain. In the Harleian Society's edition (vol. vi, 1872, p. 124) it runs : 'Jone d. of Berry of Berrinerbor d. of his w. d. & h. of Bowdon,' which perhaps gives the sense of the original. The reprint is, however, inaccurate in many details ; for instance Robert Henslowe is made to marry John Spurier instead of his daughter, and the 'Dau : of Johanes Hensley' becomes 'Johanna'. Of the village of Hensleigh I can discover no trace.

[1] For the earlier reference, 31 Henry VIII, see a paper on Ashdown Forest by the Rev. Edward Turner in the *Sussex Archæological Society's Collections*, vol. xiv, 1862, p. 47 ; for the later, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, see the *Calendar of the Duchy of Lancaster*, ii. p. 145. According to Turner, p. 51, another Edmond Henslowe held the same post, 3 and 4 William and Mary, 1692–3, but this statement may be due to confusion. Cf. Warner, p. 157.

[2] Letter from Alexander White to 'Mr Phyllype Henslowe, in the Clincke,' 21 Feb. 1576/7 (MS. III. 1). Lee mentions another early record of Henslowe's activity : 'Between 1576 and 1586 he negotiated the sale of much wood in Ashdown Forest' (*D. N. B.* s.v. Henslowe). There is, however, no authority for connecting the negotiations in question with Philip, since the accounts are in the hand of John Henslowe (see p. xix).

[3] Covenant between Philip Hensley, of London, dyer, and Richard Nicolson, of St. Saviour's, Southwark, leather-dresser, relative to the payment of £70 for a joint purchase of 60 dozen goat-skins and the dressing and sale of the same, dated 14 June, 26 Eliz., 1584. Counterpart, signed by a mark (Mun. 86).

property on the Bankside, but the estate which then came into his hands was one of considerable importance. On 24 Mar., 27 Eliz., 1584/5, a deed was executed whereby Robert Withens, of London, vintner, assigned to Philip Hinchley, of London, dyer, the lease of the Little Rose, in the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark (Mun. 15). The property, described as a messuage or tenement with two gardens adjoining the same, had originally belonged to Raphe Symonds, of London, fishmonger, whose widow Thomasyn had granted it to the parish of St. Mildred, Bread Street, 3 Dec. 1552.[1] On 20 Nov. 1574 William Gryffyn, of London, vintner, obtained a lease from the parish for 31 years at a rent of £7 (Mun. 8), and this same lease was assigned to Robert Withens on 11 Dec. 1579 for £105 (Mun. 10). The nature of the property, which lay between the Bankside and Maiden Lane, the modern Rose Alley probably marking its western boundary, is uncertain, but it is quite likely to have been a brothel. In any case it abutted upon the Barge, the Bell, and the Cock, recognized stews, which were owned at a later date by Edward Alleyn.[2] Two years later a small house standing at the south end of the ground was in the tenure of John Cholmley, and the plot upon which the Rose theatre was about to be erected is described as about thirty yards each way, but that this represented the whole of the Little Rose estate seems improbable. From this point, however, the fortunes of the Rose estate belong to the history of the stage. One other reference of the year 1585, which may or may not be connected with Philip Henslowe, will be conveniently mentioned here. There is in the Domestic series of the State Papers a document which is calendared as Mr. Ninian Challenor's answer to the objections pretended against him by Mr. Boyer, denying having provoked any tumult in the church, when violence was offered to Mr. Close, and this is followed by another containing Mr. Hensley's answers to Mr. Boyer's objections.[1] I find no further trace of this quarrel.

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[1] In connection with some legal proceedings between the Charity Commissioners and the parish of St. Mildred, the will of Thomasyn Symonds came to light and was inspected by Rendle. His account of it is not very clear (*Bankside*, p. xv). He says that the will was made in 1553, but he also calls it 'A deed of trust for herself for life, and to charitable uses after,' and refers to Close Roll, 6 Edward VI (beginning 28 Jan. 1551/2), part v. in. 13. The property was left in trust, one of the trustees being William Payne, gentleman, doubtless the same who owned the adjoining tenements called the Barge, the Bell, and the Cock (see below, p. 25). A plan of the Rose estate is said to be still preserved in the vestry of the parish of St. Mildred, Bread Street (Rendle, *Inns*, p. 331).

[2] 'No question,' says Rendle (*Bankside*, p. xv), 'but Rose Alley yet remaining represents the site [of the playhouse]; the estate was east of the Alley, and comprised three roods, as the Bear Garden close by, west of Rose Alley, represents the corresponding Bearhouse.' That the two cannot, however, have been adjoining is proved by the detailed description we possess of the Barge, the Bell, and the Cock, to which I shall return later (p. 25). That property ran right through from the Bankside to Maiden Lane, and was bounded on the east by the Rose and on the west by a tenement formerly in the possession of Lady Stratford. It is possible that this last may have lain between the Bankside and the Bear Garden, which however one would have expected to find mentioned. It would be interesting to know whether the description of the site represented the state of the property at the date of the assignment of the lease in 1582 or at that of the original grant in 1540/1. The latter was probably long before the erection of the baiting house.

Servant to Woodward,

whose widow he marries.

We have already seen that as early as 1577 Henslowe lived in the Clink, that is, in the Liberty of the name. Whether he continued to inhabit the same house to the end of his life is not known, nor can the exact position of his domicile at any period be determined. In 1593 Alleyn addressed a letter to him 'dwelling on the bank sid right over against the clink' (MS. I. 11), that is to say, opposite the Clink prison near to Winchester House, for the term Bankside was used of the whole district and not confined to the road along the river, to which it strictly applied. In the early days at least it is probable that the house in which he lived did not belong to him. Although not of obscure origin, it is unlikely that he had any property of his own to start with, and it is clear that his position was at first a dependent one. He owed his later opportunities to a provident marriage with the widow of his former employer. Of this fact there can be no doubt. Thus, in the 'breviate' of the Chancery suit relative to his will, dated 23 Jan. 1615/6, the answer to the bill mentions that 'Philip Henchlow maried Agnes at such tyme as she was his M^{rs} and he her servant, being wholy advanced by hir' (MS. V. 22; *Alleyn Memoirs*, p. 124). As Agnes Henslowe was party to the suit the statement rests on good authority and, indeed, hardly needs the corroboration of the charwoman Joan Horton to the effect that 'Philip Henslow was sometyme servaunt unto the defendant Agnes Henslowe and unto one Mr. Woodward, former husband of the said Agnes, before the said Philip maryed hir,' also that 'the said Philip at the tyme that he maryed the said Agnes was but a poore mane. And that all his wealth came by hir' (Rendle, *Henslowe*, p. 154).[2] What position Henslowe occupied in the Woodward household it is impossible to say. He is not likely to have been a domestic servant. On the other hand, his want of literary education clearly unfitted him for any clerical post. He must, however, have had a good deal of practical ability in the conduct of business, and may have proved a valuable manager under the direction of a master who could himself supply his deficiencies of scholarship. As to Woodward's position or business equally little is known, for strange as it may appear no single reference to him has been discovered, and his name even is unrecorded.[1] Nor can we be certain that he lived in London, for Henslowe's marriage may have taken place at any time between about 1572 and 1592, and may therefore have preceded the earliest mention of him in the documents.

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[1] Some of the Challoners were on intimate terms with Henslowe and Alleyn (cf. p. 13). They lived at Linfield in Sussex where the Henslowe family also had property. A Nenyon, belonging to another branch, lived at Hampstead and married Ciceley, daughter of Edmond Michell of Cokfeild, by whom he had a son Richard, whose son Jacob was M.A. at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and died without issue (B. M., MS. Harl. 1562, fol. 37; Harl. Soc. 1895, liii. p. 51). There are many Bowyers mentioned in the Dulwich documents. The Mr. Boyer who appears above may conceivably have been Edmond Bowyer, one of the Commissioners of Sewers for Surrey in 1587 (MS. IV. 16), afterwards a knight and J.P. for Surrey, a friend of Alleyn, to whom he sold property in Dulwich.

[2] This important paper by William Rendle which appeared in the *Genealogist* (iv. p. 149) in 1887 is chiefly based upon the evidence taken in the cause of Henslow *v.* Henslow, Chancery, Town Depositions, Trinity, 14 James I.

Woodward family —Joan.

Some at least of the mystery which shrouds the deceased Woodward hangs also round his household. The only tangible figure is that of his daughter Joan Woodward, who escaped oblivion by marrying Edward Alleyn in 1592, though even in her case it is uncertain whether she was his first or second wife. Her death on 28 June 1623 is recorded in the College Register, but her age is not given (MS. X.; Warner, p. 196). John Aubrey, however, writing his *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey* in 1719, records, as painted on the south wall of the chancel in the College Chapel, an inscription to the effect that Joane Alleyn died on 28 June 1623, 'being in the 51 Year of Her Age' (i. p. 197; Young, i. p. 462). This would place her birth in 1572–3. Again, there is a painting in Dulwich gallery which a college tradition identifies as her portrait. This bears the inscription: 'ÆIS. 22. 1596.' These dates can be reconciled by supposing that the portrait was painted early in the year and that her birthday fell before 28 June (Young, i. p. 471). Supposing the dates to be reckoned from Lady Day, we may assume that Joan was born between 25 Mar. and 28 June 1573.[2] This may, perhaps, be accepted as a *terminus a quo* for Henslowe's marriage. The *terminus*

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[1] Collier supposed Woodward 'to have been extensively engaged in the iron mines and founderies in Ashdowne Forest' (*Alleyn Memoirs*, p. 16). This, however, rested on the belief that he was the author of the forestry accounts in the Diary, which have been elsewhere shown to belong to John Henslowe (p. xix). He also thought that Alleyn obtained the parsonage of Firle in Sussex in right of his wife and 'sold it to Arthur Langworth for £3000' (*Alleyn Memoirs*, p. 15). This statement rests upon an ambiguous entry in the Diary (24), but other documents show that Alleyn obtained the lease by assignment from Arthur Langworth, bargained to sell it to John Langworth for £3000, voided the agreement, and finally parted with it to Robert Holmden for £1200. The details of the transaction will be found elsewhere, but the property had clearly no connection with Woodward. Hunter in his *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum* also connects Woodward with Ashdown Forest, but he seems to be merely following Collier (B. M., MS. Add. 24,487, fol. 168). Lee says that Woodward was 'bailiff to Viscount Montague, whose property included Battle Abbey and Cowdray in Sussex, and Montague House in Southwark' (*D. N. B.* s.v. Henslowe). The authority for this statement is not given, and it is consequently difficult to avoid the suspicion that Agnes' husband has been confused with Lord Montague's bailiff, Matthew Woodward, who was still alive in 1611 (MS. IV. 45).

[2] Warner (*D. N. B.* s.v. Alleyn) states that Joan died at the age of 52, but as he mentions the epitaph as his authority this must be a slip for 50. Rendle says that her portrait was painted 'in 1596, when she was 22 or 23 years of age' (*Henslowe*, p. 158).

ad quem is rather vague. There can be little doubt that he was already married, and had probably been married some time, when he entered the record of his step-daughter's marriage to Alleyn in his Diary on 22 Oct. 1592, though he merely calls her Jone Woodward (2 5), but the earliest unequivocal evidence of the fact is Alleyn's letter of 2 May 1593, in which, writing to his wife, he speaks of his father and mother in law (MS. I. 9). If we suppose that all Henslowe's money really came from his wife, we must also suppose that his marriage preceded his acquisition of the lease of the Little Rose in 1585.

‘Sister Bess.’

‘Sister Phillips.’

It has been usual to speak of Joan as the only child of Agnes' first marriage. There is, indeed, excellent authority for the statement. In the ‘breviate’ of the Chancery suit already mentioned, we find Agnes Henslowe described as ‘widdow to one Woodward, by whome she had one onely daughter named Joan married to the Deff. Edward Allin’ (MS. V. 22; *Alleyn Memoirs*, p. 123), while in Agnes' own will, she appoints as residuary legatee ‘my sole and well beloved daughter, Joane Allen’ (Rendle, *Henslow*, p. 158). Nevertheless it is clear that there must have been at least one other daughter of the marriage. Not only is Alleyn's sister, or sister-in-law, Elizabeth mentioned in almost every letter of 1593 in a manner that necessitates our supposing that she was, like Joan, a member of Henslowe's household, but in that of 28 Sept. Henslowe explicitly mentions ‘my two dawghters’ (MS. I. 14). It would seem probable, then, that she was unmarried, so we have to take into account an Elizabeth Woodward who may be supposed to have died some time before her mother and step-father, since Joan is spoken of as Agnes' only child. There is, however, another mysterious person with whom she should perhaps be identified. This is Alleyn's sister Phillips twice mentioned in the correspondence, once as living with her husband and as having lost several members of her household from plague (MS. I. 11, 14).[1] Against this identification, however, almost overwhelmingly, is the inference that Elizabeth was a member of the Henslowe household, whereas Mrs. Phillips obviously had an establishment of her own. Who then can the latter have been? Collier suggested that she was the wife of Augustine Phillips, the actor (*Actors*, p. 79), but he was almost certainly travelling with Strange's men in the autumn of 1593, being mentioned in their warrant of 6 May, whereas ‘sister Phillips'’ husband was certainly in London. It is more likely that she was the wife of Edward Phillips with whom Philip Henslowe was in litigation in the course of 1593 in connection with the property left by his brother Edmond. This Phillips, however, seems to have lived at East Grinstead. It is in any case more likely that she was Alleyn's sister-in-law than his own sister, since he mentioned none in the information concerning his family which he communicated to the Heralds' College for the Visitation of Surrey in 1623.[1]

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[1] Since the E. Phillippes, an undated letter from whom to Alleyn is preserved (MS. III. 118), addresses him as ‘Sir’ and quotes Greek, the identification of the writer with Alleyn's sister must be regarded as unlikely.

To sum up, it is certain that Henslowe had two step-daughters living at his house in 1593, while it is possible that there was another, married to a man of the name of Phillips also residing in London. Joan was the only one alive in 1615.

Alleyn family.

As already said, Edward Alleyn married Joan Woodward on 22 Oct. 1592. How long before this Henslowe and Alleyn had been acquainted it is impossible to say, but the alliance cemented a friendship which was of first-rate importance to both parties for many years to come. It is, indeed, in the history of Henslowe's theatrical undertakings that its influence is most obvious, but we shall also find Alleyn's name constantly appearing in the record of the more private concerns which occupy us in the present chapter. What is known of Alleyn's birth and parentage can be given in brief space. 'The date of his birth on 1 Sept., 1566,' writes Warner (p. xv), 'is accurately fixed by his own entries of its recurring anniversary in his Diary; and his baptism on the day following is recorded in the parish register of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate. Fuller's often-quoted statement that he was born "near Devonshire house where now is the sign of the Pie" is fully confirmed by the mention of Pie Alley and Fisher's Folly, the old name of Devonshire House, in close connection with his father's property. In the pedigree, signed by himself, in the Visitation of Surrey in 1623, he appears as the son of Edward Alleyn, of Willen, co. Bucks, and of Margaret Townley, daughter of John Townley, of co. Lancaster. The paternal descent is so far borne out that a pedigree in the Visitation of Bucks in 1634 (Brit. Mus., MS. Harley 1234, f. 13) makes the elder Edward Alleyn to be the second son of Thomas Alleyn, of Willen and of Mesham, co. Bedford. On the other hand, even so experienced a genealogist as Mr. Joseph Hunter failed to trace the connection between Margaret Townley and the Townleys of Lancashire; and there is too much reason to suspect that it rested simply on imaginaton. This is not the less likely from the date of the pedigree, which was drawn out just before Alleyn's marriage with Constance Donne and about the time when he is known [MS. III. 96] to have been desirous of "sum further dignetie," for the attainment of which a good descent was probably of consequence.'[2]

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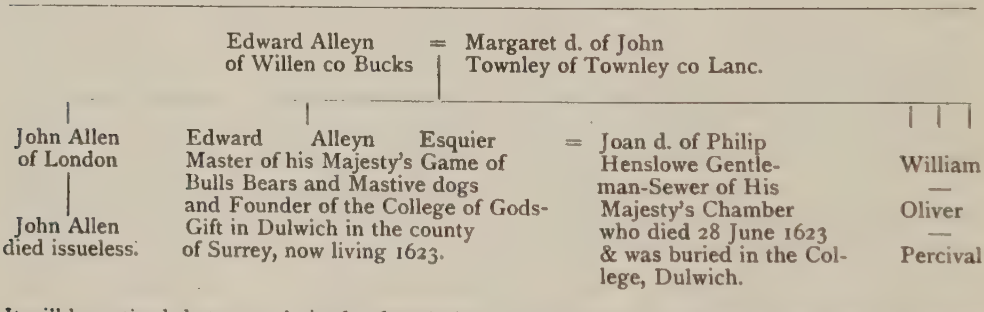
[1] We shall, however, see reason to distrust the accuracy of this information. She might of course have been the widow, remarried, of one of Edward Alleyn's brothers. Of these, however, John survived till 1596, Oliver died in 1563 before Edward was born and must have been still a child, while of William, born in 1567/8, and of Perceval no further record has survived, which makes it unlikely that they ever reached manhood.

[2] An authentic copy from the original in the Heralds' College is given in Hunter's *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum*, 1838, vol. i; (B. M., MS. Add. 24,487, fol. 166^{v}): 'What Alleyn is said to have entered himself is the following which Mr Young the York Herald has had the goodness to extract for me from the original visitation book of the County of Surrey 1623. f. 143':—

Edward Alleyn the elder is styled 'of London, yeoman' as early as 1555 (Mun. 77). From 1566, in which year he purchased a house in Bishopsgate, he appears as 'innholder' (Mun. 80), and is so described in his will, dated 10 Sept. 1570 (Mun. 82). In a report dated 1567 he is given the title of 'one of the Queens Maiesties porters' (MS. IV. 4). According to the pedigree he had five children, all sons. Of one, Perceval, nothing further is known. William appears in the register of St. Botolph's as baptized 13 Feb. 1567/8, and Oliver as buried 13 Dec. 1563. Apparently the only two who grew up were John, the eldest, and Edward. John succeeded his father as 'innholder,' and was also a sharer in theatrical companies if not himself an actor. As his baptism is not recorded he may have been born before his parents settled in St. Botolph's. He is frequently mentioned in the papers at Dulwich until 1596, when he died intestate and his widow took out letters of administration dated 5 May (Mun. 110). Since her name was Margaret, they were most likely the John Allen and Margaret Davie whose marriage was registered 21 Aug. 1580; in which case Margaret's mother, who is called Julian Crapwell, widow, in 1596, must have married again (Mun. 111). They had a son, also John, who may possibly be the same as the John Alleyn 'from Mr. Edward Alleyn his house at Dulwich,' who was buried at Camberwell, 31 Mar. 1614. In any case he was dead by 1623 and left no issue. Some time before 12 Feb. 1580, the widow of Edward Alleyn, the elder, must have married again, for on that day she executed a deed as the wife of John Browne, who is then and afterwards called a haberdasher (Mun. 84). He has nothing to do with the Robert Browne whose position of actor led Collier to select him for Alleyn's step-father.


Edward Alleyn of Willen co Bucks
=
Margaret d. of John Townley of Townley co Lanc.
John Allen of London
John Allen died issueless.
Edward Alleyn Esquier Master of his Majesty's Game of Bulls Bears and Mastive dogs and Founder of the College of Gods-Gift in Dulwich in the county of Surrey, now living 1623.
=
Joan d. of Philip Henslowe Gentleman-Sewer of His Majesty's Chamber who died 28 June 1623 & was buried in the College, Dulwich.
William
—
Oliver
—
Percival

It will be noticed that not only is the description of his mother questionable, but that of his wife certainly false. Joan Alleyn is also described as 'daughter of the worshipfull Phillipp Henslowe Esquier deceased one of the Sewers of his Ma^{ties} Chamber' in her funeral certificate now in the college of Arms (*Fun. Cert.* i. 22, fol. 81; cf. Young, ii. p. 34). Warner remarks (p. xix) that the arms given in the Surrey Visitation are argent, a chevron between three cinquefoils gules, for Alleyn, impaling gules, a lion passant gardant or, a chief azure, semé de fleurs de lis of the second. The latter coat, which should be that of Woodward, appears on a seal used by Henslowe in 1612 (MS. II. 19). No arms are recorded for Henslowe in either the Devon or the Sussex Visitation and he no doubt used a seal belonging to his wife.

Edward Alleyn.

Edward Alleyn the younger we first meet with as a member of the theatrical company under the patronage of the Earl of Worcester in Jan. 1583 when he was sixteen years of age; while the earliest of the Dulwich documents in which he is mentioned belongs to 1589 and again connects him with the stage. The first time that he is credited with a profession is in 1595 when he is styled 'musician' (Mun. 106), and he no doubt combined skill as a lutanist with his histrionic talent. He became, on leaving Worcester's patronage, a servant to the Lord Admiral, but acted with the company calling itself Lord Strange's men, and as one of them became a frequenter of the boards of the Rose playhouse, probably not later than Feb. 1592. Whether he was thus first brought into contact with Henslowe is not known, but they undoubtedly became intimately associated soon afterwards. His marriage took place the same autumn while the company was under restraint during the prevalence of plague. His dramatic activity will remain to be discussed hereafter. The many personal points at which his life touched that of the old manager will be mentioned in their proper places in the present chapter. His own subsequent career may be followed in the works by Warner (pp. xx, &c.), from whose account the above outline has been summarized, and by Young (vol. ii, chap. 1). It should be mentioned that according to a tradition current at Dulwich College, Edward Alleyn was three times married. This would make him a widower at the age of twenty-six, and Joan Woodward his second wife. This is borne out by a letter to Alleyn from Richard Jones in which he mentions 'mistris allene' (MS. I. 8). The letter is undated except for the month, Feb., but Jones was about to go abroad with Mr. Browne and the company, and a passport from Lord Howard in favour of Robert Browne, Richard Jones and others, dated 10 Feb. 1591, i.e. presumably 1591/2, appears to fix the date of the letter as about eight months previous to Alleyn's marriage with Joan Woodward. 'The close proximity of dates,' remarks Warner, 'certainly need be no objection, if we may judge from the extreme haste with which he married again in 1623.' In that year he buried Joan on 1 July and married Constance Donne on 3 Dec.

Henslowe's offices at court.

In 1592 Philip Henslowe became Groom of the Chamber to Queen Elizabeth, and is frequently mentioned as such in documents of this period.[1] In 1603 he was made Gentleman Sewer of the Chamber to James I, an office which he probably held till his death. In 1607, however, he bound himself in £400 on 3 Oct. to surrender his office at request to Thomas Burnet conditionally upon the payment by Burnet to Alleyn of £220 before 8 Oct. and his procuring 'my lord chamberleins good will for the said office' (Mun. 148). The money was paid but the Lord Chamberlain refused his consent. Thereupon nine score pounds of the money were refunded to Burnet, the balance being reserved upon some private consideration the nature of which has not been recorded (MS. III. 89). Such at least was the account of the transaction given by Henslowe to Alexander Nairne, who wrote to Alleyn, 21 July 1621, at a time when Burnet was moving Mr. Serjeant Owen or Owine for the recovery of £35 out of the balance (MS. III. 88). Nairne who was a witness to the original bond of 1607 appears as one of the King's surveyors in 1614 (B. M., MS. Lansd. 165, fol. 252); Owen was a friend of Alleyn's and is several times mentioned in his Diary, but Warner notes (p. 184) that no serjeant-at-law of the name is recorded, and Young conjectures that he was a serjeant of the king's household (ii. p. 175). To these two Alleyn wrote at length denying that he had ever had any money from Burnet except on Henslowe's behalf, and that he held full acquittances and discharges from Burnet to Henslowe, who had moreover relieved him with charitable gifts on various occasions (MS. I. 42). Nothing more is heard of the claim, but Owen seems to have died shortly afterwards, for according to the Diary Alleyn appraised his goods on 7 Aug. 1621 and the same day gave £5 to Burnet. Another £5 seems to have been paid in Sept. (Young, ii. pp. 216, 221).

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[1] According to Warner the appointment was made in 1592 or 1593, and he notes the occurrence of the title for the first time in a letter dated 1 Aug. (not 24 July) 1593, forming MS. I. 11. But it also occurs in the watermen's petition, now MS. I. 17, which, as I hope to show later on, must belong to the summer of 1592. His name, as Warner points out (p. 8), does not occur in a list of Grooms of the Chamber attached to a warrant of 7 Apr. 1592, and stands last but two in a similar list dated 26 Jan. 1599 (B. M., MS. Add. 5750, fols. 114, 116).

It is probable that Henslowe also sought another office under James. Among the papers at Dulwich is preserved an undated petition from 'one of the ordinary groomes of your Maiesties Chamber' for the office of inspector 'to searche veiw seale and sease [if faulty] all and euerye the woollen clothes to be made within the counties of Kent and Essex' (MS. V. 44). No appointment is recorded, but the petition may have had to do with a grant in reversion made, 30 Dec. 1604, to Philip Henslowe and John Palmer, of the bailiwick of the Hundreds of Hinckford and Barstable, Essex (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*).

Correspondence with Alleyn in 1593.

At the time of Alleyn's marriage the plague was already raging in London and the playhouses were closed. The young couple presumably lodged in Henslowe's house for the first few months of their married life. In the winter the companies began acting again for a while, but with the return of spring the sickness became more serious than ever and they were forced to travel. Alleyn wrote to his wife from Chelmsford on 2 May, and we find constant letters passing between him and the Henslowe household between that date and 28 Sept. following. Whether Alleyn then returned to town we cannot tell; acting was not resumed at the Rose till after Christmas. The interest of these letters is chiefly theatrical, but we also learn certain facts concerning domestic affairs and the progress of the plague. Two servant-girls in Henslowe's house—'my two weanches' he calls them, perhaps the Doll and Sarah mentioned by Pyk (MS. I. 15)—fell sick of it but recovered. We hear a good deal of Alleyn's garden. Where his house was we do not know—probably on the Bankside—but it was extensively repaired, as appears from an account beginning on 4 Nov. 1592 (**237**), and had a wainscoted hall (**2** 17). The lease seems to have been bought from one Robartes for £22, 1 Mar. / 5 July 1594 (**235** 22). Alleyn already possessed other house property, for which his wife collected the rents during his absence from town (**1**ᵛ 1-7).

Relations with players, and playwrights,

During these years Henslowe came into intimate relations with many of the foremost players and playwrights of the time. His position as owner and to some extent manager of the Rose made this natural, but the relations clearly were not always confined to matters of theatrical business. Actors and dramatists alike were frequently in need of ready cash and Henslowe seems to have been usually willing to supply their needs, probably in most cases on terms of some advantage to himself. That he dealt in usury can hardly be questioned, but that he habitually practised the arts of the money-lender towards individuals, seeking to keep them in constant dependence on himself, there is no evidence. His financial dealings with the companies seem to have been conducted in a more systematic manner and it may be doubted whether in the long run the connection did not prove onerous to the dependent organizations. That he also secured a handsome profit on some individual loans is certain, but on the whole, if we exclude his pawnbroking business, of the conditions of which we know very little, he probably lost a good deal more than he gained over his private advances. No doubt he often profited indirectly from the difficulties of his clients, for though a forfeited bond can seldom have possessed much real value, it no doubt sometimes gave him a convenient hold over a useful stage hack. Nothing would here be gained by going into detail concerning these private transactions with well-known actors and writers; they will be found duly catalogued elsewhere. Whether Henslowe came into contact with the same necessitous and improvident gang through his pawnbroking undertakings cannot be known for certain, since he transacted his business chiefly through intermediaries, but it is inherently probable. His relations with the dependents of the stage, however, were varied. Sometimes we only get as it were a passing glimpse. One A. P. writes an undated letter complaining of the credit Henslowe gives to malicious reports against his wife and himself (MS. III. 63). The writer being a man, the only likely name I know to fit the initials is Augustine Phillips, who as one of Strange's men must have acted at the Rose, though we do not elsewhere find anything to suggest an acquaintance between him and Henslowe.[1] On other occasions we find the most elaborate record of trivial incidents. Such, for example, is the quarrel between Henslowe and Richard Topping concerning a debt due to the latter by Thomas Lodge, of which full particulars are preserved in a series of petitions and answers addressed to Henry and George Carey, Lords Hunsdon in 1596–8 (MS. I. 21–3). Apparently somewhere about 1587 Lodge contracted a debt of £7 to Topping, a tailor of the Strand, who after waiting seven years brought an action against him for recovery of debt and costs amounting in all to £12, and had him arrested in the Clink. Henslowe bailed him out but denied having become surety for the debt in any other way. Lodge removed the suit by *habeas corpus* to the King's Bench and put in fresh bail; Topping procured a *procedendo* to try it in the Clink; Lodge discreetly vanished, and Topping petitioned for recovery against Henslowe, whose office of Groom to the Chamber afforded him some protection, since, as servant to her Majesty, he could only be arrested on the Lord Chamberlain's warrant. How the matter ended we are not informed, and how much we are to believe of the protestations of either side must remain a matter of opinion. Collier availed himself of a draft of Henslowe's final answer to insert further doubtful statements of his own regarding Lodge's position as an actor. Henslowe remarked of the subject of the dispute that 'he is (as J heare) passed beyonnde y^{e} seas': possibly he had taken the opportunity of retiring to Avignon in search of a degree in medicine; hence the difficulty of bringing his body into the Clink.

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[1] It is not quite certain whether the letter was addressed to Philip Henslowe, since only the surname is given. Warner catalogues it between letters of 1614 and 1616, but whether there is anything to necessitate so late a date I do not know. If there is, it cannot, of course, have been written by Augustine Phillips who died in May 1605 (Collier, *Actors*, p. 83).

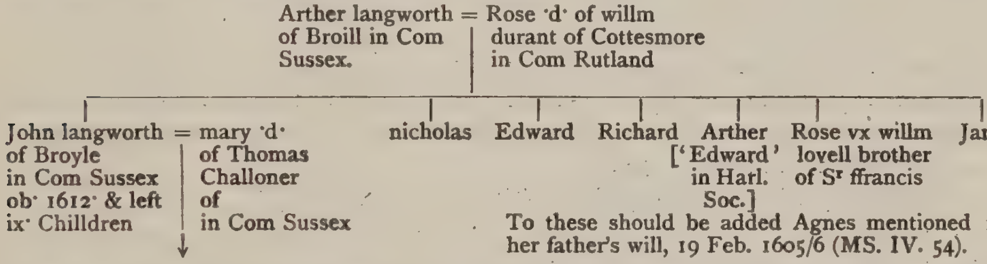
and others.

About Christmas 1597 Alleyn retired temporarily from the stage (**43** 2), possibly on account of ill health, for he was still away from town the following Sept. though there is nothing to indicate any break in the activity of the companies at that time. On 8 June Henslowe wrote to him on business at Arthur Langworth's where he was staying with his wife (MS. II. 1), and about the same time Langworth, who was apparently away in town, wrote to his guest in Sussex (MS. II. 2). On 26 Sept. Henslowe wrote again mentioning some business connected with the Bear Garden, wishing that he were to be 'at the bancate,' and informing him of the death of one of the company, Gabriel Spenser, killed by Ben Jonson in Hoxton Fields (MS. I. 24). He writes in a rather careworn spirit but with a good deal of feeling: 'ned J love not to mack many great glosses & protestaciones to you as others do but as a poor frend you shall comande me as J hoope J shall do you therefore J desyer Rather to haue you^{r} company & you^{r} wiffes then you^{r} leatters.'

Years passed; the Fortune was built; Queen Elizabeth died; and the plague reigned. To avoid the infection Henslowe followed the court which hung about Winchester most of the summer of 1603, having probably a favour to seek of the new monarch; while Alleyn, leaving his wife in town, wore out his clothes hawking with the Chaloners in Sussex. Thither his wife, who was apparently living with her mother, wrote to him on 21 Oct. 1603, giving him the domestic and business news from London (MS. I. 38). Alleyn had, it seems, arranged to meet Henslowe at Basing, the Marquis of Winchester's seat, but from this Joan dissuades him, urging the uncertainty of the court's movements and the danger to his health from a change of air.

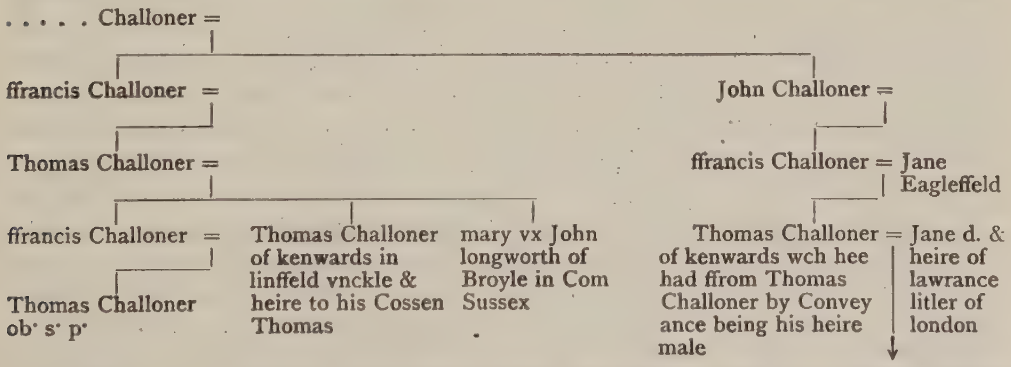
Both the Langworths and the Chaloners were substantial Sussex families, who were related to one another by marriage, and were alike intimate with Henslowe and Alleyn.[1] Directly or indirectly Alleyn or Henslowe had business relations with both. Arthur Langworth lived at the Brill or Broyle in the parish of Ringmere in Sussex, and Henslowe's father had been master of the game in Broyle Park some time before. A copy of Langworth's will, dated 19 Feb. 1605/6, with probate, 6 Nov. 1606, among Alleyn's papers mentions all his children except the

[1] They are duly recorded in the Visitation of 1634 (B. M., MS. Harl. 1562; Harl. Soc. 1872, vi. p. 140). The Langworth family is given as follows on fol. 118:—


Arther langworth of Broill in Com Sussex.
= Rose ·d· of willm durant of Cottesmore in Com Rutland
John langworth of Broyle in Com Sussex ob· 1612· & left ix· Chilldren
= mary ·d· of Thomas Challoner of in Com Sussex
nicholas
Edward
Richard
Arther ['Edward' in Harl. Soc.]
Rose vx willm lovell brother of Sr ffrancis
Jane

To these should be added Agnes mentioned in her father's will, 19 Feb. 1605/6 (MS. IV. 54).

There were several families of Chaloners in the county, but Warner is no doubt right in identifying Alleyn's friends with those of Kenwards, since Francis is mentioned in Mrs. Alleyn's letter, and Thomas appears more than once in the Diary (**19** 26, **124** 5). For another branch see above (p. 4). The pedigree appears on fol. 130 (Harl. Soc. p. 151); I have not transcribed the younger branch in full:—


. . . . . Challoner =
ffrancis Challoner =
John Challoner =
Thomas Challoner =
ffrancis Challoner = Jane Eagleffeld
ffrancis Challoner =
Thomas Challoner of kenwards in linffeld vnckle & heire to his Cossen Thomas
mary vx John longworth of Broyle in Com Sussex
Thomas Challoner of kenwards wch hee had ffrom Thomas Challoner by Conveyance being his heire male
= Jane d. & heire of lawrance litler of london
Thomas Challoner ob· s· p·

From Thomas, son of Francis, of the elder branch, the property passed to his uncle, Thomas son of Thomas, of the same, and again on his dying without issue to his cousin, Thomas son of Francis of the younger branch. This Thomas left four sons and five daughters.

eldest, John, from which we may suppose the estate entailed (MS. IV. 54). The Chaloners' property was Kenwards in the parish of Lindfield, Sussex, whence, according to the Visitation, Henslowe's family also came. It will be noticed, however, that this does not correspond with the address on Mrs. Alleyn's letter, which is most likely Bexhill. From this we may perhaps conclude that Alleyn was staying with Thomas Chaloner, who, his brother and nephew being still alive, had not yet come into the family property. Mrs. Alleyn, however, speaks of 'm^{r} Chaloners & his wyfe,' whereas the pedigree represents him as unmarried, and though the omission, if he died without issue, is easily accounted for, we might see in the fact evidence that Alleyn's host was the Thomas Chaloner of the younger branch. An important document, which after an adventurous history has found its way back to Dulwich College, illustrates the business relations of Henslowe and the Chaloners. It is thus described by Warner: 'Letters of Attorney from Thomas Challyner, or Chaloner, of Lynvyld, or Lindfield, Co. Sussex, Esq., to Philip Henslowe, Gent., "Ordinarie Servant" to the Queen, to levy his rents in Westminster, in Longdytch, belonging to "Cops christie" (Corpus Christi) College, Cambridge, late in the tenure of "one Mr. Keyes," with powers of disposal and of arresting, prosecuting, etc.; 2 January 1598[9]. Signed; with remains of seal. Witnesses, William Hunt, Arthur Langworth' (Young, ii. p. 328). Of these rents we shall hear more in the sequel.

Parish officer.

Henslowe was now taking his position as one of the foremost burgesses of Southwark. Warner mentions (p. xix) that in an assessment on the inhabitants of the Clink for a subsidy, 7 Aug. 1594, Henslowe was assessed on £10, and so in subsequent years down to 1609, while Alleyn was assessed in 1594 on £5 and in 1598 on £12 (B. M., MS. Add. 24,487, fols. 168, 170). In 1612 Henslowe contributed £10 towards a loan to the King, and Alleyn £15 (MS. Add. 27,877, fol. 140). Meanwhile in 1607 both Henslowe and Alleyn were elected vestrymen (Rendle, *Bankside*, p. vi), the former in the place of Mr. Treherne, possibly the same as the Treheren who had dealings with the Admiral's men in 1601 (**85^{v}** 29, **88^{v}** 15). The next year Henslowe became churchwarden (Rendle, *Henslowe*, p. 152; cf. MS. I. 49); in March 1608/9 both he and Alleyn were among the assessors of 'the third Subsidy graunted to the kinges ma^{ty} for the Clincke Liberty' (MS. I. 48), and a note of the weekly rates for the relief of the poor was delivered to him from the overseers on 6 Apr. following (MS. I. 49). A letter from William Spender begging of Henslowe and his fellow churchwardens 'that charitable fauiour from the Church, which many poore people haue had beinge in the like extremety of want' is preserved (MS. III. 42). In 1612 he appears as one of the six governors of the Free Grammar School of the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark (Mun. 164). The following year he and Alleyn with three other 'ancients' were appointed to bargain with the court for the fee farm of the parsonage of St. Saviour's, and to secure it 'for the general good of posteritye as good chepe as they might.' They agreed for the sum of £800 and the transaction was concluded on 2 Mar. (Rendle, *Bankside*, p. vi, *Henslowe*, p. 152).

Henslowe family.

Devon and Hampshire branches.

Henslowe now occupied an assured and honoured social position among his fellow citizens, which he continued to enjoy till his death. It is time to endeavour to trace the fortunes of the other members of his family. It will be noticed that the Devonshire Henslowes appear to have died out, for according to the Visitation of 1620 the only grandchild of John Hensleigh of Hensleigh was the Edmond, there called Edward, who migrated to Sussex. There are Henslowes living in the west to-day, but they claim descent from a Hampshire branch. This I have not been able to trace in the Visitation of the county (1634; B. M., MS. Harley 1544), but it is worth noticing that a certificate is extant, dated 21 Nov. 1587, of all the men within the Hundreds of Bosmere, Hayling, Alverstoke, and Gosport, in Hampshire, under the leading of Thomas Henslow, Esq., mustered and viewed on 6 Sept. 1586, before Henry, Earl of Sussex (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*).

Richard Henslowe

and his son Francis.

The little that is known concerning Edmond Hensley or Henslowe has already been given. Still less is known about his eldest son, Richard. He is not mentioned in the Diary, nor in any other papers at Dulwich. I am not aware that his name has even been traced outside the Visitation. Of his wife Joan Peckham no more appears to be known. If he inherited any land from his father, as the designation 'of Lindfield' may imply, he probably dissipated it, for we find his son Francis living in town in a very dependent position. This Francis Henslowe,[1] who was an actor among other things, appears frequently in the Diary and elsewhere. The earliest record of him is doubtless a letter addressed to Philip or Edmond Henslowe begging for assistance to obtain his release from 'y^e^ counter in Woodstret.' This was about 1590. Most of his relations with his uncle had to do with dramatic affairs and consequently do not here concern us, but we may note that he acted as Philip's assistant or intermediary in the pawn business, from its inception in Jan. 1593 to about 18 May 1594, by which date he had left. He seems to have prospered to some extent, for we find him taking a house called the Upper Ground on the Bankside on 15 Dec. 1597. Later he was in trouble again, and at some date after July 1601, probably at the beginning of 1606, he lay in the White Lion prison on a charge of horse stealing and was only freed on the payment of £5 by his uncle. He acknowledged a debt on 30 Mar. but died, together with his wife, not long afterwards, his estate being administered by his uncle in Oct. following. He does not appear to have left issue. According to the pedigree in the Visitation Richard also left a daughter Mary of whom no record survives, and whose appearance in this place may be an error, since we know that Edmund Henslowe the younger had a daughter of the name who is not entered in the Visitation.

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[1] The evidence concerning the different members of the family mentioned in the Diary will be found collected and criticized in Chap. IV, to which a general reference may be given for the authority of all statements contained in the above more summary narrative.

John and William Henslowe.

The next brother mentioned is John. He is chiefly interesting to us as the original owner of the volume which Philip later used as his Diary, and as the writer of the forestry accounts therein. Otherwise we only know that he predeceased his brother Edmond and was therefore dead early in 1592. Passing over this Edmond for a moment, and Philip, who came fourth, we reach the youngest brother William. He survived Edmond and was in communication with Philip concerning their brother's estate in Dec. 1592. He had also received certain money under Edmond's will which Philip claimed. He was up in London the following spring, having business with the Lord Chamberlain, but soon returned to the country. Numerous small transactions with Philip are recorded, and he also leased from him a barn, &c., which had belonged to Edmond. He was again in town in 1604 in connection with further difficulties over Edmond's property. He had also disputes of his own with the rector of Buxted concerning tithe in 1603 and 1609, with the Attorney-General concerning the boundaries of the Unicorn Inn in 1618, and with Alleyn concerning we know not what the same year, and again in 1621–2. He is not known to have married.

The Sisters Margaret and Mary.

The Margaret Hogge[1] mentioned in the pedigree presents a difficulty, though happily not a serious one. She was the wife of Ralph Hogge who appears together with her in an agreement dated 5 Oct. 1580 (**137**$^{\text{v}}$). We find, however, that one Margaret Cuckson, a sister of the testator, was a beneficiary under Philip Henslowe's will in 1616. This identifies Margaret Hogge with the wife of the Richard Cuckson mentioned several times in connection with Edmond Henslowe's property. She had, therefore, married a second time. The fact of her appearing as Margaret Hogge in the Visitation suggests that her second husband probably lived in London and was unknown to whoever supplied the heralds with their information in Sussex. The pedigree also mentions a Mary among the children of Edmond Henslowe of Lindfield. This was clearly the Mary, wife of John Walters, who received a legacy of £60 under her brother Edmond's will, and was also a beneficiary under Philip's. Her name is given as Walters *alias* Addington. One of these two sisters, then a widow, was with Philip in his last illness, but which it is impossible to say (see p. 20).

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[1] Lee writes (*D. N. B.*) that Henslowe's 'only sister Margaret and her husband Ralph Hogge, an ironfounder, were settled [at Buxted], and [Henslowe] subsequently obtained property, at East Grinstead.' Buxted was certainly a likely place for the pair to live at, but that they actually did live there I have found no evidence. Philip Henslowe certainly never held any property at East Grinstead. Collier said that 'the Henslowes' had property there (*Diary*, p. 252), but this, though likely, rests on no documentary evidence. I have elsewhere (p. xx) committed myself to the statement that Philip owned land at Buxted, which is incorrect; he only held it as executor to his brother Edmond. Lee should not have made the error of calling Margaret Philip's only sister, since both are explicitly mentioned in the depositions given in Rendle's paper (*Henslowe*), which he cites.

Edmond Henslowe the younger,

and his children, John, Mary and Anne.

Of the five brothers there remains Edmond, of whose estate and family we have rather minute if chaotic records, owing to his having made Philip his executor and guardian of his children. He was a merchant and a servant of the Lord Chamberlain, and held leasehold properties on the Surrey side of the river from Southwark to Lambeth. His home, however, was in Sussex, possibly at Buxted, where he owned a property called Lockyears, possibly elsewhere. He is first mentioned about 1590 in a letter from Francis begging for help from either Philip or him. He died apparently in 1592, before 23 May, leaving a widow Margery and three children. Under his will his sister Mary Walters received a legacy and Margaret Cuckson and her husband also appear to have had an interest in his estate. Otherwise this was divided between the widow, who received half, and two of the children, John and Mary. A dispute arose over the copyhold of the Lockyears, which was occupied by one Robert Welles, and though this seems to have been composed through the mediation of Lord Buckhurst, a fresh dispute with one Edward Phillips in which a Mr. Vahan was also concerned was taken into court, its final issue being lost to sight in the intricacies of Star Chamber litigation.[1] Margery survived her husband three years, continuing to live in the same house, and having her three children with her. She was dead by 27 Feb. 1595. John and Mary came up in June to their uncle in London. The girl was apprenticed to John Griggs for a term of seven years, to learn sewing and bonelace. She seems to have behaved rather badly to her younger sister, whom she turned away when she came up to live with her. In 1605 she became paralytic and died two years later. John appears to have been unsatisfactory from the first. He was apprenticed to one Newman, a dyer, and later to a waterman, but refused to stay in either service, though his uncle advanced him money to buy first a boat and later, in Sept. 1605, a place as King's waterman. The year before this he had been engaged in disputing his father's will in the courts. He was married and seems to have made a home for his sister during her illness. He also had one son Philip, to whom his uncle stood sponsor. It was to this godson that Philip Henslowe bequeathed most of the property which he did not leave in the disposal of his widow, thereby passing over his natural heir and nephew John, who sought in consequence to upset the will. The last and probably the youngest of Edmond's three children was Anne, who may be supposed to have inherited her mother's portion. Little is known of her after her sister turned her away, and we may suppose that she remained in the country for a time, but we find her uncle advancing her money in 1607, and a curious entry of 1609 shows her bringing a suit jointly with William Parsons in the spiritual court against Goodman Forlonge's son 'w^{ch} wold a mareyd her.' This William Parsons she subsequently married, and she may have been already betrothed to him, though the marriage did not take place till after Philip's death (MS. V. 25). The pair are frequently mentioned in Alleyn's Diary between 1620 and 1622, but were at law with him over a bond in 1625, after which we hear no more of them, nor of any other members of the Henslowe family.[1]

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[1] For an analysis of the evidence see Chap. IV, s.v. Edmond Henslowe. My friend Mr. E. H. Young, of the Inner Temple, has kindly supplied me with the following interesting observations on the proceedings. Vahan was evidently the original owner of the copyhold and must at some time have mortgaged it to Edmond Henslowe. As collateral security for this he appears to have entered into a money bond. The bond and mortgage were now held by Philip Henslowe as executor of Edmond. There seems, however, to have been another claim on the estate, adverse to Vahan's title, by Edward Phillips, who attempted to enforce his alleged right by ousting Robert Welles, the tenant in possession. Being withstood, and discovering the rival claim on the part of Edmond Henslowe's representative, he put the title in suit. Philip Henslowe thereupon called on Vahan to make good his title to the estate which he had mortgaged, threatening otherwise to proceed upon the personal security of the money bond. Welles meanwhile naturally refused to give up possession till the other parties had settled their dispute as to the title. The case was tried at *nisi prius* before the justices of assize at East Grinstead, and Edmond's right apparently maintained, for Welles, who had withstood Phillips, agreed to surrender possession to Henslowe. The latter however did not let the matter rest there, but proceeded against Phillips and others in the Star Chamber on a charge of perjury. The issue of this matter is not known.

Henslowe's last illness.

At the beginning of 1616 Henslowe's health failed and those about him knew that the end was near. We happen to have very full particulars of the circumstances attending his death preserved in the depositions in the Chancery suit concerning his will (Rendle, *Henslowe*). This was disputed by John Henslowe, the son of Philip's elder brother Edmond, with the consequence that the circumstances attending its making were fully investigated. We may suppose that Henslowe had a paralytic stroke about this time, for Thomas Allen, citizen and barber-surgeon of London, and cousin-german of Edward, deposed that he was suffering from palsy. A will was hurriedly drawn on 5 Jan. and duly signed and sealed in the presence of the witnesses James Archer, deponent, curate of St. Saviour's, Southwark, Robert Bromfield, Esq., deponent, elsewhere described as a woodmonger and several times mentioned in the Diary, Roger Cole, defendant in the suit and formerly churchwarden of St. Saviour's, and Edward Alleyn. Next day, 6 Jan., a fresh will was made in better form but apparently not

Drawing of the will.

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[1] One Robert Moore is called a kinsman of Philip Henslowe in the note of counsel upon the 'breviate' of the Chancery suit, but nothing further is known of him (MS. V. 22; *Alleyn Memoirs*, p. 125). We also find Henslowe paying, 28 Mar. and 13 Apr. 159[1/]2, sums amounting to £29. 10 to 'my cossen adren' (i.e. 'my cousin Adrian') who is not otherwise known (**5**^{v} 12, 15).

differing materially from the former. To this Henslowe put his mark, being now unable to write owing to the palsy, and the deed was duly delivered. According to the deposition of James Archer 'The Legatees were theis, namely, Agnes the wief of the said Philip, now one of the defendants, Anne Henslowe, [now] wief of one W^{m} Parsone, Phillip Henslowe, sonne of John Henslowe, waterman, the said Philip the Legatee being the godsonne of the said Philip the Testator, Mary Walters *alias* Addington, sister of him the said Philip the Testator, W^{m} Henslowe, brother of him the said Philip, Margaret Cuxon, sister of him the said Philip, and this deponent, and none other Legatees by particular name.' 'The main features of Philip Henslowe's will,' according to Rendle, 'are that to his wife, from whom he had a great estate and whom as he says he had not used very well and would make amends, he gives all his lands and tenements for life; after her death and it was imminent, his poor relatives are remembered, and his godson [Philip Henslowe].' It is, however, evident that the bulk of the property was to pass after her death to the Alleyns. It remained to show that the disposition of the property was in itself reasonable and that the testator was in possession of his mental faculties at the time the will was made.

The will disputed.

The first of these positions was easy to establish. The chief beneficiary was the widow of the deceased. Moreover, witnesses deposed that Henslowe had been a poor man at the time of his marriage and had acquired all his wealth from his wife. Joan Horton, a charwoman, who had looked after Henslowe's house for the last five years of his life, 'hath divers tymes heard the said Philip Henslow confesse that he had a great Estate by hir.' Of Edward Alleyn, who was likely to be the one chiefly benefited by the will, Robert Bromfyld deposed that 'yt was a thing generally knowne and notice thereof taken by diverse persons in the lief tyme of the said Philip Henslow that the Industrie and care of the defendant Allyn were a great meanes of the Bettering of the Estate of the said Philip Henslow.' This view was also supported by the deponent Jacob Mead, Henslowe's partner in various undertakings. The passing over by the testator of his nephew John, in favour of his grand-nephew and godson Philip was also easily explained. Joan Horton deposed to the trouble Philip had had with the complainant, whom after binding several times as apprentice he had finally repudiated. Meade had heard Philip say that the complainant should never have either land or goods from him 'ffor John Henslowe hath wronged me, And therefore he shall never be my heire. . . . He hath wronged me by vexing and sueing me unjustly. And yet I will make Philip Henslow his sonne my heire.'

Henslowe's last hours,

Numerous witnesses deposed to the fact that at the time of making the second will and after, Henslowe, though incapacitated in body, was in full possession of his faculties, and from their depositions it is possible to construct a pretty full narrative of his last hours. After the will was signed Robert Pallant came to see the invalid and asked him 'how he did and whether he did know him the said Pallant or not,' and to that the said Philip answered, saying, 'Thou art Robin Pallant, I know thee well enough.' Then after some further conversation Pallant took his leave, whereupon Henslowe grasped his hand and shaking it 'did bid him hartely farewell.' After that Francisce, wife of Robert Dabourne the playwright, came to the house for some papers of her husband's. Henslowe was in a room upstairs, and with him Mrs. Alleyn 'togither with a woman that then kept the said Philip,' clearly the deponent Joan Horton, 'and one other widow woman, being the sister of the said Philip,' that is either Mary Walters or Margaret Cuxon. 'Whereupon and upon the much lamenting of the said M$^{\text{res}}$ Daborne that hir husband should be undone by want of those writings yf the said Henslowe dyed,' Henslowe sent for the papers to be given to her. Among them was found a bond for £20 of which Mrs. Daborne was ignorant. Henslowe caused them all to be delivered to her, saying, 'I knowe you and with all my hart doe freely forgiue you all that you owe me.' It is probable, however, that some papers escaped notice at this time, for on the back of an acquittance from Alleyn, dated 2 July 1616, appears the note 'md. to send y$^{\text{e}}$ booke for Mr. Daborn' (MS. V. 25). Henslowe lived about five hours after Mrs. Daborne saw him.[1] At the time of her husband's death Agnes Henslowe was so weak and feeble, that it was thought by some that she would have died first, or that, at best, she could not live long after him. Her great age and weakness 'was the cause that such speed was made for the proving of the said last will and Testament of the said Philip Henslowe.' Henslowe died on 6 Jan. 1615/6 and the will was proved on 7 Jan., a Sunday. According to the deposition of Edward Griffin, the scrivener, 'the whole and entire estate was valued and appraised by sworn appraisers of the Liberty of the Clink, viz., Gilbert East and John Pickett, by Mr. Wm. Benfield and deponent . . . he estimates the value of the real estate at £1700 12s. 8d.' East was formerly Henslowe's bailiff; William Benfield had been assessor of the Liberty of the Clink in 1609.

and death,
6 Jan. 1616.

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[1] It ought to be remarked that the original bill in Chancery gives a very different account of Henslowe's end, though representing as it does the plaintiff's pleading, it cannot claim equal authority with the depositions of sworn witnesses. As preserved in the 'breviate' the bill asserts that 'Allin and Cole cawsed a draught of a will to be made . . . and brought the sayd will, so made betwixt them, to the sayd Phillip Hinchlow 2 or 3 howrs before his death, being past all sence and understanding; in soe much that the deff Allin put a pen into his hand, and would hav guided the same to the subscribing of his name, but that he was otherways advised, in so much that the sayd Phillip Hinchlow made only some mark, like a dash with the penn, whoe in his perfect health was well able to write his name,' also that 'the sayd Phillip Hinchlow, being demaunded, wheather it wear his will or noe, made a pawse, not being able to speak, and at last cried, noe will, noe will' (MS. V. 22; *Alleyn Memoirs*, p. 123).

Henslowe was buried in St. Saviour's church on 10 Jan. The register shows the entry: 'Mr. Philip Henchlow, buried in the Chancel, with an afternoon knell of the great bell. 40*s*.' On 23 Jan. was exhibited the bill whereby John Henslowe sought to overthrow his uncle's will. The defendants were Edward Allin, Agnes Henchlow and Roger Cole. The 'breviate' of the cause is preserved (imperfect), containing copies of the bill and answer, with notes of counsel and minutes of evidence. This is printed at length in the *Alleyn Memoirs* (p. 123; MS. V. 22). There is also a second 'breviate' in the same cause, containing somewhat different versions of the bill and answer, together with further particulars, from which it appears that, on 15 Feb., their insufficiency was referred to Dr. James, and that, on 'the 8th of this instante Aprill,' order was made 'that the defendants shall shew cawse whie a sequestration shall not be of the proffitts of the landes and whie the evidences showld not be brought into the Court;' also the answer of the defendants to this order (MS. V. 23). A note of evidences of certain properties bought by Henslowe, signed by Alleyn and George Pitt, 7 May 1616, is very likely connected with the same suit (MS. V. 24). On 18 Oct. following an order of court was made referring to 'M^r^ Wolueridge,' Master in Chancery, 'thexamynacions of the defendant taken touching a supposed contempte' (MS. V. 28). How or when the case was finally settled is not known, nor whether it was still in progress when Alleyn made his entries concerning John Henslowe in his diary in 1619—16 Jan. 'pd m^r^ Cheek for w^t^ drawing Jo: Hen: wifes shut . . . 0 4 2'; and again 'w^t^ drawing an action for Jo: Henslowe . . . 0 4 2' (Young, ii. pp. 122, 130). That considerable delay was caused is clear from the fact that the funeral sermon for which Henslowe left 40*s*. in his will to James Archer, was not preached till 16 Feb. 1617/8 (Rendle, *Henslowe*, p. 153). In the mean while Agnes Henslowe had also died. The entry of her burial in the Register of Dulwich College is dated 9 Apr. 1617 and runs: 'Anne [Agnes] Henslowe, widoe, y^e^ late wife off Phillip Henslowe esq. and mother to Joan Alleyn, y^e^ wife off Edw. Alleyn, founder off this Coll: buried in y^e^ north side off y^e^ chapell quire' (MS. X.; Warner, p. 196). Her will, dated 16 Jan. 1615/6, provided for sundry small charitable bequests, and left the residue to Joan Alleyn, who was appointed sole executrix.[1]

The suit in Chancery.

So much for the will by which Henslowe disposed of his property. It falls next to consider what real property he possessed either then or earlier. That connected with the playhouses and the bear-garden will have to be considered in detail later on and need not detain us here.

Henslowe's property.

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[1] As already mentioned, Joan is described as 'my sole and well beloved daughter' (p. 6). According to Rendle (*Henslowe*, p. 158) she is also called 'widow of Edward Allen,' which is absurd. He also gives 3 July 1616 as the date of the proving of the will. It should presumably be 1617. The above account is based almost entirely on Rendle's paper.

We have seen above that the Little Rose estate, whereon the theatre afterwards stood, was the first property acquired by Henslowe, and its history has already been sufficiently discussed. The lease, it will be remembered, was bought in 1585. Alleyn obtained the lease of the Fortune estate, 22 Dec. 1599, and Henslowe a lease of a moiety of the same from him, 4 Apr. 1601. All these playhouse and bearhouse properties, it must be borne in mind, contained tenements besides the more important public buildings from which they took their names, and though it is impossible, in the absence of documents, to determine accurately the relative importance of the two kinds of property, some details may be given to show their existence. We shall see later on (p. 39) that a house of some size, divided into rooms probably let as tenements, was in some way attached to the Bear Garden, though it is more likely to have belonged to Alleyn than to Henslowe. A small house by the Rose was occupied originally by Cholmley probably as a refreshment place (Mun. 16). This was undoubtedly the 'lytell howsse' which fetched £6 a year as entered under the Rose rents in 1602/3 (**178** 37). There were, however, other buildings which were let as tenements, ten names appearing as tenants in the same list paying rents of 26*s.* 8*d.* up to £3 6. No Rose rents appear in the rent-book of 1604–11 (MS. XVIII. 6). To the Fortune were attached a tap-house in the occupancy of Mark Brigham, and a tenement leased to John Russell, who at one time filled the post of gatherer in the house (Mun. 56; cf. MS. I. 104); while at a later date several other tenements appear to have been erected (Mun. 58). All these rents seem to have gone to Alleyn.

Playhouse and Bear Garden estates.

The Rose is the only property that can be traced as being in Henslowe's possession before about 1595. From that date onward he was continually extending his holdings on the Bankside and elsewhere. They varied, no doubt, considerably in character, for while some appear to have been let in small tenements of one or two rooms a piece at a very low rent, others probably consisted of substantial single dwelling-houses. That among these were certain of the licensed brothels of the Liberty can hardly be doubted. There is indeed no evidence on which to accuse Henslowe of himself keeping houses of ill-fame, but there is no question that he was intermediate landlord between the stew-keepers and the Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Winchester. Whether he actually shared the profits of the trade, otherwise than as the recipient of a fixed rent, is unknown; if he did he might have pleaded that it was as a sort of insurance against the uncertain character of theatrical enterprise. It was one of the commonplaces of stage apologetics that as soon as the playhouses were closed the trade of the stews flourished.[1] 'The

Character of Henslowe's holdings.

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[1] Rendle writes: 'There are among his houses, very equivocal ones, of which Chettle gives a bad account—but then Chettle had been in prison at Henslowe's suit. Referring to Henslowe,

widow Spencer,' says Rendle (*Inns*, p. 336), 'was the intermediate landlady between Philip Henslowe and the tenants. I think we do not stretch the point when we see in this widow the relict of Gabriel Spencer the actor, killed by Ben Jonson in Hoxton Fields, September 1598.' I do not know upon what authority the statement is made; she is not mentioned in any of the leases concerning Henslowe's tenements and can hardly have done more than collect his rents for him. A Mrs. Spenser is mentioned more than once in the pawn accounts of 1593-4, and a 'Goody spencer' was a tenant of Henslowe at £4 a year in 1602/3 (**178** 16). That the wife of Gabriel is meant is likely enough.

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no doubt, he says, "Landlords turn dye-houses into tenements, a little room with a smoky chimney lets for 40*s*. yearly. Such fines, such taxes, such tribute, such customs! poor souls he says, after seven years service in that unhallowed order!! What with this and with lending, they do a large stroke of business"' (*Henslowe*, p. 152; cf. *Inns*, p. 337). Considering what a very little we know of Chettle's life, it is a great pity that the writer did not give his authority for the interesting fact of his having been arrested at Henslowe's suit. He was in the Marshalsea in 1599 when Henslowe advanced 30*s*. for his charges, and he again borrowed 20*s*. a few months later to discharge Ingram's arrest. The references to landlords are from Chettle's *Kind Heart's Dream* published at the end of 1592 or early in 1593. They can, therefore, hardly have been intended to apply to Henslowe, for the first trace of an acquaintance between the two is in 1598, while at the date of publication Henslowe held, so far as we know, nothing but the insignificant tenements adjoining the Rose, which can hardly have sufficed to render him notorious as a slum landlord. The passages from Chettle's tract, however, give a graphic account of the Bankside tenements and as such are well worth quoting. 'As well in this as in other things there is great abuse; for in euery house where the venerian virgins are resident, hospitalitie is quite exiled; such fines, such taxes, such tribute, such customs, as (poore soules) after seuen yeares seruice in that vnhallowed order, they are faine to leaue their sutes for offerings to the old Lenos that are shrine-keepers, and themselves (when they begin to break) are faine to seeke harbour in an hospitall; which chaunceth not (as sometime is thought) to one amongst twentie, but hardly one amongst a hundred haue better ending. And therefore seeing they liue so hardly, its pitie players should hinder their takings a peny . . . Some landlords, hauing turnd an old brue-house, bake-house, or dye-house, into an alley of tenements, will either themselues, or some at their appointment, keepe tipling in the fore-house (as they call it) and their poore tenantes must bee inioinde to fetch bread, drinke, wood, cole, and such other necessaries, in no other place; and there, till the weekes ende, they may haue any thing of trust, prouided they lay to pawne their holiday apparell. Nay, my land-lady will not onely doe them that good turne, but, if they want money, she will on Munday lend them, likewise vppon a pawne, eleuen pence, and in meere pittie aske at the weekes end not a penny more than twelue pence. . . . Neyther will they doe this good to their tenantes alone, but they will deale with their husbandes; that for a little roome with a smokie chimney, (or perchaunce none, because smoake is noysome) they shall pay at the least but fortie shillings yeerly. . . . Now, for all this kindnesse, the land-lord scarce asketh of the tenant thankes (though hee deserue it well) for (as I saide) his wife is all the dealer; so plaies the parson (the person, I should say, I would bee loath to be mistaken) that I tolde yee before builded the almes-house. The care of rentes is committed to his wife; he is no man of this world, but as one metamorphizd from a saint to a deuill.' Chettle's indictment was followed more or less closely in the anonymous *Maroccus Extaticus, or Bankes' Bay Horse in a Trance* in 1595 (*Kind Heart's Dream*, ed. E. F. Rimbault, Percy Soc., 1841, pp. 36, 42, 43, 80).

Acquisition of property on the Bankside.

It is unfortunate that, especially for the earlier portion of Henslowe's career, the deeds very largely fail us. The only instrument of the sixteenth century directly connecting Henslowe with property in London is the assignment to him, dated 28 Apr. 1586, of a lease from Richard Alforde to Richard Bolton of a shop, &c., in Blackfriars, and this was only as security for a debt, and is not heard of again (Mun. 91). Here, however, the Diary comes in, and enables us, by the aid of scattered notes and memoranda, to piece together something of the early history of Henslowe's dealings as landlord. On 24 Aug. 1595 he acquired the James' Head for the sum of £30 (**3**^{v} 14), while an undated entry concerning repairs at the Fool's Head probably belongs to 1593 (**1**^{v} 8).

The James' and Fool's Head

The two buildings were presumably contiguous, for, in a subsequent lease, they are said to be 'that Messuage or Tenem^{t} then commonlie called or knowne by the name or signe of the James otherwise called the ffooles head sometymes being two Messuages or Tenem^{ts}.' They were in the parish of St. Saviour, and were leased to Henslowe, 1 Dec. 1612, by Leonard Bilson, holding under the See of Winchester, for 20 years at a rent of £4. This lease is not extant but is mentioned in the unexecuted assignment by Agnes Henslowe in 1616 (Mun. 53). There must of course have been an earlier lease, or, probably, leases. The holding evidently passed to Alleyn, for we find acquittances to him from Bilson for 20*s.* for one quarter's rent, dated 3 July 1625 to 3 Apr. 1626 (MS. V. 40). There was also another lease from Bilson to Henslowe of the same date of a messuage and wharf in the same parish for the same term of years, at a rent of £5, which is mentioned in the same assignment, but of which nothing further is known.

Again on 28 Nov. 1595 Henslowe paid one John Maulthouse £6 in part on a bargain between them concerning the Bear Garden (**38** 1). On 19 Dec. a further sum of £2 in part was paid on a bargain for the tenements on the Bankside, and on 21 Jan. and 2 Feb. following further sums, still in part, of £20 and £4, presumably on the same account (**22** 1, 12, 20). An undated note of sundry legal expenses amounting to £4. 12. 11 is headed 'M^{r} malthowse Recknynge' and bears the sum of a total expenditure of £131. 6. 11, which probably represents the whole amount laid out by Henslowe for the purchase of some property (**19** 1). Whether the entries concerning the Bear Garden (**38**) and the Bankside tenements (**22**) refer to the same transactions it is impossible to say—two fines are entered as drawing—but they most likely all relate to tenements and not to the bearhouse proper. The property can hardly be any other than that entered under the head of 'm^{r} malthowes Rentę' in 1602/3 (**178** 21). One tenement, fetching a rent of £10 a year, was inhabited, or at least rented, by Alleyn himself, the other three were insignificant. Henslowe was still drawing rents from the property in 1606 and 1609 (MS. XVIII. 6). Now there is only one mention of Maulthouse in the deeds

The Barge, &c.

at Dulwich, and that is as owner of a messuage called the Barge, the Bell, and the Cock. This property, which was a well-known brothel on the Bankside, was later in the possession of Alleyn, who by his will secured upon it and the Unicorn Inn the settlement of £1500 due to his wife Constance. It is just possible, then, that this may have been the estate for which Henslowe bargained with Maulthouse in 1595.[1] Among the documents at Dulwich is an assignment by John Whit to John Malthowes of a lease of a messuage called 'The barg, the bell and the cocke,' dated 5 Feb. 1589 (MS. IV. 21). I suspect that it is really an assignment of a moiety of the lease, for Malthouse was already joint lessee. This appears from an assignment, dated 1 Aug., 24 Eliz. [1582], by Johan widow of William Payne, to John White and John Maulthows, of a lease granted to the said William Payne by Steaven [Gardiner] bishop of Winchester, 6 Mar., 31 Henry VIII [1540], which is preserved among Collier's papers.[2] That a portion at any rate of this property was in Henslowe's hands,

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[1] 'A "Bell",' writes Rendle (*Inns*, p. 333), 'is one of the Stew houses referred to by Stow, and in 1626 is mentioned in Alleyn's will, he leaving a considerable sum secured on four houses here at hand, the Unicorn, Bell, Barge, and Cock, all which had been Philip Henslowe's, and were now his. The surroundings of the four were "the King's highway next the Thames, N.; the Rose tenement, by site of playhouse, E.; a tenement of Lady Stratford's and Maid Lane, S." The population of the neighbourhood was, it seems, a very mixed one.' That the houses in question had belonged to Henslowe, is, I suppose, a conjecture on Rendle's part, for nothing is said to that effect in Alleyn's will (Young, i. p. 93; *Alleyn Papers*, p. xxii). The Unicorn moreover was certainly distinct from the rest and was not situated within the above-mentioned limits, which are moreover incorrectly given (see next note). Whether the Bell, Barge, and Cock were three houses or one is a little doubtful, but the latter seems the more likely (Young, i. p. 369). Of course it cannot actually be proved whether the house remained a brothel when in the possession of Henslowe and Alleyn, but there is no evidence to make one suppose the contrary. I should state here that Rendle's interesting account of the stews (*Bankside*, pp. vii, &c.) contains certain errors. If there was a brothel called the Cardinal's Hat it is clear that there must have been an ordinary of the name also. Not only does Alleyn dine there, meeting the vestrymen of St. Saviour's (MS. IX; Young, ii. pp. 59, 60), but we find Daborne sending Henslowe a receipt 'by the waterman at the cardinalls hatt' (MS. I. 83), whereas the stew-holders were neither allowed to keep boats nor retail victuals. Again the play of *Holland's Leaguer* was printed in 1632, not 1633, and Rendle is, of course, quite wrong in supposing Shakerly Marmyon to be a *nom de plume*. He has obviously confused Marmyon's play with the tract by N. Goodman bearing the same title, a careless mistake in which he is followed by Ordish and Mantzius.

[2] B. M., MS. Egerton 2623, fol. 13. The document is of sufficient interest for the earlier portion to be here given in full, since it describes explicitly the character and position of the property leased by the bishop. It runs:

'To all Christeyan People to whome this pñte writinge shall Come Johan Payne of ffremaulte in the pishe of Kingescleare in the County of Southt wyddow Late the wyeff of william Payne Late of Southwark in the County of Surrey yeoman diseased and Administratrixe of all and Singular the goodes cattellꝭ and chattellꝭ credited Rightꝭ and dutyes which Late were the said william payneꝭ at the tyme of his decease sendeth greetinge in ou^{r} Lord god everlastinge Wheras the Late Reuerent ffather in god Lord Steauen bishopp of winchester by his Jndenture of Lease beringe date the Sixt day of march in the xxxith yeare of the Raigne of ou^{r} Late Souerraigne Lord of most seems to be proved by an acquittance to him, dated 23 Oct. 1601, from John Middleton, on behalf of Thomas [Bilson], Bishop of Winchester, for 9*s.* 7*d.*, for a year's rent of tenements 'one the bancksyde, late one William Paynes' (MS. IV. 39). After Alleyn's death the lease was sold by his executors, together with that of the Unicorn Inn, his other property not being sufficient to meet the legacies bequeathed in his will (Young, i. p. 281). There is also a lease extant from Edward Jarvys to Johan Gravesende, of part of a messuage 'sometyme called the Barge,' in the parish of St. Saviour, dated 8 Apr. 1582 (Mun. 85). It is difficult to connect it with the above, but, on the other hand, there is no obvious reason otherwise why it should appear among Alleyn's papers.

The Unicorn Inn.

In connection with the Barge, Bell, and Cock, we must consider the house called the Unicorn, mentioned above. Rendle, noticing its mention in Alleyn's will, remarks (*Inns*, p. 342) that the 'Unicorn Inn, in Addison's lease, belonged to Henslowe.' This may have been so, though it is not certain. We find a lease from Robert Lyvesey and Gerrard Gore, with consent of Isabell, wife of Thomas Keyes, to Edward Addyson and Joane his wife, of a tenement, seven cottages and a wharf, &c., adjoining the Bear Garden and Unicorn's Alley, for 21¼ years at a rent of £9. 10, dated 20 Aug. 1596 (Mun. 112). That this lease included the Unicorn Inn is clear from another deed, namely the letters patent of James I, dated 25 June 1618, appointing arbiters to determine the boundaries of the Unicorn and other messuages, late in the tenure of John Allen and others, and now in dispute between the Attorney-General on the one part and William Henslowe and Jacob Meade on the other, the same having been leased by Queen Elizabeth, 11 Oct. 1595, to Robert Livesey and Gerard Gore at a rent of £37. 14. 10 (Mun. 174). The John Allen may have been Edward Alleyn's brother the innholder (d. 1596) or else the son of the same (d. 1614?). It should be noticed that neither William Henslowe nor Jacob Meade was a beneficiary under Philip Henslowe's will. Yet it is clear that the rent of £9. 10, entered against Edward Adyson in Henslowe's list of 1602/3 (**178** 17), must be for the property detailed in the lease of 1596. Of Lyvesey and Gore we hear nothing further and may conclude that the rent under the lease was really payable

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ffamus memory kinge Henry the Eight did graunt demise and to ffarme let vnto the said william Payne and his assignes certaine Capitall meases and Tenementℓ Called the barge the bell and the Cocke wth Thappurtenances set Lyinge and being vppon the banke Called Stewes nowe in the ꝑishe of S^{t} maryes and late in the ꝑishe of S^{t} margarete in Southwarke afforsaid buttinge and lynge againste the Kyngℓ highe way next the water of Thamis on the north sid and against a Tenement Called the Rose on the east Sid and against a Tenement somtimes the Lady Stratfordes on the weste sid and against a Land called maiden lane on the south sid. . . .' Maulthouse is, like Johan Payne, described as of Freemantle (miswritten 'ffremaulte' above) in co. Hants, and it may be remarked that Hugh Wrene, who received the £20 from Henslowe on Maulthouse' behalf, 21 Jan. 1596 (**22** 14), was also of Kingsclere, the parish in which Freemantle was situated.

Mrs. Keyes' tenements.

to Mrs. Keyes. Of her we find frequent mention. The earliest document containing Henslowe's name is a letter of 21 Feb. 1576/7 from Alexander White begging him to assist Isabel Keys, who was about to be arrested at the suit of Francis Chambres (MS. III. 1). White or Whyt was evidently a friend of the Keyes, for Thomas wrote to him from Lincoln's Inn, dating his letter 7 Apr., but without the year, complaining that he is compelled to sell the parsonages of Hesell and Hacthorne, and that his wife will not grant him a life-interest in her tenements in Westminster and on the Bankside (MS. III. 2). Again, on 26 Sept. 1603 Mercury Patten, Blue Mantle pursuivant, wrote to Henslowe, referring to his decision the matters in dispute between himself and Mrs. Keyes (MS. III. 13). Henslowe and Mrs. Keyes were then well acquainted. By 8 July 1597 he had bought of her a lease held from the Queen under the great seal, for he enters a memorandum of non-payment of rent under that date (**72**^{v} 16). This was evidently the lease granted by Elizabeth, 11 Oct. 1595, as above, or rather a lease of a portion of the property, for Henslowe enters £27. 13. 4 only as the rent 'pd vnto the Quene' (**178**^{v} 3). The remainder may possibly have been sublet to Whitt (Alexander White?) and Hugson, who paid to the Queen a quarterly rent of 41*s.* 8*d.*, for which Mrs. Keyes was responsible (**42**^{v} 16). Her tenements in Westminster she retained in 1599 and Henslowe collected her rents for her (**43** 13). How long she did so is uncertain. At an unspecified date Henslowe lent her 6*s.* 8*d.* 'to macke vp the Rent for the college Rentę at westmestters' (**43** 23). This lease must have come into his hands, perhaps on her death, for on 14 May 1605 he made assignment to Thomas Newman and Katherine his wife, daughter of Isabel Keyes, of a lease, dated 20 June 1601, from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, of a mansion-house, three messuages, &c., in Longditch Street, Westminster (Mun. 134). In April preceding a deed of sale had been drawn up whereby Thomas Keyes and Thomas Newman and Katherine his wife, made over to Henslowe their estate in messuages, lands, &c., on the Bankside, bought by Henslowe from Thomas Challoner, but this was never executed, presumably owing to the death of Thomas Keyes (Mun. 132). He died shortly after this, and his wife, though she survived him, was also dead before 13 May. On that day Henslowe covenanted to deliver to Thomas and Katherine Newman the money, goods, chattels, &c., belonging to the late Isabel Keyes, mother of the said Katherine (Mun. 133). It should be added that some of the leases of Corpus Christi property in Longditch, Westminster, had passed from 'one Mr. Keyes' to Thomas Chaloner before 2 Jan. 1598/9, since by a deed already mentioned (p. 14) the latter gave Henslowe power to collect his rents. One would therefore naturally suppose that the rents mentioned in the Diary (**43**, cf. **42**^{v}) were those collected for Chaloner, did not the form of the entries distinctly imply that the property was still in Mrs. Keyes' hands after 22 Apr. 1599.

There is a curious entry in the Diary to the effect that 'm^{r} gelbarte Rocket the 16 of June 1596 afermed me to be his ealdeste sone & ayer & gave me that howsse w^{ch} the widow dwelles in w^{ch} was m^{r} wistowes' (**18^{v}** 18). Rocket was one of the watermen who signed the petition of 1592 (MS. I. 17), and we find a lease from Robert Lyvesey and Gerrard Gore to Gilbert Rockett, on the surrender of a former lease to Elizabeth Wystoe, widow, now his wife, of a messuage, &c., in St. Saviour's, for 20¼ years, at a rent of 43*s.* 4*d.*, dated 20 Aug. the same year (Mun. 114). We duly find Mrs. Rockette paying Henslowe this rent in 1602/3 (**178** 14).

James Russell's rents.

So much for the properties which Henslowe acquired, or may have acquired, before the close of the sixteenth century. After 1602 he considerably extended his holdings. By an assignment dated 5 Mar. 1602/3 he acquired, for the sum of £210, a lease belonging to James Russell (Mun. 129). Russell was a waterman who had signed the petition to Lord Howard in 1592 (MS. I. 17), and on 3 Aug. 1593 he obtained a lease from Richard Woar of a messuage, &c., in the parish of St. Saviour, for 34 years at a rent of £14 (Mun. 101). In this he is described as a shipwright. This lease was mortgaged on 18 Sept. 1602 to Cuthbert Hackett for £100 (Mun. 128), and is that assigned to Henslowe the following year. It was held under the See of Winchester and is mentioned along with others in the unexecuted assignment of Henslowe's leases by his widow in 1616 (Mun. 53). On 2 Jan. 1594/5 Russell sub-leased a tenement in the messuage inhabited by himself to John Smythe, waterman, at a rent of 40*s.* (Mun. 105), and on 20 June 1601, two cottages and land on the Bankside to Robert Mount, basket-maker, at 50*s.* (Mun. 123). We duly find John Smythe and Robarte Mownte entered for £2 and £2. 10, respectively, in the list of Henslowe's tenants under Russell's lease (**177^{v}** 13, 7). Mownte also had a garden for which he paid 24*s.* a year, while James Russell's own house and yards fetched a rent of £20 (**177^{v}** 19, 18). The whole property brought Henslowe in over £50, the rent being £14, so that his £210 were fairly well spent.

Other holdings.

We have already found mention of Edward Adyson, another waterman, in connection with Henslowe's property on the Bankside. A further lease to him, of a tenement in the same district at a rent of 40*s.*, was granted by Henslowe, 30 Nov. 1603 (Mun. 130). It will be remembered that in Adyson's other lease was included a wharf. Whether he continued to rent this is not certain, but if he did there must have been two in Henslowe's property on the Bankside, for we find the Lord Treasurer Dorset writing to Sir Thomas Lake, under date 13 July 1605, to obtain the King's signature to a warrant for payment to Philip Henslowe of £20 a year, with arrears from the previous May, as rent for a dock and yard provided for the King's barges (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*). Meanwhile in 2 James I, 1604–5, Henslowe confirmed to Mr. Dardes a lease granted in 39 Elizabeth, 1596–7, by Mrs. Renowells, widow (**178^{v}** 17, cf. **177** 5). This widow apparently occupied part of the house herself, for on 22 Nov. 1603 Henslowe makes a memorandum of re-entry for non-payment of rent by her (**179** 1), and her name appears in his list of tenants, apparently under Mrs. Keyes' lease, struck out and replaced by that of Goodman Pegette (**178** 9).

Deeds relating to Dulwich.

On 16 July 1606 Hugh Browker, prothonotary of the Common Pleas, and Peter Turner, M.D., had assigned to Henslowe a life interest in a messuage and land in Dulwich sold to them by Emm, widow of Humphrey Emerson, with covenant by Thomas Emerson for the payment to Henslowe of the rent due on a lease of the same premises to Henry Roper (Mun. 486). This is the first record of an interest by Henslowe in property at Dulwich. Alleyn had acquired estates there in 1605 (Mun. 456). On 24 Jan. 1606/7 assignment was made to Henslowe by George Adams of Luton and Anne his wife, widow and executrix of Edmond Reynoldes, for £29, of two leases of property at Dulwich (Mun. 504). One of these was a lease from Thomas Calton, clothworker, to Thomas Treene, ale-brewer, of a messuage, land, &c., for 17 years at a rent of £8. 5, dated 20 May 1599 (Mun. 420), the other from George and Anne Addams to John Berrye of a messuage, lands, &c., for 12 years at a rent of £14, dated 26 Oct. 1604 (Mun. 451). Another lease from Calton to Henslowe, dated 21 Dec. 1609, is of 12 acres of land, called Addington's meadows, in Dulwich, for 150 years, at a peppercorn rent, voidable by the payment of £60 within three years (Mun. 533), but this, together with a statute-staple bond from the same in £120 (Mun. 534), was only held by Henslowe in trust for Alleyn (Mun. 536). Alleyn also held another lease from Carlton of a field called Carter's Hall, dated 18 Oct. 1611 (Mun. 543, cf. Mun. 539), which he assigned to Henslowe, 20 Nov. following, with proviso for voiding on payment of 5*s.* (Mun. 547). As early as 1 Oct. 1605, Sir Robert Lee had assigned to Henslowe, in trust for Alleyn, a statute-staple bond from Sir Francis Calton, in £1000, for performance of covenants in a mortgage, dated 17 Dec 1602, of Dulwich Court, Hall Place, &c., in Dulwich, since sold to Alleyn (Mun. 457). These were of course merely legal transactions, and have no real bearing on the question of Henslowe's property. It may also be mentioned in this connection that, according to a note in Alleyn's memorandum-book (MS. VIII), he bought, on 1 June 1614, for £16, part of a property in Dulwich 'called the Blew House,' and took it in the names of Philip Henslowe and others, who were apparently to act as trustees (*Alleyn Papers*, p. xix).

Further holdings on the Bankside.

Returning to the Bankside we find a lease, dated 19 Aug. 1606, from Philip Henslowe to John Darbey, glover, of a messuage and yard in the tenure of Christopher Lylle and John Haynes, for 21 years at a rent of £3 and 'one very good new paire of kiddes lether gloves sufficiently wrought fitt for the hande of the saide Phillipp, worth in value twoe shillinges' (Mun. 146). John Haynes had been one of Henslowe's tenants under Russell's lease

(177^{v} 8), but whether this messuage formed part of that property does not appear. The following year, 8 Dec., Henslowe's partner in the Bear Garden, Jacob Meade, here called Maiden, assigned to him on mortgage a lease from Katherine Smith of two messuages, a wharf, &c., in the parish of St. Olave (MS. IV. 65). On 28 June 1608 Thomas Garland granted to Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn jointly, for 14¼ years, for £7. 10 in hand and a rent of £6, 3½ acres of pasture called 'Long Slippe' in the parish of Lambeth, which he held on lease from Mathye Bradburye (Mun. 31). The deed was endorsed by Allyen 'beargarden,' but the connection with that property is not apparent. On 25 Oct. following, Henslowe leased a tenement of 'twoe lowe romes . . . in a place called Moulstrand,' in the parish of St. Saviour, with a piece of land 'under the parlor windowe' of William Warner, waterman, to John Serieant, waterman, for 20 years at a rent of 40*s*. (Mun. 149).

and elsewhere.

On 4 May 1610 Alleyn assigned to Henslowe the leases of six messuages on the Fortune estate (Mun. 37), but there was a proviso for voiding the assignment by the payment of 5*s*., and I expect this was done after Alleyn obtained the freehold on 30 May following (Mun. 38). Henslowe was already partner with Alleyn in the Fortune house and grounds by a lease of a moiety in the same, dated 4 Apr. 1601, which is not preserved but appears in Agnes Henslowe's unexecuted assignment of 1616 (Mun. 53), while even earlier than this Henslowe had apparently shared the expense of erecting the playhouse (Mun. 22; cf. however, MS. VIII. fol. 6^{v}).

Lastly we find Henslowe, 28 Apr. 1612, concluding a sale, as one of the six governors of the Free Grammar School of the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark, to John Bingham, George Payne, John Treherne, sen., Randall Carter, and Richard Yearwood, the other five governors, and their successors, for £120, of a messuage, &c., in the tenure of Joan White, widow, and Michael Spencer, oar-maker, on the Bankside, near the Thames, in the parish of St. Saviour, bounded on the west by Robinhood, late Bullheade, Alley, and on the east by another alley and a tenement, the inheritance of Sir Allen Pearcye (Mun. 164).

The Boar's Head,

There remain two important properties for which the title-deeds fail us. One of these is the Boar's Head. This was on the Bankside and must not be confused with the Boar's Head tavern in Eastcheap. It seems at one time to have belonged to Edward Alleyn, for a lease of it from Julyan Cropwell to John Alen is crossed off in his list of evidences (MS. VIII. fol. 43; *Alleyn Papers*, p. xvii), and on the back of a general release to him from Margarett, widow of John Allen, dated 2 July, 1596, is a special release of 40*s*. 'vppon a lease graunted frome Julian Crapwell, widdowe, mother of Margaret Allen' (Mun. 111). Again a bond for John Johnson to Henslowe, for the payment of 30*s*. dated 9 Apr. 1612, is endorsed 'Bores heade' (MS. V. 4), and we learn from a bill of complaint in Chancery of 18 May 1625 that the messuages, &c., called the 'Boares head,' on the Bankside in Southwark, had been bequeathed by Henslowe to his widow for life with remainder to his niece Anne Persons (Mun. 182). Henslowe evidently became possessed of the property at the end of 1604, for we find the earliest list of his tenants there headed 'The Bores Heade tenantꝭ as foloweth be genynge at crystmase laste 1604' (**177**^{v} 20), and the same year is given as the date of the list in the rent-book (MS. XVIII. 6). The other property was the Pike Garden. This, as we learn from the note of evidences drawn up, 7 May 1616, in connection with the suit about Henslowe's will, was bought by him of Henry and Sara Throgmorton and Elizabeth Gibbons, heirs of John Gibbons, on 1 June 1609 (MS. V. 24). A bill in Chancery, of c. 1612, for settling the disputes between Abraham Wall, fishmonger, and Edward Romney, scrivener, concerning the 'Pike garden . . . neare the bancke side in Southwarke,' states that the property had been successively held, under a grand lease for 50 years from John Gibons, 1584–5, by John Browne of Layston Abbey, Suffolk, Armiger Browne, Arderne Milwarde, Abraham Wall, Edward Romney, and Abraham Wall again, and that it had been in the interval purchased by 'one Phillip Henselow' (MS. V. 11). The document is imperfect, and on the back is a rough draft of another bill by the same Abraham Wall, respecting a foreclosure on his mortgage to William Jobson of a tenement in the parish of St. Saviour, now the property of Philip Henslowe. There is also extant a bond, dated 17 Feb. 1612, from Wall to Henslowe, in £100, to observe an award respecting the title to lands, tenements, goods, &c., 'at the vpper pyke garden on the banke syde in Sowthwarke' (MS. V. 3). It may be supposed that the property in dispute was the same as 'the Queenes Pike Garden,' conveyed by Henry Polsted to the crown in 1552 and reserved from a lease by Queen Elizabeth of 11 Oct. 1595 (Mun. 174). It is not mentioned in the Diary; but in the rent-book appears the note 'm^{r} Throgmourton sowld me his landꝭ called the pickegarden the first of June in the seventh year of his ma^{ties} Rayne,' and again 'the Tenantes of m^{r} Throgmortons Begininge mighell day in the yeare 1609' (MS. XVIII. 6).

and the Pike Garden.

This concludes all the property which can be traced in the deeds now preserved at Dulwich. A few holdings mentioned in the Diary and rent-book cannot be specifically traced and may be mentioned here. I should say that, in the former, I regard the first list of tenants (**178** 4–20) as those holding tenements under the crown lease bought by Henslowe of Mrs. Keyes. After the second name is interlined 'm^{rs} Keayes his leace' and among other names occurs that of Edward Adyson who was certainly in that position. These correspond, of course, to 'The Kinges Rentes bowght of m^{rs} keayes 1604' of the rent-book, the date there given being that of the list not of the purchase. Further on in the Diary we find two names headed 'windovers Rense' (**178** 39) and a note of a yearly rent due to him amounting to £3. 12. 4

Miscellaneous notes of property.

(**178**^{v} 7). This was, no doubt, the same property for one quarter's rent for which, amounting to 14*s.* 2*d.*, Henslowe received an acquittance from Ra. Carter on behalf of Harry Wendover on 31 Oct. 1597 (**38**^{v} 1). Again one name appears under the heading 'm^{r} owers Rence' (**178** 42), and there is a note of rent of £14 (**178**^{v} 4). Since in this case Henslowe paid a rent of £14 and only received one of £6, he probably occupied part of the house or ground himself, but whether as dwelling house or not there is nothing to show. In the rent-book again we find the heading 'The Tenantꝭ of m^{r} mvnseys Rentꝭ as ffoloweth 1609,' which refers, of course, to 'the land bought of James Munsey,' 22 Jan. 1606/7, mentioned in the note of evidences of 7 May 1616 (MS. V. 24); and also 'The tennantes of John mowntes Landes as foloweth 1606,' concerning which nothing further is known. There were also a few miscellaneous tenements not included in any of the larger holdings and entered as 'Severalle Tenementꝭ on the banck side' in 1609 and 1611. It should also be remembered that many of the documents preserved at Dulwich of which the bearing is not apparent may be connected with property owned by Henslowe of which the full title-deeds are no longer extant.

Finally it may be mentioned that Henslowe seems at one time to have contemplated buying a property in Gloucestershire, for we find in the Diary a note of 'The pticular of all that her ins fferme [*i.e.* Herin's Farm] hampenet nere northeletche in y^{e} Countey of Gloscester. . .An Estate to be had in y^{e} same for /iij/ lyves in psent, and in Reuercion for /xxxxj/ yeares after y^{e} iij liues The price is vj hundered poundes. . .The rent to y^{e} Qūe xxxix^{s} vj^{d}' (**111**^{v}). The entry is undated but is in the hand of William Paschall who appears repeatedly in the Diary and other documents during the years 1598 to 1600.

Henslowe's commercial speculations.

We must now turn our attention to Henslowe's commercial undertakings and miscellaneous transactions. The earliest financial speculation in which we find him involved is the purchase for the sum of £70 of 60 dozen goat-skins, jointly with one Richard Nicolson, a Southwark leather-dresser, the covenant between them relative to the disposal of the same being dated 14 June 1584 (Mun. 86). Henslowe, it must be remembered, was himself a dyer by profession, at least nominally, and he seems to have associated naturally with those engaged in the allied trades. Thus we find both him and Alleyn later on engaged in a starch-making venture. A memorandum is preserved in the Diary of an agreement between them on the one part and John Ockley or Ockey, lorimer, and Nicholas Dame, starch-maker on the other, whereby the former undertake to provide rent free a house for starch making and ground whereon to keep hogs,[1] and the latter all needful

Starch making.

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[1] Whether or why hogs were required for the manufacture of starch I cannot say, but they infested the Bankside in great numbers, whereby we learn the sewers were much annoyed (Rendle, *Southwark*, p. 3).

appliances for the manufacture, the proceeds to be divided between the parties in the proportion of three to one (**204**). This memorandum is not dated, but an acknowledgement, dated 4 Feb. 1601 (i.e. 1601/2?) and witnessed by Dame, of a debt from Ockey to Henslowe and Alleyn, of £5, to be paid 'at the saylle of ther starce,' proves the agreement to have been already in existence at that date (**112** 3). How long the venture was continued we have no means of knowing, but it is possible that it went on down to 1613 (see below, p. 41).

Pawn-broking.

Another line which Henslowe's commercial activity took was that of pawnbroking. The records of his transactions, extending from 16 Jan. 1593 to 12 April 1596, have been dealt with already (p. xx), and little remains to be added in this place. There are at least two overlapping series of accounts, and Henslowe does not appear to have carried on the business in person, but usually enters the items as if they were loans to his agent, Francis Henslowe or another, on the security of goods deposited by third parties. The exact method of the business is not very well seen from the accounts. The sum advanced is mentioned but not at first the interest to be charged. The law was not very clear on the subject, and it is possible that the full sum entered was not in reality advanced, though in this case we should expect the date of repayment to be mentioned. The act of 1571 had, however, restored that of 1545, superseded in 1552, and had the practical effect of legalizing moderate usury. So there may have been a fixed rate of use understood. This is rendered the more probable by certain incidental notes. Thus against the entry of an advance of £1 on a satin doublet, 10 Mar. 1593, is a record of interest paid up to 16 Dec. following, and again opposite an entry of 5 Jan. 1593/4 the note 'vse to paye.' Most of the pawns appear to have been redeemed, for it is only occasionally that we come across such remarks as 'not feched' or 'thes ar her stylle.' From 16 Sept. 1594 the entries became more explicit on the matter of interest, the sum payable monthly being frequently given in the margin thus 'at 14^{d} a moneth' '9^{d} moneth' 'at 8^{d}' and so forth. The amount varies, but 8*d.* a month seems to be the lowest ever charged, even when the advance is no more than 2*s.* 6*d.*; it rises with sums over £1. This would give a rate of about 3⅓% a month or 40% a year—a rate certainly higher than could have been justified under the act, which seems to have contemplated 10% as a reasonable limit.

Connected no doubt with the pawn business are various sales of apparel and ornaments to actors, to be paid for on the instalment system. These will be considered later on, since there is reason to believe that out of them grew some of the most important developments of Henslowe's theatrical finance; they need not detain us here. Again, though there is no evidence that Henslowe continued his business as pawnbroker after the spring of 1596, he still occasionally bought garments on his own account which he probably resold to the company. Thus on

28 Nov. 1598 he bought a doublet and a pair of hose of cloth of gold laid thick with black silk lace of Charles Rosse, servant of William Pullferde, a tailor of Paul's Churchyard, for the sum of 58*s.* (**131**), while on the same day he sold to the Admiral's men a short velvet cloak wrought with bugle, and a velvet jerkin laid with broad silver lace for £4 (**52** 20). These can hardly have been the same garments; but the entries illustrate the nature of Henslowe's dealings.

Miscellaneous transactions.

There remain a number of bonds, acquittances, acknowledgements of debts, &c., the specific occasion or circumstances of which are unknown. In so far as these are not connected with actors or playwrights they may very likely relate to commercial undertakings of some description and a chronological summary may prove useful.[1] It may also be mentioned that

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[1] 1591 (i.e. 1521/2?), 2 Mar. Acquittance from James Borne on behalf of Henry Addames for £3. 8 (**5**^{v} 1).

1592, 30 June. Acknowledgement of debt of £7. 10 from Thomas Chaloner (**19** 26; cf. p. 13).

13 July. Acknowledgement of debt of £15 from John Griggs, payable 13 Aug. (**12** 1).

1593 (i.e. 1592/3), 10 Jan. Acquittance to Thomas Newman for £2 (**2** 14).

1594, 7 Dec. Acknowledgement of debt of £206 from Arthur Langworth, payable 12 Dec. (**88** 2).

1595, 31 Aug. Acquittance from William Lyngare on behalf of himself and Richard Calverley for £3 on account of goods delivered to Richard Vycars (**98**^{v} 1).

1596, 1 Dec. Defeasance by Alexander White of a statute-staple bond from Henslowe in 100 marks, conditional upon the payment of £460 to Isabell Keyes (Mun. 115).

1599, 14 June. Acknowledgement of debt of £5 from William Paschall, one of her Majesties Gentlemen Sewers (**90** 9).

28 Sept. Acknowledgement of a debt of £10 from the same, described as of Marplesteade, Essex, payable 1 Nov. (**192** 2).

1600, 28 Mar. Acquittance from the same on behalf of the Lord Chamberlain, for £10 in part of £20 (**90**^{v} 1).

20 Sept. and 10 Oct. Acquittances from Kenricke Williams, for part payments of £10 each (**96**^{v} 16, 21). Other acquittances from the same do not mention Henslowe specifically, though the payments were evidently by him. They run from 2 Aug. to 26 Nov., the last being in full and comprise a total of £66. 10; a subsequent one on 2 July 1601 is for £7. [3. 1] (**96**^{v}, **96** 1). They are mixed up with the Company accounts but do not belong to them.

1601, 6 May. Acquittance from Robert Clyfton, on behalf of Richard Walles, for £5 in part (**100** 4).

2 July. Acquittance from Richard Wallys for £2. 18, in full (**168**^{v} 1).

1603 (i.e. 1603/4?), 10 Jan. Acknowledgement of a debt of £10 from Francis Woodward, payable 1 Feb. (**129**^{v} 1).

1604, 30 Nov. Bond from Alleyn and Henslowe to James Stevington, in £400, for the payment of £200 on 28 Feb. 1605 (Mun. 131).

1605, 23 Sept. Acknowledgement of a debt of 25*s.* from Robert Stoberte (MS. IV. 47).

1606, 27 Nov. Bond from Alleyn and Henslowe to John Berry in £400, for the payment of £200 on 31 Oct. 1607 (Mun. 498).

20 Dec. Bond from the same to John Elliotson, cooper, in £100, for the payment of £52. 10, with note of payment, 22 June 1607 (Mun. 147).

1606/7, 5 Feb. Bond from the same to Thomas Turner in £200 for the payment of £126. 13. 4

Henslowe appears as a witness to deeds connected with Alleyn dated 26 Apr. 1595, 2 July 1596, and 2 July 1601 (Mun. 106, 111, 124). Also on 5 July 1596 he was witness to the agreement between Alleyn and Arthur Langworth respecting the parsonage of Firle (**24** 15), and it was at his house that a sum of £100 was to be paid by Alleyn to Langworth on 29 Sept. following, no doubt in connection with the same property (**25** 1).

The Bear Garden.

I have reserved for separate treatment here what was, next to his theatrical undertakings, the most considerable enterprise in which Henslowe was engaged. This was the Bear Garden business in which he seems to have been throughout in partnership with Alleyn. It is not proposed here to write the history of the Paris Garden and the bear-baiting on the Bankside; it must suffice to refer to the information collected on the subject by Rendle (*Bankside*, pp. iii, &c.), and to give a sufficient outline to render Henslowe's and Alleyn's transactions intelligible. The Manor of Paris Garden, which lay immediately to the west of the Liberty of the Clink, had from early times been the assigned abode of the bears and such other beasts of sport as were kept for royal entertainment—ever since, indeed, the butchers of London had been ordered to deposit there the garbage and offal of their shambles, which had previously been allowed to litter the streets of the city. That more or less informal baitings took place in Paris Garden is *à priori* probable and confirmed by occasional allusions by writers of the time, but for regular performances before royalty the beasts were probably conveyed to some more savoury neighbourhood, and there is no evidence that there was ever a regular house for baiting within the Manor. The earliest trace of such a building which we find is in the map engraved by Agas somewhere about 1570. Here we find two amphitheatres or rings labelled respectively 'The bolle bayting' to the west and 'The Beare bayting' to the east, while the same arrangement is found in the engraving in Braun and Hohenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, published at Cologne in 1572.[1] Both these, however, were in the

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on 20 Apr. (Mun. 506). This was probably connected with the sale, 29 Dec. 1606, by Turner to Alleyn, for £226. 13. 4. of a messuage, 12 acres of land, &c., in Dulwich (Mun. 500). The two previous bonds probably relate to similar transactions, also possibly the following.

1608, 14 Dec. Two bonds from the same to John Bower, in £200, for payments of £100 on 14 June and 14 Dec. 1609 (Mun. 525–6).

1609, 10 Feb. Similar bond for the payment of £100 on 14 Dec. 1610 (Mun. 530).

26 Nov. Bond from the same to Sir Edmond Bower in £200, for the payment of £100 on 28 Apr. 1610.

1610, 28 Aug. Acknowledgement to Henslowe of a debt of 40*s*. from Magdalen, wife of Hugh Samwayes (MS. IV. 74).

1612, 17 June. Bond from John Morgan, yeoman, and Richard Luke, bowyer, in 50*s*. for the payment of 25*s*. (MS. V. 6).

[1] The Agas map shows St. Paul's without the steeple which fell in 1561, but does not mark

Liberty of the Clink, and it is evident that when in later days we find mention of the Paris Garden house, it is the Bear Garden in the Clink that is intended. The facts that Paris Garden stairs was the principal landing place for the Bankside and that the bears had from time immemorial been kept there, are sufficient to account for the use of the name. There was no public building in Paris Garden proper before the erection of the Swan playhouse there in the mid nineties. On Sunday, 13 Jan. 1583, the gallery collapsed during a performance and some five men and two women were killed. An account of this notable 'judgement' was published by a minister, John Field, who was the father of Nathan the actor. The house does not seem to have survived for long. At any rate in the next map we possess, that in Norden's *Middlesex* of 1593, the former Bear-baiting has disappeared and the name is applied to a new building apparently on the site of the old Bull-baiting. This map also shows the recently erected Rose playhouse, about half-way between the sites of the bear and bull rings but further south.

The earliest document connected with bear-baiting now at Dulwich is the exemplification, made at the request of Morgan Pope, merchant, and dated 18 Nov. 1585, of the letters patent of Elizabeth granting to Raphe Bowes the office of Master of the Royal Game of Bears, Bulls, and Mastiff Dogs, on 2 June 1573 (Mun. 7). The original of the grant is also extant, but in it Collier has substituted the name of Dorrington for that of Bowes (B. M., MS. Egerton 2623, fol. 11). Morgan Pope, at the time he had the exemplification made, was lessee of the Bear Garden and presumably held a licence under Bowes. It is an unfortunate fact that nearly all the deeds relating to the property have disappeared, so that we have largely to depend on Alleyn's notes. From an entry in his memorandum-book we gather that he bought the lease from one Burnabye in Dec. 1594 for £200, paid £250 for the patent of the Mastership, drew £60 a year from the business for sixteen years, and sold his interest to Henslowe in 1610 for £580 (MS. VIII. fol. 5^v). From the lists of evidences quoted by Collier from the same volume it appears that one Ballard granted a lease to Morgan Pope, who assigned it to Edward Bowes, that Ralph and Edward Bowes further assigned it to one Burnabie, Burnabie to Alleyn and Alleyn to Henslowe (*Alleyn Papers*, p. xvii).[1] The same list mentions Jacob Meade's lease. In 1586 Morgan Pope agreed to pay tithe to the parish of St. Saviour for the Bear Garden

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the Theatre and Curtain built in 1576, and may consequently be dated between these years. The actual impressions extant belong to the reign of James I, but do not appear to have been altered otherwise than by the insertion of his arms. The Cologne map has the Paul's steeple and is therefore presumably copied from a map before 1561 though it may have been brought up to date in other ways.

[1] Fleay has the entry: '1581. July 2.—Edward Bowes, master of her Majesty's game of Paris Garden, was paid for representations at Whitehall on Apr. 23 and May 1 last' (*Stage*, p. 29). This cannot be correct: either Edward is an error for Ralph, or the former received payment on behalf of the latter.

and for the ground adjoining the same where the dogs were kept, to the amount of 6*s.* 8*d.* a year (Rendle, *Bankside*, p. xiv).

Mastership of the Royal Game.

Henslowe and Alleyn buy the office.

No doubt the necessity of holding a licence of the Master was inconvenient, involving as it did the payment of a quarterly fee which was certainly more than nominal, and Henslowe soon began to busy himself with an endeavour to secure the reversion.[1] In 1597 we find him in communication with Dr. Julius Caesar, Master of Requests, touching 'the changynge of ower comysion' (**38** 9, 18), that is, 'the commissyon for the Beargarden' as it is elsewhere called (MS. II. 4), or licence from the Master. It is no doubt to this date that belong the draft letters patent granting the Mastership to Henslowe on the surrender of Bowes' patent (Mun. 18).[2] By June 1598, however, Caesar had done nothing and Bowes lay dying. Henslowe then discovered that the reversion had already been granted to John Dorrington, gentleman pensioner (MSS. II. 1, 2; I. 24). Nothing remained but to pay toll to the new Master for their commission. This amounted to £10 a quarter, as appears from acquittances of 1 Jan. 1601/2 and 11 Apr. 1602 (MS. II. 4; **151** 1). A letter is extant from Dorrington to Henslowe, written in May 1600, concerning a baiting ordered by the Queen, in which Jacob Meade is named as Henslowe's fellow in the business, and no mention is made of Alleyn, though he paid his share of the toll (MS. II. 3). Dorrington's grant, which was dated 7 Aug. (and his patent 11 Aug.) 1598, and provided for a fee of 10*d.* a day and 4*d.* for his deputy (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*), was confirmed after James' accession by letters patent of 14 July 1603 (Mun. 25).[3] He was knighted on 23 of the same month. He evidently died within a year, and Henslowe and Alleyn again failed to secure the reversion. The new Master was Sir William Steward, the grant to him being made on 20 July 1604 (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*). He refused either to continue their commission or to take the bears and Bear Garden off their hands on any reasonable terms (MS. II. 9), so that they were forced to buy of him the surrender of his office. For this they jointly paid the sum of £450, Steward's acquittance for the same being dated 28 Nov. 1604 (MS. II. 6). Of this it would seem that Alleyn paid £250 (MS. VIII. fol. 5^{v}). The new grant to Henslowe and Alleyn, with survivorship, was made on 14 Nov. 1604 (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*), and the patent was issued on 29 Nov. following (MS. II. 5). About 1607 the joint Masters petitioned James, calling attention to the high price they had been compelled to pay for the office, the restraints to which they were subjected during times of sickness and on Sundays, the losses they had sustained at the baiting before the King of Denmark in the summer of 1606, and the injury done to their trade by the unlicensed travelling bear-wards, on which grounds they begged for the addition of 2*s.* 8*d.* to the fee, the restoration of their ancient liberty of baiting, and authority to apprehend the said vagrants (MS. II. 9). Incidentally they mentioned that whereas formerly they could have let their office for £100 a year, none now would undertake the responsibilities of it gratis. This petition does not appear to have had any effect, for after a few years another petition was sent up, of similar tenor, but now referring to losses of bulls and bears, to the value of £200 at least, during the visit of Henri de la Tour, Duc de Bouillon, in April and May 1612 (MS. II. 20). We find, however, under date 20 Mar. 1610/1, a warrant to pay to Henslowe and Alleyn £42. 10, and 12*d.* a day in future, for keeping two white bears and a young lion (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*). Alleyn, as we have seen, sold his interest in the concern to Henslowe in 1610 for £580, though he retained, of course, his office. Henslowe continued to carry on the business together with Jacob Meade to whom the lease of the Bear Garden had apparently been assigned (cf. evidences, as above). Meade had held the office of Keeper of the Royal Game of Bears, &c., which seems to have included the duty of taking up dogs and animals for the royal service, as early as 24 Nov. 1599 (Mun. 19), and we have already seen him connected with Henslowe in the business. After Henslowe's death in 1616 Alleyn remained sole Master and he had disputes with Meade over the leases of the house and the stock of bears, &c., which were not finally settled till 22 Sept. 1619 (MS. II. 35, and MS. IX; cf. Young, ii. p. 154).

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[1] There is in the Diary a copy of a letter from Bowes, dated Greenwich, 17 Apr. 1596, praying 'ffor my quarters fee dew to be payd at o^{r} ladye daye laste paste to be delyuered vnto this bearer & this shalbe you^{r} suficyante discarge' (**72^{v}** 3). No sum is mentioned. I was apparently in error in supposing the signature, Raffe Bowes, to this entry to be autograph. It was probably written by Henslowe in imitation of his correspondent's hand.

[2] It is also just possible that we get a glimpse of these proceedings in the entries of certain payments made by Henslowe on Alleyn's behalf to discharge him of his privy seal, and to the clerk of the signet for allowing the patent, 9 June 1597 (**234** 13–17).

[3] To May or June this year belong certain negotiations with regard to baiting, including petitions to Dorrington, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Privy Council, the obtaining of a warrant and the drawing of two licences, accounts concerning which are preserved in MS. XI. fol. 30.

Scattered records.

Such, in outline, is the history of the Mastership. It may be convenient in conclusion to gather up such miscellanous information concerning the enterprise as can be gleaned from the surviving documents and entries. As to the receipts our knowledge is meagre beyond Alleyn's statement that he derived an income of £60 a year from the business between the years 1594 and 1610. The only entries in the Diary refer to the year 1608, when on the three days following Christmas the takings, or Henslowe's share in them, amounted to £4, £6, and £3. 13 respectively, while the Fortune only brought in 25*s.*, 45*s.* and 44*s.* 9*d.* (**127**, **126**^{v}). As to expenditure we have a note by Alleyn showing that from 1602 to 1605 yearly sums of £121. 11. 6, £118. 7, £153. 14, and £92. 12. 4 were spent on the house (MS. XVIII. 7). For 1606–8 no sums are entered, but opposite 1607 appears the note 'pd for y^{e} building of y^{e} Howses w^{ch} may be Counted to . . . 360^{l}.' This was doubtless for the erection of tenements on the property and probably included those mentioned in the contract with Streete dated 2 June 1606 (MS. II. 7). These were to be rebuilt at the cost of £65, and the detailed specifications given show that it is a long shallow house divided into rooms that is in question and not the Bear Garden proper, as the endorsement led Collier to suppose. The tenements evidently belonged to Alleyn, though Henslowe is mentioned as his partner in the contract, for no trace of them appears in Henslowe's rent-book. In the same way we have already seen above (p. 30) that the lease in 1608 of Long Slip in the parish of Lambeth can, in spite of its endorsement, have had nothing to do with the Bear Garden.

Bear-wards and deputies.

A number of incidental records afford a good deal of insight into the business of bear-baiting. One of the most curious is a pocket memorandum-book which once belonged to a travelling bear-ward in the employment of Henslowe and Alleyn, and contains particulars of a tour in Berks, Wilts, and Gloucester, 13 Aug. to 20 Sept. 1608 (MS. II. 10). Similar memoranda, mostly accounts for bears' meat at places in Kent, are found on the back of a warrant to one of Henslowe's and Alleyn's deputies the previous year (MS. II. 8). These deputies were sent about the country to procure mastiffs fit for bear-baiting, and also bears if any were to be found. Their proceedings appear to have been often high handed. The earliest warrant of the kind is that mentioned above, dated June 1607, which is really a draft, in Alleyn's hand, of a letter to one Christopher Goffe. Another to Thomas Radford, of whom more in a moment, is dated 11 May 1611 (Mun. 46), while yet a third is to John Morgan and Richard Tyler in conjunction with Bryan Bradley, and bears the date 18 Apr. 1612 (MS. II. 19). These last two are regular commissions duly signed and sealed.

Trouble over deputies.

The proceedings of their deputies often involved the Masters in trouble. Already on 9 Mar. 1608/9, one Henry Middleton wrote to Alleyn praying him to restore a bear taken from Henry Ashmore, 'till you be further satisfied from S^r^ Tho: Midleton, who is now in Wales,' a future Lord Mayor (MS. II. 11). From 1611 we have the deposition of the above-mentioned Bradley and Tyler respecting their ill-treatment by Dr. Steward, a magistrate, near Alton, Hants, who had accused them of bearing a forged commission (*id.* 15, 16). On 13 Apr. 1612, Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford, wrote to Alleyn, requesting him to restore a mastiff which had been taken from his servant Edward Parkines, of Woburn, by one of his officers (*id.* 17). So again at some date before 1614 one Anthony Cooke, probably Sir Anthony, of Giddy Hall, Essex, the cousin of Bacon and Cecil, wrote to the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, acknowledging his letter sent by 'one John Skales, keeper of the beere garden,' and defending himself against charges of opposing the officers of the garden, not having 'made staye of the dogges in generall taken by them elles where, but onelye of one dogge taken by them in this place of pryvyledge where noe dogge can be taken' (*id.* 31). But the most serious troubles were in connection with Thomas Radford. He duly, on 3 May 1613, obtained a warrant from three Justices of Cheshire charging all constables, &c., to assist him in his commission (*id.* 21), and on 19 May a similar warrant from three justices of Lancashire (*id.* 22), but this did not suffice to secure his person. An interesting letter written by George Brake 'to Henshlawe,' from Warrington on 19 May, describes how the genuineness of the commission had been questioned, and the officers, Radford, James Starkey, a cousin of the writer, and one John Pots, hired for the service, assaulted, and two of them seriously wounded, having apparently interfered at an unlicensed bear-baiting at Swinhead (*id.* 23). Depositions relative to the assault by John Pott of Macclesfield and others are dated 29 and 30 May (*id.* 24). At this juncture Radford and Starkye came up to London, for the former entered into a bond in £10, for the due performance of his commission, on 7 June, and the latter appended his name as witness (*id.* 25). The Masters at once took steps to avenge their representatives. In a petition to the Lord Chamberlain about this date they complain of the ill-treatment of their servants in 'the weste contry' by Sir Moryes Bartlet, J.P., and of assaults committed in Cheshire and Lancashire (*id.* 26). The Lord Chamberlain writes on 13 July to certain justices of Cheshire and Lancashire, bidding them examine and punish the perpetrators of the assault (*id.* 27). Two of the justices reply to the Lord Chamberlain that they have been hindered from acting by the fact that Mr. John Venables of 'Agdon' proposes to prosecute Henslowe's deputies at the next assizes for felony, on the ground of their having seized a dog belonging to him; this on 17 Aug. with enclosed depositions relative to the taking of the same dog, dated 16 Aug. (*id.* 28). Already on 9 Aug. one of the justices had written to inform Henslowe of the charge, and to intimate that, unless he sent down both letters and a pursuivant, his servants would be hardly used (MS. XVIII. 11), and on 17 Aug. he sends a second letter describing his failure to compromise the matter (MS. II. 29). How the dispute ended is not recorded, but on 4 Sept. Radford made a declaration freeing the town of Manchester from the exercise of the commission on the undertaking of a number of townsmen to provide and send up to the Bear Garden yearly between Midsummer and Michaelmas one mastiff dog or bitch for the purpose of baiting (*id.* 30).

Miscellaneous transactions.

There were also other transactions of different kinds in which the Masters were involved. On 19 June 1609 Thomas Bowker writes to Alleyn from Rowhampton, entreating him to send him a mastiff whelp by the bearer (MS. II. 12). Edward Barrett, apparently one of Alleyn's deputies, writes on 11 June 1610 from Evesham, describing the good fight made by a bear called Little Bess of Bromley (*id.* 13). John Ithell entreats Alleyn's favour on behalf of Sir Edward Dimoke, the king's champion, 'in letting his people trye 3 or 4 dogges at bull and beare,' 30 Oct. 1610 (*id.* 14). Meredith Morgan writes without date to Henslowe, 'or in his absence to Jacob [Meade], at the beare garden,' asking him, on the part of 'my lord,' to receive a wolf (*id.* 32); and Thomas Yonge, also without date beyond 24 Aug., to Alleyn, or 'in his absence to his father in law, at Paris garden,' promising to provide dogs and bulls from Stourminster (*id.* 33). Lastly is preserved, with the date 13 Apr. 1612, a deed of sale by Thomas Morris, gent., and William Grove, fustian dresser, to William Peadle, armourer, all of London, for £12, of 'one male lyon' (*id.* 18). This, as Warner plausibly conjectures, may have been the same beast mentioned in a licence, dated 6 Sept. 1610, by Sir George Buck, Master of the Revels, to Morris, Grove, and others, to 'shew a strange lion, brought to do strange things, as turning an ox to be roasted, &c.' (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*). It may, since the occurrence of the deed of sale among the Dulwich papers suggests that it passed into Henslowe's and Alleyn's possession, also be the same lion as that mentioned in the warrant of 20 March 1611 already quoted (p. 38), though the dates do not agree very well.

Bear-Garden and the Hope.

On 29 Aug. 1613 Henslowe and Meade as partners concluded articles with a carpenter, Gilbert Katherens, whereby the latter contracted to pull down the Bear Garden and the stables belonging, and to rebuild it on the model of the Swan playhouse and in such a manner that it could be used either as a theatre or baiting ring; the work to be executed by 30 Nov. following and to cost £360 (Mun. 49). The rebuilt house was known as the Hope, and stood exactly on the site of the old Bear Garden. Rendle, indeed, says: 'Henslowe was, also, a manufacturer of starch, a large yard in which he carried on this business was utilized in building the Hope in 1613' (*Henslowe*, p. 150). It is unfortunate that he omitted to give his authority, especially as we know so little about Henslowe's starch manufactory, but if there is any ground for the statement it is clear that the yard used for the starch must have been none other than the 'Yarde or Backsyde of the saide Bearegarden' mentioned in the contract. Katherens employed a builder to do the brick work of the new house, paying £80 therefor (Mun. 51). It was opened in 1614. Its short and inglorious career as a theatre will be discussed later on. It soon ceased to be used for anything but baiting, and perhaps fencing-matches and the like, but Alleyn continued for some time, as his Diary testifies, to make occasional visits to the house to see the baiting and to drink, when their quarrels allowed it, with his partner Jacob Meade.

CHAPTER II

HENSLOWE AND THE STAGE

§ I. THE PLAYHOUSES. a. THE ROSE.

OF the manner in which Henslowe first became associated with the stage we know nothing. Collier conjectured, indeed, that it was through his pawnbroking business that the future manager first came into contact with the players (*Annals*, iii. p. 85),[1] but I have elsewhere shown that all the extant pawn accounts are subsequent to the earliest dramatic entries (p. xxi), and it follows that while there is nothing to make Collier's suggestion impossible, no evidence can be adduced in its support.

The Clink.

Henslowe, as we have already seen (p. 2), was living as early as 1577 in the Liberty of the Bishop of Winchester, commonly known as the Clink. This was situated on the Bankside, and was in the parish of St. Saviour, though not within the Gildable Manor or 'vill' of Southwark. The latter fact is important, for the jurisdiction of the Manor, which had gradually become vested in the crown, had, by charter of 4 Edward VI (1550), been transferred to the City of London, while that of the Clink and all to the west of the same, continued in the hands of the justices of the peace for Surrey (Rendle, *Southwark*, pp. 3–9). The Liberty of the Clink took its name from the prison so called (*N.E.D.* s.v.), which served the western parts, as the Marshalsea, opposite Maypole Alley in the High Street, served the Manor or vill of Southwark (Rendle, *id.* p. 109). It is worth mentioning as a curious coincidence, and as a warning of the care required in drawing inferences from the chance occurrence of familiar names, that Edward VI's charter mentions, as tenements within the Manor, a Rose, a Swan, and a Mermaid, which must all have been distinct from the buildings we are accustomed to associate with these names (Ordish, p. 122). The Rose was, of course, a common sign, and many houses so called might be mentioned. There were, for instance, in 1745, two Rose Alleys in the Liberty of Holywell, as well as a Swan Yard and a Black Swan Alley (Ordish, map to face p. 40).[2]

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[1] This view is developed by Ordish (p. 149), who, however, has confused the pawnbroking with the forestry accounts in the Diary, and consequently misdates the former 1577–8.

[2] This is, of course, late. More to the point is the fact that in 1636 John Taylor enumerates nine Swans, ten Roses, and ten Mermaids among the London taverns; while his addenda show that even this list is not complete (*Circular Perambulation*, a reference which I owe to Mr. McKerrow).

The Little Rose Estate,

It may have been to distinguish it from the Southwark Rose that a property in the Liberty of the Bishop of Winchester, at one time in the parish of St. Margaret, and later in that of St. Saviour, was called the Little Rose. The history of this estate we have already considered (p. 3), and it will be sufficient here to indicate briefly the steps by which it came into Henslowe's hands. The earliest record concerning it is the grant on 3 Dec. 1552, of the messuage of the 'little Rose' with two gardens adjoining, from Thomasyn, widow of Ralphe Symonds, of London, fishmonger, to the parish of St. Mildred, Bread Street. This grant is recited in a lease by the parish of St. Mildred to William Gryffyn, of London, vintner, for 31 years at a rent of £7, dated 20 Nov. 1574. On 11 Dec. 1579 Griffin assigned this lease, for £105, to Robert Withens, of London, vintner, who assigned it to Philip Hinchley, of London, dyer, on 24 Mar. 1584/5. It was thus that Henslowe became lessee of the property which gave its name to, and was, no doubt, the site of, the earliest regular playhouse, known to have been built on the Bankside.

a leasehold dwelling-house and grounds.

According to Lee (*D. N. B.*), Henslowe purchased the property, which lay near the south end of the modern Southwark Bridge, and 'on which already stood a playhouse called the Little Rose'; while even Warner (p. xx) speaks of 'the erection or re-erection' of the house in 1587. No authority is quoted for these surprising and, if true, exceedingly interesting statements. Since, however, Henslowe was still paying rent to St. Mildred's in 1602 (**178**^{v} 5), and since in the assignment of 1585 the Little Rose is called a messuage, that is a dwelling house, it seems pretty clear that neither the statement that Henslowe bought the property nor the statement that the property included a playhouse can be true.[1] The original lease of 1574 expired in 1605, and two years previously we find an entry in the Diary on the question of renewal, which will be discussed later on (p. 55). Whether Henslowe retained any interest in the property is not known for certain, but Alleyn paid 1*s*. in tithe 'dwe for y^e^ rose' as late as 1622 (MS. IX; Young, ii. p. 241).

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[1] I fancy that both Lee and Warner were misled by a very disingenuous note, which forms one of the additions made to the 1879 edition of Collier's *Annals* (iii. p. 126). It runs: 'Mr. Ouvry, F.S.A., is in possession of a document which may shew that a Theatre was built as a house of entertainement some years before the Globe [? Rose] was constructed on the Bankside. It recites a lease by Stephen Gardner for 99 years, mentions the stairs [? stews] in Southwark, and a public house named the Barge, besides others with the signs of the Bell and the Cock. Maiden Lane is also spoken of where the Globe was subsequently constructed: it bears date in 1582, 24 Eliz., but does not mention Henslowe, nor the Rose Theatre by name.' Frederic Ouvry died in 1881 and Collier must have got hold of the document in question, for it is clearly the lease of the Barge, Bell, and Cock, now among his papers in the British Museum (MS. Egerton 2623, fol. 13). A manuscript note by him states that the lease proves that in 1582 the Rose was already a place of public entertainment. As a matter of fact the Barge, Bell, and Cock are described as stews, and the 'Tenement Called the Rose' is merely mentioned as forming the western boundary of the estate. See above, p. 25.

Henslowe's partnership with Cholmley.

The next document concerning the Little Rose connects it for the first time with the history of the London stage. It is a deed of partnership, dated 10 Jan. 1586/7, between Philip Hinshley, of London, dyer, and John Cholmley, of London, grocer, for 8¼ years in a parcel of ground and in a playhouse to be erected thereon at Henslowe's cost by John Grygges, carpenter; Cholmley to pay £816 in quarterly instalments of £25. 10, to have half the receipts, and to continue his occupation of a small house at the south end of the ground near Maiden Lane and Rose Alley, which, since it was used 'to keepe victualinge in,' has been thought to have been intended as a refreshment house in connection with the theatre (Mun. 16). It was provided, however, that the first quarterly payment should not be due till six months after the date of execution, from which, in connection with the term of 8¼ years, we may deduce that the playhouse was not expected to be ready for use before Lady Day. This would give 10½ weeks for the construction of the house, which, for a wooden structure of moderate size, might of itself suffice. The indenture, however, speaks of the 'playe howse now in framinge and shortly to be ereckted and sett vppe,' which suggests that work may already have been in progress. The property, it should be remembered, had been in Henslowe's hands since the spring of 1585.[1]

The partnership is in some respects curious. Henslowe was to find the capital, Cholmley to pay £102 a year and to receive half the profits. Henslowe thus secured himself receipts of £102 a year, and the arrangement was to his advantage so long as the profits were below £204, after which he received half profits *plus* £102 a year. He seems to have been anxious to insure himself up to a point, and the £816 very likely represented his outlay on the concern, he being willing to forego half the profits for the certainty of getting his capital back in the course of the next eight years. The 'pcell of grownde or garden plotte' concerned is stated to be 94 feet each way, which, as it included a 'smalle teñte or dwellinge howsse' besides the theatre, does not leave much room for the bridges, wharves and ways, which Henslowe was first to put in repair, after which their upkeep was to be shared between the partners. The Little Rose is not mentioned, and I think it is clear that the tenements bearing that name were excluded from the agreement and reappear separately under the heading of the Rose Rents in Henslowe's accounts for 1602/3 (**178** 27). The partners were to have the joint right of appointing the players who should perform at their house, were apparently both to appoint gatherers, and were both to be allowed to introduce their friends to the performances gratis.

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[1] This fact, in conjunction with the following extract from the Acts of the Privy Council, may raise a question as to whether there may not have been dramatic performances at the Little Rose even prior to the erection of the playhouse. 1587, Oct. 29: 'A letter to the Justices of Surry that whereas thinhabitaunts of Southwark had complained unto their Lordships declaring that th'order by their Lordships sett downe for the restrayning of plaies and enterludes withiñ that countie on the Saboath Daies is not observed, and especiallie within the Libertie of the Clincke and in the parish of St. Saviours in Southwarke, which disorder is to be ascribed to the negligence of some of the Justices of Peace in that countie; they are required to take such stricte order for the staying of the said disorder as is allreadie taken by the Lord Maiour within the Liberties of the Cittie, so as the same be not hereafter suffred at the times forbidden in any place of that countie. A similar letter was sent to the justices of Middlesex.

It has been questioned whether this agreement ever came into operation (e. g. Ordish, p. 153). It is certainly strange that we should find no other deed or document of any kind, not even a stray acquittance, mentioning Cholmley, and it is curious that the accounts for the spring of 1595 when the partnership would have expired are particularly regular and afford no indication of any change in the management of the Rose. On the other hand, Cholmley does not absolutely vanish into space. He must have been in Henslowe's mind when he wrote the words 'Chomley when' in the scribble at the beginning of the Diary (**1**, note). This was in 1592 at the earliest, the volume having been disused since 1581, so that it is a little improbable that Cholmley should have altogether passed out of Henslowe's life in 1587. We shall in the sequel find reason to believe that, on the whole, the balance of evidence is slightly in favour of the agreement having actually been in force.[1]

Opening of the Rose.

But leaving speculation we are bound to confess almost entire ignorance of all matters concerning the Rose theatre previous to 1592. We know nothing of the particular circumstances that led Henslowe to erect a playhouse at all, we know nothing as to the exact date at which it was first opened, we know nothing of the causes that brought Lord Strange's men to act there when we first find evidence of its occupation in the pages of Henslowe's Diary. We do know, however, that this company, more famous under its later title of the Lord Chamberlain's men, did commence at the Rose on 19 Feb. 1591/2 (**7** 1). That it was indeed at the Rose that their performances took place has been questioned and even denied (e.g. Ordish, pp. 154–5; Mantzius, pp. 58 and 185), but it is nevertheless susceptible of documentary proof. This fact has hitherto been obscured owing to an important document having been misdated by Collier (*Alleyn Memoirs*, p. 36) and Warner (p. 12), though Fleay (*Stage*, p. 86) places it correctly. This is the warrant from the Privy Council in favour of Strange's men, which, as I shall show later on (p. 52), must date from c. Aug. 1592 (MS. I. 18). The accounts of the company are unbroken from 19 Feb. 1591/2 to 22 (23) June following, and it is clear that they did not shift their quarters during that period. But the warrant begins: 'Wheareas not longe since vpon some Consideracōns we did restraine the Lorde Strange his s^{r}vaunte from playinge at the rose.' Strange's men were therefore at the Rose in June and consequently also in Feb.

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[1] There was a Devonshire family of Cholmeley, a younger branch of which was established in London, so that Henslowe may possibly have had family connections with his partner (*Visitation of Devon*, Harleian Soc., 1872, p. 57).

Henslowe's dates.

This brings us to an interesting question which has been the source of much misunderstanding on the subject, the date, namely, of certain building accounts found in the Diary. These are headed 'A note of suche carges as J haue layd owt a bowte my playe howsse in the yeare of o^{r} lord 1592' (**4** 2), while the only date mentioned in the entries is 6 Feb. (**4**^{v} 8). But before proceeding to discuss the bearing of these and other facts, it will be necessary to say a few words concerning Henslowe's dates in general. Henslowe had a curiously open mind on the vexed question as to the date at which the year began. He knew that popularly it began, as it had for ages begun, on 1 Jan.; he also knew that legal and official documents, when they did not adopt the system of regnal years, reckoned by what is sometimes known as the Marian year, beginning on the feast of the Annunciation or Lady Day. He never made up his own mind as to which convention he intended to follow, and lest he should be thought to commit himself to either, was not only in the habit of changing the date in his accounts at any time between 1 Jan. and 25 Mar., but frequently carried on the old date well into April, and sometimes even into May. Where we are dealing with consecutive accounts this is, of course, a matter of indifference, but where we have to do with isolated and scattered entries, which he seems to have made almost at random wherever the volume chanced to open, it is often troublesome. As a rule, however, though only as a rule, we may assume that when once Henslowe has changed the date in his regular accounts, he will also change it in scattered entries, and though the converse of this, namely, that while he continues to write the old date in his regular accounts he will also keep it in his isolated memoranda, is, owing to the conservative tendency of consecutive entries, less certain, it will also be found a useful rule in cases in which there is no opposing evidence (cf. Chap. V, § 11).

The building accounts of the Rose

We may now consider the specific case of the building accounts headed '1592.' The entries cover **4**, **4**^{v}, on which the date 6 Feb. occurs, and **5**, of which the lower portion is torn away, and are continued on **5**^{v} below some entries dated Mar.–Apr. '1591.' The two questions which have to be answered are whether '1591' means 1591 or 1592, and whether the entry of 6 Feb. belongs to 1592 or 1593.

Since the Marian year began on 25 Mar. a date in Apr. ought by the rules of the game to mean the same according to either reckoning, and we ought to assign the entries of 2 Mar.–13 Apr. to the year 1591. We have just seen, however, that this by no means follows when Henslowe is the scribe. On the present occasion we find him continuing to write '1591' in his regular accounts down to 5 May, though even he appears to have been somewhat disturbed at the result, for he afterwards so far yielded to convention as to alter the figures to '1592' from 29 Apr. onwards. Since we have no entries which can certainly be assigned to the spring of 1591 we do not know when Henslowe adopted that date, but it is clear that there is nothing in his other accounts to forbid our assigning the entries of Mar.–Apr. '1591' to the year 1592. But there is very good reason why we should assign them to that year, for the beginning of the building accounts headed '1592' cannot be earlier than 1 Jan. 1592, and there are no other accounts earlier than 19 Feb. that year. Thus if we assigned the Mar.–Apr. entries to 1591 we should have to suppose that Henslowe, after taking up the old volume and making these few memoranda, laid it aside again for eight or nine months before making the next entry early in 1592. As this is highly improbable, we may with some confidence assume the date 1592, and we shall see in a moment that there are further arguments which make this assumption almost certain.

Let us now consider the other problem: whether the entry of 6 Feb. belongs to 1592 or 1593. As already said Henslowe did not adopt the date 1592 in his regular accounts till the end of Apr., and consequently, if the 6 Feb. entry belongs to that year we should certainly expect to find '1591' at the head of the accounts. I have, however, pointed out that this argument has not very much weight against opposing evidence, and in the present case there are strong reasons for supposing that the accounts do not belong to 1592–3. For one thing Henslowe adopted the date 1593 as early as 8 Jan., so that we should have to suppose that the earliest entries were before that date. But in 1593 acting continued till 1 Feb., and it is hardly possible to suppose that large structural repairs can have been taken in hand while acting was still in progress, more especially as there are forty-seven entries before that dated 6 Feb. which would probably represent some weeks' work. The matter is practically clinched by another consideration. At the end of the entries of Mar.–Apr. '1591' there is a marginal addition, £103. 2. 3 (**5**^{v} 16). Now the total of the sums entered from the beginning of the building accounts to this point is £96. 2. 8, but one (**4** 43) is illegible and apparently ten or twelve entries at the foot of **5** have been torn away. But £6. 19. 7, which is quite a reasonable sum to allow for these, would exactly make up the total entered. It is then pretty certain that all these entries have been summed together, which is a strong reason for supposing that the entries of Mar.–Apr. do not belong to 1591, nor that of 6 Feb. to 1593, but both alike to 1592.

refer to the spring of 1592,

It might perhaps be objected against the assignment of the Mar.–Apr. entries to 1592 that they show work still in hand at a date at which in that year acting had already been some time in progress. But although it is unlikely, as I have said above, that repairs would be begun while the company was acting, I do not think that there is much difficulty in supposing that performances might begin even though work was still going on. However, the supposition is unnecessary. It will be noticed that the entries of Mar.–Apr. are all for considerable sums, 27*s.* to £22. 10, and so may very likely represent bills paid on the dates mentioned for work or materials supplied some months before. It is true that below these entries and below the marginal addition are some further small items (**5**^{v} 17–25), but these, eight in all, bear no indication of date and may represent further expenses incurred after the closing of the house in June. It is, therefore, quite possible that the whole of the repairs were finished, and the house in perfect order, before Strange's men began to act on 19 Feb. 1591/2.

and to repairs, not to the erection of the house.

The Rose probably built as early as 1587.

We have then arrived at the conclusion that the building accounts preserved in the Diary must refer in the main to the period between 1 Jan. and 19 Feb. 1592. But from this, since for the erection even of a wooden building like the Rose more than seven weeks of mid-winter would be required, there follows the important conclusion that the accounts can only refer to repairs and alterations and not to the original construction of the house as has sometimes been supposed (e.g. Ordish, p. 155; Mantzius, p. 185 note, where he is quite wrong in contradicting Fleay).[1] It may not be too rash even to go one step further and to maintain that, since extensive repairs seem to have been necessary, including a good deal of structural work, the house must have been standing some time and that we are justified in concluding that it was actually built, as contemplated in the deed of partnership, in the spring of 1587. If this is so we may probably also accept that deed as actually operative in spite of the rather nebulous appearance presented by Henslowe's partner after the lapse of something more than three centuries.[2]

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[1] There is one possibility which, though not great, should not be entirely overlooked. This is that the building account is not contemporary but was only copied into the Diary in 1592. In this case the earlier entries may date back to the autumn of 1591 and the whole refer to the original construction of the house.

[2] I should mention that it has been suggested that the building accounts discussed above do not refer to the Rose at all but to Newington Butts. Previous to 1600, however, Henslowe invariably speaks of 'my playe howsse' in the singular, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the Rose was the only one with which he was at that period directly connected. Several writers, particularly Ordish and Mantzius, have been inclined to attribute to him the management, if not the ownership, of the Newington house. The fact that the Admiral's and Chamberlain's men, while connected with Henslowe, gave ten performances there in 1594 (**9** 16), lends no real support to this view; and when Lee (*Shakespeare*, p. 38) speaks of Newington Butts being a 'new theatre' at that date, he is merely disregarding the evidence. The warrant of the Privy Council (MS. I. 18) makes it plain that the playing place there, whatever it may have been, was already almost disused in 1592, while we find an inhibition 'of the use of playes at the theater and th'other places

The work of repair was, no doubt, carried out by the same John Griggs who was to have erected the house in 1587, and whom we find acknowledging a debt of £15 to Henslowe, 13 July 1592 (**12** 16), and also engaged in building or repairing Alleyn's house from 4 Nov. onwards (**237** 5). The accounts supply us with a few details concerning the building. The repairs must have been extensive and have affected in no small degree the general structure. Fresh paling was fixed round the plot of ground on which the playhouse stood. Much of the wooden structure was replaced by new timber and the lath and plaster which covered the building was renewed. A mast was provided from which was flown the flag that announced a performance. Of the original flag no record remains, but when Worcester's men came to act at the house in 1602, they procured a 'flage of sylke' for which they paid *26s. 8d.* on 4 Sept. (**115**^{v} 24). The roofed portions of the house were freshly thatched. The stage was painted. Over the tiring-house was a room which was ceiled. This, says Ordish (p. 156), was 'reserved for visitors of position,' but it is clearly distinct from the lords' room which was likewise ceiled. It may have served as the 'balcony' over the stage, or it may perhaps have formed the queer tower-like structure which we see overtopping the galleries in the sketch of the Swan and in Visscher's panorama. There was also a penthouse shed outside the tiring-room door.

Details of the structure.

The sequence of the accounts will now be clear if we try for a moment to realize the actual manner in which Henslowe treated his account book. When he first took up the old disused volume for the purpose of making it a journal for his theatrical undertakings, he must, after first reversing it so as to have the blank portion at the beginning, have opened it at random and begun his accounts on the page so exposed, for the first entries we find in the book are by no means the earliest. As a matter of fact it was at **4** that the leaves parted and there on the recto Henslowe began his building account early in 1592. When acting began on 19 Feb. there were still expenses connected with the repairs to be entered even if the actual work was complete, so the scribe turned forward to **7**, leaving perhaps two leaves blank. Here on the right-hand page he began the record of the daily performances, while on the left-hand page (**6**^{v}) he began, on 26 Feb., to enter the weekly payments which he made to Mr. Edmond Tilney, Master of the Revels. Having on 2 Mar. need of a place for an acquittance from one Borne, he turned back to **5**^{v}. Whether the recto of this leaf was already, or indeed ever, full, we have no means of knowing. Below this acquittance he recorded the payment of various bills connected with the repairs, between 7 Mar. and 13 Apr., and below this again the expenditure of sundry small

Sequence of the accounts.

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about Newington' mentioned in the Acts of the Privy Council as early as 11 May 1586. Indeed, Lee's account of the early fortunes of Shakespeare's company shows throughout a curious disregard of documentary evidence.

sums on the house, perhaps in the following June. But it is on 7, with the list of performances, that the really interesting portion of the Diary begins, and one can almost fancy that the enterprising pioneer of theatrical finance himself felt in a manner the dignity of the occasion when he commenced the record of his connection with English drama with the pious flourish 'In the name of god Amen.'

Closing of the Rose in June 1592,

At this point it becomes necessary to consider an important series of undated documents which have been the cause of considerable confusion in the dramatic history of the period. It has been customary to suppose, in the absence of any knowledge to the contrary, that the closing of the Rose on 22 (23) June 1592 was owing to an outbreak of the plague. Even Fleay endorses this view though he remarks that no bill of mortality for the year is extant (*Stage*, p. 94). It is worth collecting such references as survive in order to show that this was not the case. The Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) supplies one fact only, namely, that on 7 Sept. 1592 soldiers on their way from the North for embarkation at Southampton were marched round London 'to avoid the infection, which is much spread abroad' in the city. The Acts of the Privy Council afford much ampler information. Under the date of 13 Aug. we find an allusion to 'the contagion of the plaige dailie increasing in London,' but though it interfered somewhat with the quartering of troops in the city, it does not appear to be treated very seriously. A few weeks later, however, the authorities began to be alarmed and on 6 Sept. merchants were forbidden to resort to Portsmouth for fear of carrying the infection. On 10 Sept. the sickness is increasing and measures are taken to clear the prisons of debtors. Further precautions are reported on 17 Sept. On 19 Sept. the plague has reached East Greenwich, and on 1 Oct. it is still on the increase. Term is postponed, and the possible necessity of its removal, unless adequate measures to stay the infection are taken, is suggested. On 10 Oct. the Admiralty Sessions are removed from Southwark to Woolwich, and the following day it is ordered that the festivities in contemplation for Lord Mayor's day, 29 Oct., be abandoned and the money devoted to the relief of infected houses. Finally on 30 Oct. the Lord Mayor is reprimanded for not taking adequate precautions: term is not yet allowed, and is ultimately removed to Hertford. On 13 Dec. the sickness seems to be decreasing.

not due to plague, but to riots.

In view of this detailed record we can confidently say that the closing of the Rose in June cannot have been due to the sickness first mentioned in Aug. Another explanation lies ready to hand. On Sunday 11 June 1592 there was a riot in Southwark originating among some apprentices 'by occasion & pretence of their meeting at a play' which is described as a 'breach of y^e^ Sabboth day'.[1] Where the play was we do not know: not at the Rose, for no performance took place there that day. The occasion of the riot was an attempt of the Knight Marshal's men to serve a warrant, and it is interesting to note that this seems to have been a traditional ground of dispute, for we find the citizens of Southwark as early as 1377 petitioning 'that the King's marshal should not intermeddle with the part which was Guildable,' i.e. the Gildable Manor (Rendle, *Southwark*, p. 8). The following day William Webb, the Lord Mayor, the same for whose installation Peele composed his *Discensus Astraeae*, wrote to the Lord High Treasurer, Burghley, reporting how he had been called in to restore peace about 8 p.m. and had succeeded in suppressing the riot, adding in a subsequent letter on 11 July, that in his opinion the Knight Marshal's men, as well as others, should suffer for the late disturbances (B. M., MS. Lansd. 71, fols. 28 and 32).[1] The Lords of the Council considered the matter at their sitting of 23 June 1592. They also had before them a report from the Earl of Derby, complaining of disorders in his lieutenancy of Lancashire, whereupon they ordered the prohibition of plays, bearbaitings, &c., on Sundays and holidays during divine service, and continued, with special reference to London: 'Moreover for avoiding of theis unlawfull assemblies in those quarters yt is thoughte meete you shall take order that there be noe playes used in anye place neere thereaboutes, as the theator, curtayne or other usuall places there where the same are comonly used, nor no other sorte of unlawful or forbidden pastymes that drawe togeather the baser sorte of people from hence forth untill the feast of St. Michaell.' This letter was addressed to the justices of Middlesex, and others of similar tenor were issued to a number of 'precincts,' including Newington, and the Clink, Paris Garden and the Bankside.[2] The immediate operation of this inhibition is seen in Henslowe's accounts (*Acts P. C.* and **8** 16).

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[1] Numerous ordinances forbade the performance of plays on Sunday. Thus, according to the Acts of the Privy Council, their lordships wrote to the Lord Mayor and to the justices of Middlesex and

Petitions against the restraint

We are now in a position to consider the documents mentioned above. The first is a copy of a petition from Strange's men to the Lords of the Council begging that the restraint 'nowe in this longe vacation' may be recalled and acting permitted at their house on the Bankside, in order

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Surrey on 25 July 1591, reinforcing a previous prohibition of plays on Sundays, and also on Thursdays, because of 'those other games' usually practised then, namely, 'beare baytinge and lyke pastymes.'

[1] 'I do not find any note,' writes Fleay (*Stage*, p. 94), 'how the Surrey justices took this interference of the Mayor with their jurisdiction.' But the riot, though it originated at a play, developed in Southwark, which, as we have already seen, was within the Mayor's jurisdiction, so that the justices had no ground of complaint. The copy of Webb's letter of 12 June, extant in the City Remembrancia, is misdated 30 May.

[2] The full list is: Newington; Kentish Street; Bermondsey Street; Clink, Paris Garden, and Bankside; St. Catherine's; East Smithfield; Ratcliffe; Shoreditch; Whitechapel; Blackfriars; Whitefriars; Westminster; St. Martin's; Strand. The letter, however, contained orders concerning the apprentices as well as those dealing with plays and games, so that the fact that copies were sent to all these parts is no evidence that plays were performed there.

not only that they may be saved from the intolerable charge of travelling and consequent disruption, whereby they will become unable to serve her majesty as usual, but also that the watermen of the Bankside, now suffering from a loss of traffic, may be relieved (MS. I. 16). The second document, obviously contemporary with the first, is a petition from Henslowe and a number of watermen, including William Dorret, master of her majesty's barge, to the same effect, namely, that leave be granted 'vnto the said Phillipp Henslo to have playinge in his saide howse during suche tyme as others have according as it hathe byne accustomed' (MS. I. 17).[1] The third document is a copy of a warrant from the Privy Council for the reopening of the Rose (MS. I. 18). The preamble states that not long since, upon some considerations, their lordships restrained the Lord Strange's servants from playing at the Rose on the Bankside and enjoined them to play three days (a-week, presumably) at Newington Butts, but that they understand that the tediousness of the way thither (the house lay somewhere to the south-west of Paris Garden), and the fact that for a long time past no plays have been presented there on weekdays, make the use of that house inconvenient, and also that the restraint is a cause of injury to a number of poor watermen. They therefore order that the justices, &c., shall permit Lord Strange's men, or any other company, to perform at the Rose as usual, so long as it shall be free from infection, any commandments of their lordships theretofore to the contrary notwithstanding.

and warrant for reopening.

This warrant contains the key of the whole matter. In the first place, the fact that in the following year a permit from the Privy Council to Strange's men to act in the provinces expressly mentions the plague as the cause of the restraint in London (*Acts P. C.*, 6 May 1593), justifies our assuming that the phrase 'vpon some Consideracōns' indicates another cause. Further, it appears from the documents themselves that the petitions were presented during the long vacation and that the warrant followed not long after the restraint. Warner placed the former in 1593, necessarily in the summer, and the latter *c.* Apr. 1594. This date, however, is rendered improbable by the phrase 'not longe since,' and impossible by the fact that 'the Lorde Straunge' became Earl of Derby in Sept. 1593.[2]

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[1] The fact of the original document, to which seventeen signatures and marks are appended, being among Alleyn's papers has raised some doubt as to whether this petition was actually presented; but we have an exactly parallel case in the petition from the inhabitants of Finsbury (MS. I. 28), to be discussed later, so that we are forced to suppose that it was customary either to present copies only of secondary petitions (i.e. those in support of other petitions), or else, which is less likely, to return the originals of such petitions, retaining presumably a copy to be filed along with the main petition.

[2] Fleay is right as to the year, though wrong as to the exact date and as to the cause of the restraint. He says (*Stage*, p. 85) that Strange's men were inhibited 'at the beginning of a Long Vacation (10th June, exactly the date of their stopping at the Rose in 1592),' which is obviously

The real sequence of events is tolerably clear and simple. The riots took place on 11 June 1592 and on 23 June the Privy Council inhibited all plays in and around London till Michaelmas. The very same day the last performance took place at the Rose, showing that the justices acted with commendable promptness in the matter. Here, however, a permit to Strange's men to play three days a-week at Newington must have perished, for the house there was among those closed by the order of 23 June. The company preferred to travel in the country, but found that they could not cover their expenses owing to their numbers, for there were, as we shall see later on (p. 374), some two dozen of them. They therefore petitioned, no doubt through Henslowe who remained in London, and had their petition supported by the watermen. This was most likely in July or the beginning of Aug. Probably about the middle of the latter month the Privy Council issued their warrant, and we may perhaps see in the specific allusion to freedom from infection that fears were already entertained as to the spread of the plague, for such a condition would naturally be understood. A document issued at the end of August might well refer to events in the latter half of June as happening 'not longe since.' The warrant however came too late. Perhaps the players were still in the country; anyhow they were not able to open the Rose before, as we have seen, the plague became severe in the first days of Sept. As soon as it began to abate they were ready to begin, and reopened the house on 29 Dec.[1]

Reopening prevented by the plague.

The fortunes of the various companies that occupied Henslowe's theatre will

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incorrect, since the documents nowhere specify the beginning of the vacation, and the date of the last performance at the Rose is 22 (23) and not 10 June. He further asserts that they were ordered to play at Newington Butts 'for fear of infection,' which is, of course, an inference of his own, and an erroneous one. Lastly, he supposes the warrant to have been issued in Dec., which is possible, but leaves rather a long interval to be covered by the words 'not long since.' It is curious that both Warner and Fleay should have supposed the petition to have been presented in time of plague. At a time when the Privy Council was urging the authorities at almost every sitting to take more stringent measures to prevent the spread of the infection, it would have wasted labour to petition for the reopening of the playhouses.

[1] One point in the watermen's petition is curious, namely, the request that Henslowe may be allowed to have performances in his house 'duringe suche tyme as others have,' which would seem to imply that some of the other houses were open. It may be a mere slip on the part of whoever drew up the document, or it may be an awkward phrase intended to mean 'subject only to the usual restrictions.' On the other hand, there may have been other permits issued besides the one to Strange's men which we have supposed to have perished. That there was any general withdrawal of the restraint is unlikely seeing that we hear nothing about a closing of the houses among the precautions against the plague in the correspondence between the Privy Council and the city. The implication in the warrant that the house at Newington was used for Sunday performances would suggest that it may have been the scene of origin of the June riots. If so, it is curious that Strange's men should have received permission to act there while the Rose remained closed. If not, the Sunday play was probably at some inn or other in Southwark.

Subsequent history of the Rose.

1593.

1594.

Repairs in 1595.

be followed in detail in later sections of this chapter; here only such points need be mentioned as bear directly upon Henslowe's connection with the stage. As already said, Strange's men reopened on 29 Dec. 1592, and continued till 1 Feb. following. During the greater part of 1593 men were dying of the plague in London at the rate of two or three hundred a week and the playhouses were, of course, closed. The companies, or at least those who could afford it, travelled in the provinces, and when at length the ceasing of the sickness allowed the London houses to reopen it is clear that considerable confusion prevailed. At the Rose we find record of a number of temporary experiments. Sussex' men act from 27 (26) Dec. 1593 to 6 Feb. following. In company with the Queen's men they recommence on 1 April and continue till 8 (9) April 1594. The Admiral's men play from 14 to 16 May. On 3 (5) June the Admiral's and the Chamberlain's men are found at the Newington house which they occupy jointly till 13 (15) June. Finally the Admiral's men settle down permanently at the Rose on 15 (17) June and continue there with intervals till the summer of 1597. The authority for these statements will appear in the discussion of the history of the various companies. In the meanwhile the Rose was again in need of repair. The temporary migration of the Admiral's men to Newington may have been due to some work being necessary at the Rose after its at least partial disuse since the summer of 1592, though no accounts assignable to this date are preserved. On the other hand, we find definite evidence that Henslowe availed himself of the occasion offered by the ceasing of the Admiral's men from 14 Mar. to 21 Apr. 1595 to have needful repairs carried out. He heads his account: 'A nott what J haue layd owt abowt my playhowsse ffor payntynge & doinge it abowt wth ealme bordes & other Repracyones as ffoloweth 1595 in lent' (**2**^{v} 1). Whether the boards, of which Henslowe bought 325 for the sum of 24*s*., were for panelling or paling does not appear for certain; perhaps the latter, for he also procured five pounds of spikes which would no doubt prove efficacious on the top of the elm-board paling. There were evidently structural repairs also, for we find mention of two bundles of laths and loads of lime and sand. The sums expended amounted to £8. 19 (**2**^{v} 27, see note). There is a further payment recorded on 4 June the same year, of £7. 2, but as it was for 'mackinge the throne Jn the heuenes' it was presumably for stage carpentry only.

1597.

On 11 Oct. 1597 Pembroke's men joined the Admiral's men at the Rose, and consequent alterations in the arrangements caused Henslowe to adopt henceforth a different system of accounts. The union of the two companies was only temporary, though changes occurred in the composition of each. In Nov. or Dec. 1600 the Admiral's men commenced at the newly-erected Fortune. They must have left the Rose some time previously, probably 10 or 13 July, and Pembroke's men had played there **1600.** for a couple of days at the end of Oct. It appears after that to have remained empty till Worcester's men commenced there, 17 Aug. 1602 and played till May 1603, after which it was again closed. **1603.** Fleay thinks that Worcester's men still acted there as Queen Anne's servants in 1604 (*Stage*, p. 201 table, but not in text), but the Curtain is already mentioned as their public house in the draft patent of 1603—the authenticity of which Fleay wrongly suspects (p. 192) and to which I shall return later—as well as in the warrant of 9 Apr. 1604 (MS. I. 39). There is, indeed, no evidence of the Rose having been used as a playhouse after 1603. The original lease, as we have seen, would expire in 1605, and Henslowe evidently entered into negotiations for its renewal not later than the spring of 1603. On 25 June he had an interview with a Mr. Pope on the subject (**114**^{v} 1). This may have been Thomas Pope the actor, who was then at the Globe and would have been interested in buying out the rival house, but it is impossible to speak with any confidence on the point.[1] Pope showed Henslowe a writing between himself and the parish, presumably St. Mildred's, by which the rent was to be raised from £7 to £20 a year, and 100 marks were to be spent on building. Henslowe declared he would sooner pull down the playhouse, following the course taken by the Burbages in the case of the Theatre in 1598–9. Pope gave him leave to do so, and said he would bear him out. Possibly he may have had the refusal of the lease should Henslowe decline to renew, and have been willing that the materials of the Rose should be removed on condition that he obtained the leasehold of the ground. The house was not demolished, but upon what terms the lease was renewed, and who the lessee was, is unknown. **1620-2.** As already stated (p. 44) Alleyn paid tithe on the estate in 1622, and according to Herbert's office-book, quoted by Malone ('Variorum,' 1821, iii. p. 56), the playhouse was in use 'for the exhibition of prize-fighters' after 1620. Rose Alley, mentioned in the deed of partnership of 1587, remains to this day.[1]

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[1] I can imagine no ground for supposing, with Fleay (*Stage*, p. 149), that he was the Morgan Pope whom we find connected with the Bear Garden (see p. 36). Morgan held his lease of that house under Ralph Bowes, whose patent as Master was exemplified at his request in 1585, and this lease, after passing through the hands of two intermediaries (Warner, p. 231), came into those of Alleyn in 1594. Morgan Pope himself is nowhere mentioned later than 1586 (Rendle, *Bankside*, p. v). Anyhow Fleay is wrong in supposing Mr. Pope to have been Henslowe's legal adviser. Henslowe usually employed Edward Griffin or William Harris in that capacity, and it is clear from the entry in question that Pope was personally interested in the matter. Morgan Pope is described as a merchant (Mun. 7). He is also in error in supposing the Rose to be mentioned together with the Globe and the Hope in N. Goodman's pamphlet entitled *Holland's Leaguer* in 1632. It is quite clear in that account that the third house that 'now fallen to decay, and like a dying Swanne, hanging downe her head, seemed to sing her owne dierge' (sig. F2^{v}), was not the Rose but the Swan. Ordish (p. 275) and Mantzius (p. 79) are right as to the identification, but both they and Rendle (*Bankside*, p. ix) have confused the pamphlet with Shakerley Marmion's play bearing the same title.

b. THE FORTUNE.

The close of the sixteenth century witnessed several important new departures in dramatic history. Francis Langley built the Swan in Paris Garden, and opened it possibly as early as 1596, the Globe was built in 1599 some couple of hundred yards south-east of the Rose, and in 1600 Henslowe and Alleyn erected the Fortune outside Cripplegate.

The Cripplegate property.

The history of this property, in which Alleyn was chiefly interested, may be here outlined. The earliest document concerning it which has come down to us is a copy of a deed of sale of a certain estate in Golding or Golden Lane and Whitecross Street in the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate, dated 12 July 1546 (Mun. 1). We here meet with a somewhat startling coincidence, for the Rauf Symondes, of Cley, Norfolk, gent., who made over the property to Thomas Langham, of London, fishmonger, in consideration of a payment of £50, can hardly be other than the Raphe Symonds, of London, fishmonger, whose widow Thomasyn granted the Little Rose to the parish of St. Mildred in 1552 (Mun. 8). Thus in the middle of the sixteenth century the parcels of land, on which were later erected the two playhouses in which Henslowe and Alleyn were concerned, were in the hands of the same person, although they came into the possession of the theatrical managers through widely different channels. Thomas Langham on 29 Jan. 1566 sold the property for £100 to William Gill, gardener (Mun. 2), from whom it passed by will (proved 5 Nov. 1576) to Daniel Gill the elder (Mun. 9), who on 11 July 1584 signed a lease to Patrick Brewe, of London, goldsmith, for 41 years for £13. 6. 8 in hand and a yearly rent of £12 (Mun. 12). Daniel Gill also made over the property by feoffment to his son, Daniel Gill the younger, clerk (Mun. 14), who, by a will proved at Douglas (Daniel Gill the elder having removed to the Isle of Man) 28 Nov. 1592, left it in trust for his four daughters (Mun. 17). Lastly, on 22 Dec. 1599, Patrick Brewe assigned his lease, of which nearly 33 years had yet to run, to Edward Alleyn (Mun. 20). Attached to the assignment is a bond in £250; while we learn from MS. VIII (fol. 6^v) that £240 was the sum actually paid by Alleyn for the lease. The complicated negotiations by which Alleyn secured the freehold need not be followed in detail; the deeds will be found summarized in the *Henslowe Papers* in connection with Mun. 37, and the whole history may be read at length in Young (ii. p. 256). Suffice it that by 1610 Alleyn had become sole owner of the property at the cost of £340 to the Gills and £100 to John Garret, who had in 1601 obtained a lease in reversion.

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[1] Rendle writes (*Bankside*, p. xv): 'Like the Globe, the Rose was burnt down,—"In the last great fire The Rose did expire,"—but when that was, I am not clear.' He does not say where the couplet he quotes comes from. It may be remarked that no trace of the Rose can be discovered in the view engraved by Visscher in 1616.

The property detailed in the deed of sale in 1546 comprised three tenements in Golden Lane and one, in the tenure of William Gill, in Whitecross Street; in that of 1566, two on the east side of Golden Lane and one on the west side of Whitecross Street; while the lease to Brewe in 1584 enumerates five on the east side of Golden Lane and one on the west side of Whitecross Street. Whether the ground covered by the three documents is exactly the same might be doubted, but fresh tenements may very well have been erected in the interval, and the lease expressly mentions that the property had lately belonged to William Gill and before to Thomas Langham and Rafe Symondes, so that it is unlikely that it should have been extended.

Opposition of the authorities.

Without loss of time Henslowe and Alleyn set about the erection of a playhouse upon the newly acquired site. It is evident, however, that they met with a good deal of opposition from the local authorities. The manifestation of puritan feeling in the city in 1575 had led to the building of the Theatre and Curtain in the Liberty of Holywell in 1576–7.[1] Between these and the municipality the strife had been bitter for more than twenty years, and was one main cause that led to the demolition of the Theatre and the migration of the Burbages to the Bankside.[2] The authorities were naturally indisposed, after this victory, to tolerate without protest the erection, on the north-western boundary of their city, of a playhouse larger and more magnificent than any that had yet arisen. It is at least probable that early in 1600 the Lord Mayor made representations to the Privy Council on the subject, a course he seldom omitted to pursue when opportunity offered, and possible that he was joined in his protest by the Justices for Middlesex. Of these communications no record, unfortunately, survives. We have, however, a letter addressed by the Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Admiral, 'To all & euery her ma^ts^

Nottingham's letter,

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[1] Almost every writer who has had occasion to mention the Theatre, from Strype onwards, has asserted that its erection was consequent upon the expulsion of the players from the city in 1575. This, however, is an error. The 'expulsion,' if it took place at all, was about 1582. See E. K. Chambers' review of Ordish in the *Academy* (24 Aug. 1895), where the documents are examined in detail.

[2] The immediate cause was, of course, differences with the ground landlord, Giles Allen, but the avowed intention of the latter was to prevent the Theatre being any longer used as a playhouse, and as this was exactly what the corporation desired it is not unlikely that they supported him in his opposition to the players.

Justices & other Ministers and Officers wthin the Countye of Midds' requiring them to suffer his servant Edward Alleyn to proceed unmolested in the finishing of his new playhouse near Redcross Street (MS. I. 27). This document is dated 12 Jan. 1599/1600, and we learn from the preamble that the Rose had fallen into a state of dangerous decay and that its situation on the Bankside was considered inconvenient, or 'verie noysome' as the document expresses it, for the resort of people in winter time. This letter does not appear to have carried sufficient weight to overcome the magisterial opposition and Alleyn took measures for obtaining more influential support. With this view he caused a petition to be drawn up by which a number of the inhabitants of the Lordship of Finsbury, where lay the site on which the Fortune was being erected, including a constable and two overseers of the poor, besought the Lords of the Privy Council that the erection of the new playhouse might be allowed to proceed, on the grounds that the site was conveniently chosen so as to cause no annoyance, that the projectors had promised a liberal weekly allowance towards the poor of the parish, and that this contribution was all the more welcome in that the Justices of the Shire had neglected their duty in this respect under the late Act (MS. I. 28). This last shaft was evidently directed against those who had opposed Alleyn's scheme and disregarded Nottingham's letter. The petition, which is signed by twenty-seven inhabitants of the lordship, is not dated, but, as appears from the next document, must have been drawn up shortly before 8 Apr. 1600. This is the date of a warrant, signed this time on behalf of the Privy Council as a whole by Nottingham, Hunsdon the Lord Chamberlain, and Robert Cecil (MS. I. 29). The warrant, which is to the same effect as Nottingham's letter, purports to convey 'To y^{e} Justices of Peace of y^{e} Countye of Midds especially of S^{t} Giles wthout Creplegate' the express commands of the queen, and is of interest on several grounds. It mentions the petition of the inhabitants and adds that Alleyn's choice of a site in Golden Lane is recommended by some of the Justices themselves; it remarks that Alleyn's company had of late 'made discontynuance,' presumably of its performances at court, which is hardly borne out by the fact that, as mentioned in Nottingham's letter, it had performed before her majesty at Christmas (27 Dec. and 1 Jan.); lastly it states that Alleyn's house should be tolerated 'the rather because an other howse is pulled downe, in steade of yt,' though this was certainly not the case. It is probable, from the wording of these two documents, that the Fortune was expected to take the place of the Rose, though this is not explicitly stated. So far, however, from the Rose being shut we know from the weekly payments recorded in the Diary that the Admiral's men continued in occupation there till about the middle of July (**62**^{v} 40). Possibly the demolition of the Curtain was meant: if so the promise was a vain one.

the Finsbury petition,

and the warrant of the Privy Council.

Further complaints in 1600,

The puritan faction could no longer oppose the completion of Alleyn's house, but it is clear that they continued their representations concerning the multiplication of playhouses and the alleged abuses arising therefrom, for on 22 June 1600 we find the Privy Council addressing a letter to the Lord Mayor[1] 'for the restrainte of the imoderate use and companye of playhowses and players,' in the preamble to which the complaints against the erection of the Fortune are incidentally mentioned (*Acts P. C.*; *Remembrancia*, p. 354). It is ordered 'that there shalbe aboute the cittie two houses and no more allowed to serve for the use of the common stage-playes, of the which houses one shalbe in Surrey in the place which is commonly called the Banckeside or thereaboutes, and the other in Middlesex. And forasmuch as their Lordships have bin enformed by Edmund Tylney, esquire, her Majesty's servante and Master of the Revells, that the house nowe in hand to be builte by the saide Edward Allen is not intended to encrease the nomber of the play-houses, but to be insteede of an other (namely the Curtayne) which is ether to be ruyned and plucked downe or to be put to some other good use, as also that the scytuation thereof is meete and convenient for that purpose, it is likewise ordered that the saide house of Allen shalbe allowed to be one of the two houses and namely for the house to be allowed in Middlesex for the company of players belonging to the Lord Admirall, so as the house called the Curtaine be (as it is pretended) either ruynated or applyed to some other good use, and for the other house allowed to be on Surrey side, whereas their Lordships are pleased to permitt to the company of players that shall play there to make their owne choice which they will have of divers houses that are there, choosing one of them and no more, and the said company of plaiers, being the servantes of the Lord Chamberlain and that are to play there, have made choice of the house called the Globe, it is ordered that the said house and none other shalbe there allowed. And especially it is forbidden that any stage-playes shalbe played (as some tymes they have bin) in any common inne for publique assembly in or neare aboute the cittie.' Further it is ordered 'that the two severall companies of players assigned unto the two houses allowed may play each of them in their severall house twice a weeke and no oftener, and especially they shall refrayne to play on the Sabbath day upon paine of imprysonment and further penaltie, and that they shall forbeare altogether in the tyme of Lent, and likewise at such tyme or tymes as any extraordinary sicknes or infection of disease shall appeare to be in or about the cittie.' This certainly looks like the death-warrant of the Curtain and the Rose, and when we find that neither house was in the least affected by it we begin to suspect that we have not heard the whole story. It is curious to find that the Fortune was to replace the Curtain with which Alleyn had no connection and over which he had no control,[1] and we can only infer that Tilney, whose interest it was to keep as many houses open as possible, had assured the Council that the Curtain was about to be demolished and that consequently Alleyn's house would not add to their number. Had Alleyn actually been in a position to close the Curtain it is inconceivable that the order should not have been enforced, and the authorities not have insisted on the demolition of the old house before the new was completed. If, on the other hand, no undertaking had been entered into by Alleyn, the authorities would be in an awkward position, for both the warrant and the letter are explicit in their commands that Alleyn shall be suffered to proceed unmolested, while the second is far less clear as to making this allowance conditional upon the demolition of the Curtain. Similarly it would have been impossible to interfere either with him or with the Chamberlain's men on account of the Rose, since that was in the hands of Henslowe.

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[1] A copy of this order, together with a covering letter, was sent to the Surrey Justices (*Acts P. C.*, and Halliwell, *Illustrations*, pp. 107–8, where both documents are reprinted in full).

The Order in Council just discussed is an interesting document, and it would have been an exceedingly important one had it ever been put in force. Like many others, however, it remained a dead letter. It may possibly account for the sudden termination of Pembroke's men's attempt to perform at the Rose in Oct., and for the fact of that house apparently remaining closed from then till Aug. 1602, and also for the temporary disuse of the Curtain; but permanent result it had none. I am inclined to agree with Mantzius (p. 73) that this can best be explained on the assumption that certain powerful lords of the Council played a double part, secretly protecting their servants while openly ordering the restrictions contained in the official paper. Moreover the readiness shown by the Lord Mayor on other occasions to exceed his jurisdiction in complaining of the neglect of their duties by the Justices of Surrey and Middlesex, makes it probable that these authorities did not entirely share the prejudices of the city.

in May 1601,

The controversy continued, and in the spring of 1601 the Lords of the Council addressed to certain of the justices for Middlesex a letter to the effect that they understood that the players at the Curtain in Moorfields—the company is unknown, possibly Derby's—had brought certain persons of good desert and quality on to the stage in a satirical manner, and consequently requested the justices to inquire into the matter and if necessary to take bonds of the chief movers to answer their conduct before the Council (*Acts P. C.*, 10 May 1601). There is little doubt that we here get a glimpse of the players' retaliation for the interference of the city authorities. Again at the end of the year the new Lord Mayor on taking office renewed the representations of his predecessors as to the disorders and abuses alleged to grow from the multitude and popularity of the playhouses, and

and again in Dec.

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[1] Mantzius, indeed, assigns the Curtain to Henslowe and Alleyn on the strength of this letter (p. 71), but in the absence of any corroborative evidence, this contention can obviously not be sustained.

the Council replied commending the zeal of the newly elected Lieutenant of the City but expressing their surprise that he should report fresh disorders rather than the execution of their former commands for the prevention of abuses, the blame for which negligence they distribute pretty evenly between the city and the county authorities. Their lordships took the same opportunity of directing letters to the justices of Surrey and Middlesex blaming them severely for not having executed the order of June 1600, and requiring them to do so without further delay (*Acts P. C.*, 31 Dec. 1601 ; *Remembrancia*, p. 354). Of the readiness of the city authorities to see the order executed there can be no question, and though the zeal of the justices is more open to suspicion, it is impossible to suppose that they should have disregarded these repeated and stringent orders unless they had received some assurance that they would be protected from the consequences of such disobedience.

It should be said that a different interpretation has been placed upon these proceedings (Fleay, *Stage*, p. 161). The Order in Council has been represented as an attempt on the part of Hunsdon and Nottingham (Lord Chamberlain and Lord Admiral) to obtain a monopoly for their respective companies, and it has been thought that the civic authorities deliberately disregarded the order by way of asserting their independence, for it is doubtful how far the orders of the Privy Council were actually binding on them.[1] I do not think that this view receives much support from the facts. Had such been the intention of the Council they would never have limited the performances to two a week. Nor would the Lord Mayor, who comes in for his share of blame, though the chief responsibility rested with the justices, have laid himself open to so obvious a retort by approaching the Council anew on the subject of theatrical abuses. Moreover, in the letter on the subject of the Curtain players in the preceding May, the complaint had merely been of the matter presented, and no reference had been made to the fact that the house had been condemned to demolition. Fleay assumes that the players, whom he identifies as Derby's, were inhibited, but this seems a gratuitous supposition. It is, I think, evident that the Council issued intentionally inadequate orders for the suppression of the redundant houses and then blamed the authorities for not acting on them. But however this may be, Alleyn was meanwhile quietly completing his new house without Cripplegate.

The building of the Fortune.

The contract between Peter Streete, citizen and carpenter of London, on the one part, and Henslowe and Alleyn on the other part, for the erection of the Fortune is dated 8 Jan. 1599/1600 (Mun. 22). The building was to be square and to measure 80 feet each way outside and 55 feet inside. The framework was to be of wood but to rest upon firm foundations which were to rise at least twelve inches above the ground. There were to be three stories, twelve, eleven and nine feet in height, and twelve feet six in depth, besides that the two upper stories were to overhang by ten inches. The total height was, therefore, 32 feet. There were to be four divisions for gentlemen's rooms and others for two-penny rooms, but where and how these were to be fitted is unfortunately not specified. Seats were to be fixed in the rooms and throughout the galleries. There was to be a shadow or roof over the stage, for which a plan was supplied which is unfortunately lost. The width of the stage was to be 43 feet and it was to project as far as the middle of the yard or open space bounded by the galleries. This would leave six feet clear on either side of the stage, between it and the galleries, and 27½ feet in front. The stage was to be paled below, i. e. from the level of the boards to the ground, with oak, and the same wood was to be used for fencing off the yard from the lowest gallery, being in this case apparently strengthened with iron piles. The tiring house, or green room, was evidently to occupy the space behind the stage, corresponding to the galleries in the rest of the house, though it may also have been built out at the back, and was to be furnished with glazed lights. The framework was to be covered with lath and plaster, the gentlemen's rooms and two-penny rooms, like the lords' room at the Rose, were to be ceiled, the stage and the floors of the galleries were to be boarded with deal and roofed with tiles, a gutter round the shadow carrying the water backwards away from the yard. In all points unspecified the house was to be exactly similar to the Globe, which, it would seem, had also been built by Streete—at least he helped in the demolition of the Theatre—except that all the chief supports were to be square and wrought pilaster-wise, with 'carved proporcōns Called Satiers.' For this work, which was to be completed by 25 July, Streete was to receive £440, all painting, however, to be extra; the actual cost, as we shall see, amounted to £520.

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[1] 'Very doubtful constitutionally ; but clearly binding in the sense that the Council could find ways of enforcing them, if they chose,' is Mr. Chambers' comment.

On the back of the indenture are acquittances, &c., from 8 Jan. to 11 June. In the Diary we find a series of accounts chiefly for dinners for Peter Streete, Gilbert East, who is afterwards described as Henslowe's bailiff, and Henslowe himself, evidently in connection with the work at the Fortune, beginning before 24 May and continuing till 8 Aug. (**98**^{v} 12, **99**). The entries are headed: 'A not what J have layd owte sence we went a bowt ower new howsse as foloweth 1600.' Another account, headed: 'what we owe a bowt ou^{r} howsse as foloweth 1600,' the only date in which is 2 Aug., evidently refers to the same transactions, but, though it proves the purchase of considerable quantities of timber, it affords us singularly little information respecting the construction of the playhouse (**97**). The foundations, as we learn from the entries on the indenture (l. 222), were not completed till 8 May, so that it may well be questioned whether Streete fulfilled his contract to have the structure ready by 25 July, and even if he did, it may be presumed that much still remained to be done in the way of painting, &c., before the house would be ready for acting. For one thing the sign had to be put up. Whether the figure of Fortune was merely painted on the wall, or whether, either in the original house or in the new one erected after the fire of 1621, the goddess was represented by a carved figure, is not known for certain. From an entry in the Diary, which is unfortunately without date, but must have been made between 11 Nov. and 14 Dec. 1600, we find that Alleyn received one eleventh part of the takings apparently of 'the firste weckes playe,' a share which amounted to 32*s*., whence it would seem probable that the Admiral's men began to act at the new house somewhere about the beginning of Dec. 1600 (**70**^{v} 21)[1].

The Admiral's men remove thither.

In Alleyn's memorandum book (MS. VIII) we find an important statement concerning the cost of the Fortune, belonging to some date after 1610 (fol. 6^{v}). The heading, 'What The fortune Cost me novemb 1599,' is not quite accurate, for the first payment entered, 'for y^{e} leas to brew . . . 240^{l},' refers to Brewe's assignment of his lease to Alleyn, 22 Dec. 1599 (Mun. 20). Next comes 'for y^{e} building y^{e} playhow[s]e . . . 520^{l}' and 'For other pr[i]uat buildings of myn owne . . . 120^{l},' making a total of £880. Then we have the further item, 'bought the ynheritance of the land of the gills of y^{e} Isle of man w^{ch}: is y^{e} fortune & all the Howses in whightcrosstrett & gowlding Lane in June 1610 for the some of . . . 340^{l},' and again, 'bought in John garretts Lease in reuertion from the gills for 21 years for . . . 100^{l},' bringing the grand total up to £1320. 'Bleased be y^{e} Lord god Euerlasting' is Alleyn's comment on these transactions, which we may therefore infer had proved profitable. Another statement gives Alleyn's yearly expenditure upon the Beargarden and the Fortune from 1602 to 1608 (MS. XVIII. 7). The sums expended on the playhouse are as follows: 1602, £89. 5; 1603, £4. 2; 1604, £232. 1. 8; 1605, £108. 14. 3; 1606, £127; 1607, £163; 1608, £121. 6; total £845. 8. 11. What the nature of the expenses was does not clearly appear. They evidently do not include ground rent, but may include Alleyn's outlay in connection with the acting, if he still had an interest in the company. This would explain the low figure for 1603 when the plague closed all the houses, while the high one for the following year might include necessary repairs on the return of the players and the extra expense incurred at the beginning of a new reign when they rose to the dignity of royal servants.

Cost of the property,

and subsequent expenses.

We learn from an unexecuted assignment by Agnes, widow and executrix of Philip Henslowe, dated 15 Feb. 1616 (Mun. 53), that, by a lease dated 4 Apr. 1601, Alleyn had granted to Henslowe a moiety of the Fortune playhouse for 24 years, at a rent of £8. I do not find

Henslowe's interest,

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[1] Young (ii. p. 257) places the opening of the Fortune in May 1601, that being the date of the earliest mention of it in the Diary by name (**86**^{v} 36), but this mention is quite incidental, and it is clear that the company had already been there some time.

any memoranda concerning such payments, but the lease must clearly have been operative. Some years later Alleyn and Henslowe appear to have contemplated taking prominent members of the Prince's men into partnership. In 1608 a lease was drawn up granting to Thomas Downton, who is described as of St. Giles', Cripplegate, and must therefore have lived near the theatre, one thirty-second part of the net profits of the house, for 13 years, for £27. 10 in hand, and an annual rent of 10*s.*, Downton at the same time covenanting to pay his share of the charges and to play to the best of his ability within the said playhouse, and in none other within the city of London or two miles radius (Mun. 33). The deed is not executed and the partnership evidently never came into operation. Young writes (ii. p. 258): 'the fact that one thirty-second part of the net gains was considered a fitting remuneration for the exclusive services of Downton . . . shows that the profits of the enterprise must have been very considerable.' But it is clear that the only object of the lease was to bind Downton to the house by a share in the proprietary benefits. He would, of course share in the acting profits as a member of the Prince's company, and with these the deed is not concerned.[1]

and the proposed partnership of Downton.

Henslowe died 6 Jan. 1615–6, and the assignment of his share in the Fortune by his widow to Gregory Francklyn, citizen and sadler, and Drewe Stapley, citizen and grocer of London, is dated 15 Feb. following. The non-execution of this deed was probably due to the Chancery suit against Agnes Henslowe, Edward Alleyn and Roger Cole by John Henslowe, who disputed his uncle's will, this suit being followed in 1617 by the death of Agnes Henslowe, who was buried in the chapel of Dulwich College on 9 Apr. It is clear, as we shall see later on (p. 140), that Alleyn assumed the direction of Henslowe's theatrical affairs immediately upon his death, and it would appear that upon the death of the widow most of Henslowe's property passed into Alleyn's hands, probably in right of his wife. Thus Alleyn became once more possessed of the whole of the Fortune property.

On 31 Oct. 1618 Alleyn leased the playhouse to Edward Juby, William Birde (*alias* Borne), Frank Grace, Richard Gumnell (or Gunnell), Charles Massye, William Stratford, William Cartwright, Richard Price, William Parr, and Richard Fowler, evidently the Palsgrave's, formerly Prince Henry's, players. This lease was for 31 years at a rent of £200 and two rundlets of wine, one sack and one claret, of ten shillings a piece, at Christmas. Among the witnesses is Thomas Downton, who had therefore presumably retired from the company (Mun. 56).[2]

Lease to the Palsgrave's men.

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[1] It was at this time that Henslowe, for three days, recorded the takings at the Fortune and the Bear Garden, for what reason it is impossible to say. The dates are 26 to 28 December 1608, and the receipts from the playhouse amounted to 25*s*, 45*s*., and 44*s*. 9*d*. respectively. Those from the Bear Garden were considerably higher (**126', 127**).

[2] One error of Collier's with regard to the old Fortune may be conveniently mentioned here.

Burning of the Fortune,

On 9 Dec. 1621 the Fortune met with the same fate as had overtaken the Globe eight years before, being burnt to the ground in the space of two hours. The disaster at the Globe occurred, it will be remembered, during a performance, and was due to a smouldering wad from a stage gun lodging in the thatch with which, like the Rose, the house was roofed. The Fortune, on the other hand, was tiled, and the origin of the fire is unknown. Alleyn records the event in his Diary in his usual laconic manner: 'm̃d this night att 12 of y^e clock y^e fortune was burnt' (MS. IX; Young, ii. p. 225). On 15 Dec. that indefatigable newswriter and recorder of invaluable trifles, John Chamberlain, wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton: 'On Sonday night here was a great fire at the Fortune in Golden-Lane, the fayrest play-house in this towne. It was quite burnt downe in two howres, & all their apparell & play-bookes lost, wherby those poore Companions are quite undone' (B. M., MS. Add. 4174, fol. 225^v; *Court and Times of James I*, ii. p. 280). It is probable that at this time Alleyn was interested in the building only, and had no share in any of the company's stock.

and rebuilding of the same.

With the new Fortune, which rose out of the ashes of the old, several years after Henslowe's death, we are not here concerned. It was not yet built at the beginning of 1623 (Collier, *Annals*, iii. p. 310), but appears to have been completed by Jan. 1624 (Mun. 63). Unlike its predecessor it was round and built of brick (*Annals*, iii. p. 303). The property was divided into twelve shares, and whole or half shares were leased by Alleyn to a number of persons, including several members of the company. Alleyn, however, appears always to have retained a small holding in his own hands. These leases I have discussed in detail elsewhere (*Henslowe Papers*, pp. 30 and 112). The later history of the property may be read in Young (ii. pp. 261, &c.; see also *Henslowe Papers*, p. 95).[1]

To his account of the playhouse he appended the following note (*Annals*, iii. p. 308): 'In Henslowe's Diary, mention is made of payments to a person of the name of Whittington, who was perhaps a sleeping partner in the speculation of the Fortune. To this connection, and to the profits derived from it, Henry Parrat [Parrot] alludes in the following epigram [No. 162 of Book II] from his "*Laquei Ridiculosi*, Springes for Woodcocks," 1613. "'Tis said that Whittington was rais'd of nought, And by a cat hath divers wonders wrought: But *Fortune* (not his cat) makes it appear, He may dispend a thousand marks a year".' (In the original, *Whittington* as well as *Fortune* is in italics.) I should remark that there is no mention of any one of the name of Whittington in Collier's edition of the Diary, nor have I found any trace of such a person in the MS. itself. Either therefore the entry was removed from the original between 1831 and 1845 (cf. p. xxxvi), or else, more probably, the whole is pure fiction. It would, under the circumstances, be hazardous to see in the epigram any allusion to Alleyn's playhouse.

[1] Warner (p. xxxi) quotes the following curious memorial from a parish-return in the Lambeth Library, dated 1650: 'The people of that part of the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, which is in the county of Middlesex represent that they are poor and unable to build a place of worship for themselves, but think it would be convenient if that large building commonly known

c. The Hope.

Lady Elizabeth's men

act at the Swan

and at Whitefriars.

Certain theatrical enterprises, which engaged Henslowe's attention towards the end of his life and led to the transformation of the old Bear Garden into the Hope playhouse, demand some mention here, although they fall wholly outside the period covered by the Diary. On 29 Aug. 1611 a number of actors entered into bonds with Henslowe (Mun. 47; MS. XVIII. 9) to observe certain articles of agreement of the same date, which have unfortunately perished, but which may be supposed similar to those concluded with Field somewhat later (Mun. 52). The players in question were evidently the rather mysterious, or at least perplexing, Lady Elizabeth's men. Since they were not formed into a company till after the accounts in the Diary had ceased, I have not thought it necessary to devote to their fortunes a separate section of this chapter, but the details of their arrangements with Henslowe are so important for the light they throw upon the manager's business methods, that I shall have to return to their history at some length when considering his theatrical finance. A few words may be said here on the subject of the houses at which they performed. It is probable, as we shall see later on, that when first constituted they acted at the Swan on the Bankside, and since we may suppose that Henslowe had undertaken to provide them with a house, he would seem to have had some connection with that theatre. It is, however, highly improbable that he did more than rent it for a time, perhaps only for a few months, as on an earlier occasion he appears to have rented the house at Newington Butts. Daborne, writing on 9 Dec. 1613, spoke of Henslowe's public house in a manner to imply that he also had a private house under his management at the time (MS. I. 91). This latter was most probably the Whitefriars, but of the nature of Henslowe's connection with it we know nothing. The public house was undoubtedly the Hope.

Conversion of the Bear Garden

The contract is preserved, dated 29 Aug. 1613, whereby Gilbert Katherens, of St. Saviour's, carpenter, covenanted to demolish the old Bear Garden and to build on its site a new house fitted both for bear-baiting and the representation of plays (Mun. 49). It was, in consequence, to have a removable stage supported upon trestles, but in all other respects was to be similar to the Swan, erected almost twenty years before in Paris Garden. There were to be two external staircases leading to the galleries; 'heavens' over the stage, that is, a roof such as is called the 'shadow' in the contract for the Fortune

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by the name of the Fortune Play House might be allotted and set apart for that purpose, which, as we humbly conceive, might be effected at a reasonable charge if the inhabitants were enabled thereunto' (B. M., MS. Add. 24,461, fol. 116). The result of the application does not appear.

(Mun. 22, l. 33 ; cf. also **2**^{v} 29), to be borne by the outer structure, without support from the stage ; gutters of lead, as at the Fortune, to carry the water away from the yard ; two boxes in the lowest gallery for gentlemen's rooms ; turned columns upon and over the stage, presumably at the back, supporting the balcony ; foundations of brick rising at least one foot above the ground ; and new English tiling on the upper roof of the house. The portions of the house where oak was to be employed and the dimensions of the main supports are specified in detail. The work was to be completed by 30 Nov. 1613, at a cost of £360, and Katherens contracted with one John Browne, of St. Saviour's, bricklayer, on 8 Sept., to have the whole of the brickwork done for £80 (Mun. 51). In this enterprise Henslowe had as his partner Jacob Meade who already had an interest in the Bear Garden. Alleyn had sold his interest to Henslowe in 1610 for the sum of £580 (MS. VIII, fol. 5^{v}). If we may trust Visscher's view of 1616 the Hope was an octagonal building,[1] in which case it must have been rebuilt before 1647, when it is shown as circular in Hollar's view.

into the Hope.

Date of opening.

The exact date at which the Hope was opened is not known. On 7 Oct. 1614, John Taylor, the water poet, was to have tried his wit there against one William Fennor who styled himself the King's Majesty's Riming Poet, but this champion failed to appear and the whole challenge ended in a fiasco, much to the disgust of Taylor, whom the populace, having ever had a noted sense of justice and fair play, pelted with stones and mud (Ordish, p. 226 ; Taylor's Works, 1630, sig. 2N1^{v}). A more important date is 30 Oct. of the same year, on which day, according to the Induction, Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was presented at the new house. There can be little doubt that the Hope is the theatre intended in the undated articles between Nathan Field and the partners Henslowe and Meade (Mun. 52), which it is probably safe to identify with those made in Mar. 1613/14 mentioned in the Articles of Grievance (MS. I. 106). From the latter we also learn that the house was to be used one day in fourteen for baiting. According to the articles with Dawes, 7 Apr. 1614, it would seem as though one day in four was to be set aside for this purpose, including Monday, but this is probably an error due to the imperfect state of the document and to careless transcription (Apx. I. 2). I conjecture that 'fower' should be fourteen, and that notice was to be given on a Monday. After Henslowe's death Alleyn and Meade entered into fresh articles with the company at the Hope on 20 Mar. 1615/6 (MS. I. 107). Finally we learn from an undated letter from the company to Alleyn that they had left the Hope owing to Meade's action in taking the day which 'by course' was theirs, that is, as I imagine, claiming a day for baiting in the intermediate week (MS. I. 110). There ensued a quarrel between Alleyn and Meade in which the latter represented that his partner had improperly interfered with the baiting, but though the dispute lasted till 22 Sept. 1619, little is known of its details (MS. II. 34, 35, III. 82, and Warner's notes, pp. 81 and 108). There is no evidence of the house having been used for acting after 1616 and with its new employment its new name tends to disappear, and we find it henceforth usually called the Bear Garden.[1] In 1632 appeared N. Goodman's pamphlet entitled *Holland's Leaguer*, in which, describing the house of that name, he mentions 'three famous Amphytheators, which stood so neere scituated, that [Donna Hollandia's] eye might take view of them from her lowest Turret, one was the Continent of the World, because halfe the yeere a World of Beauties, and braue Spirits resorted vnto it; the other was a building of excellent Hope, and though wild beasts and Gladiators, did most possesse it, yet the Gallants that came to behold those combats, though they were of a mixt Society, yet were many Noble worthies amongst them; the last which stood, and as it were shak'd handes with this Fortresse, beeing in times past, as famous as any of the other, was now fallen to decay, and like a dying Swanne, hanging downe her head, seemed to sing her own dierge' (sig. F2^v). The allusions to the Globe, the Hope, and the Swan are reasonably clear.[2]

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[1] Visscher shows the Swan as a twelve-sided structure, which is confirmed by the 1627 plan of Paris Garden manor reproduced by Rendle (*Bankside*).

Acting ceases there in 1616.

§ II. LORD STRANGE'S AND THE LORD CHAMBERLAIN'S MEN.

How the players in the time of Shakespeare came to be grouped into companies each under the protection of some royal or noble patron, need not trouble us here. The origin of the custom must be sought in the social organization of the beginning of the sixteenth century, and it was no doubt also influenced by conditions which survived from a yet earlier date. When our period opens, a little over ten years before the death of Elizabeth, with whose reign it practically closes, we already find the system in full operation; indeed, it may be said already to show signs of decay, for the relation between the patron and

Theatrical companies.

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[1] Howes, in his MS. continuation of Stow's *Survey of London* (Ordish, p. 240), says that the Hope on the Bankside, commonly called the Bear Garden, was used for plays on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, and for baiting on Tuesdays and Thursdays; but he unfortunately does not specify the period to which he is alluding, and since he places the building of the house in 1610 his statements cannot command implicit faith.

[2] I may mention that, in his notice of Henslowe, Lee writes (*D. N. B.*): 'Towards the close of the [sixteenth] century he seems to have taken some part in the management of the Swan theatre, which, like the Rose, was on the Bankside.' I am aware of no evidence whatever in support of this assertion. The only time at which we find any trace of a connection between Henslowe and the Swan is in 1611 (see p. 138). Lee presumably confused the Swan, which was in Paris Garden, with the Bear Garden, which, though in the Liberty of the Clink, was often spoken of as the Paris Garden (see p. 36).

his 'servants,' whatever it may have been originally and whatever it may still have been in theory—both questions of great difficulty—appears in practice to have been little more than nominal.

Lord Strange's company

The first company with which, so far as extant records go, we find Henslowe associated, is that known as Lord Strange's men. This company, more famous under its later titles of the Lord Chamberlain's and the King's men, is not only in itself one of the most important in the history of the stage, but is also more than any other familiar to the student of literature owing to the fact that with it Shakespeare's name is chiefly, if not exclusively, connected. Although we are here, of course, primarily concerned with that portion only of the company's history which we find recorded in the papers left by Henslowe, it will be necessary, in the first instance, to enter somewhat fully into the details of its earlier career.

mentioned by the Lord Mayor in Nov. 1589.

We find Strange's men mentioned for the first time by name as a regular company in a report from the Lord Mayor, John Hart, to Burghley, on 6 Nov. 1589. It appears that in pursuance of directions, or what he took to be such, from the Lord Treasurer, Hart had forbidden Strange's and the Admiral's men to perform in the city. The latter obeyed, but the former 'in very Contemptuous manner departing from me, wente to the Crosse keys and played that afternoone, to the greate offence of the better sorte,' whereupon the Lord Mayor sent for them again and committed two of their number 'to one of the Compters' (B. M., MS. Lansd. 60, fol. 47 ; Collier, *Annals*, i. p. 272). It is clear then that at this date they were already a recognized company. Their history, however, presents certain difficulties which have never been fully explained and which consequently call for discussion here, although their connection with the Admiral's company must necessitate our anticipating to some extent a later section of this chapter.

Kemp and others join Strange's men from Leicester's.

The composition of Strange's company during the early years of its life is known to us with unusual fulness owing to the preservation of two important documents. The earlier of these is the plot of 2 *Seven Deadly Sins* belonging to 1592, now preserved at Dulwich (Apx. II. 1); the other a licence dated 1593 of which we shall hear further in a moment. Now we find that the names of three important members of this company, Pope, Kemp and Bryan, appear earlier in the lists of Leicester's men at the time when these were travelling on the continent in the summer and autumn of 1586. Of these we possess two lists, one in the chamberlain's accounts at Helsingör in Denmark (Herz, p. 3), the other in a warrant from Christian, Duke of Saxony (Cohn, p. xxv). This latter not only gives the names in the body of the document but also preserves on a separate leaf what appear to be the autograph signatures of the players together with German glosses or translations of their names. The names occurring in both lists are those of Thomas Stephens, George Bryan, Thomas King, Thomas Pope, and Robert Percy, while the Danish adds William Kemp and his boy Daniel Jones. The fact that three of these reappear as Strange's men, while of the rest nothing further is heard,[1] has led to the supposition that the remnants of Leicester's company formed the nucleus of Strange's, and in this view I should be inclined to concur, were it not for the fact that there are reasons for supposing a different origin for the latter.

Alleyn wrongly supposed to have founded the company.

The actual inception of Strange's company has been commonly ascribed to Alleyn, on what appear to be quite erroneous grounds. Some months before we meet with Strange's men in the Lord Mayor's letter to Burghley, namely, on 3 Jan. 1589, Alleyn bought up Richard Jones' share in the stock of a theatrical company of which they were both members (MS. I. 2). The name of the company does not appear in the deed of sale, but the agreement of the names of the actors therein mentioned with those specified in the warrant for Worcester's men of 14 Jan. 1583 (p. 81) leaves little doubt as to its identity. Although the document is not very clearly worded, at least to the lay mind, the usual interpretation that Alleyn bought up the stock of the company in order to furnish Strange's men, would appear to be certainly incorrect. Fleay says that Worcester's men 'had been dissolved,' but this is an inference from the deed in question, and an obviously illegitimate one (*Stage*, p. 82). What Alleyn appears to have done was merely to purchase Jones' rights in the common stock, and as this would in no way imply the breaking of the company, there is no reason to suppose that he or any other member left before the death of their patron. The Earl of Worcester died on 22 Feb. the same year, and though a company under the patronage of his son is found acting in the provinces from 1590 onwards, it is probable, as we shall see further on, that Alleyn and the other principal sharers took the opportunity of transferring themselves to the patronage of the Lord Admiral.

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[1] This statement would of course not be true were it possible to substantiate Fleay's identification of the Rupert Persten of the Saxon warrant with Robert Greene. This point may be worth while considering for a moment, though the occurrence of the name Robert Persy in the Danish list makes it quite certain that we have merely to do with an actor of the name of Percy. I should say, to begin with, that Cohn prints the name in the body of the warrant as 'Rupert Persten (Pierst?),' while the signature which he reproduces in facsimile gives the form, as I read it, 'Robart persee' followed by the gloss 'Rupert Persen' or, just possibly, 'Persten.' Fleay, however, reads the signature 'Robert Person (*i.e.*, Parson),' and adds 'it is interpreted into German in the facsimile given by Cohn by *priester*, just as King is by *König* [in point of fact *Konick*], and Pope by *Papste* [or rather *Pabst*]. Cohn read the word Persten [there is nothing to show how Cohn read the gloss: he reproduced the signatures in facsimile without letter-press, and printed the body of the document without facsimile]; but if so, whence the interpretation? This "parson" I take to be Robert Greene, who was parson and actor, and abroad in 1586' (*Stage*, p. 82). In the first place, I can only account for Fleay's readings of the facsimile as the result of a desire to see there what would suit his theory. So far as I have any right to an opinion on a question of paleography, I do not hesitate to pronounce them impossible. The fact that King and Pope are translated is no difficulty; for Fleay has omitted to state that 'stevenes' is glossed 'Steffen' ('Stephan' in the text) which is not an 'interpretation' at all, while 'Bryane' is left unglossed. Lastly, Fleay's statement that Greene was abroad in 1586 appears (*Drama*, i. p. 256) to be an inference from the present document; it is therefore wholly illegitimate to cite it in corroboration. I may add that there is no satisfactory evidence of Greene's having ever taken orders, and the presumption against it is very strong (see Collins' *Greene*, i. p. 19).

Lord Strange's tumblers at Court.

The real origin of Strange's company will, I think, become clear from a study of the court performances, for the authentic records of which we are indebted to E. K. Chambers, who has printed in the *Modern Language Review* (ii. p. 1, Oct. 1906) important extracts from the 'declared accounts' of the Treasurer of the Chamber contained in the Pipe Rolls (541–3) at the Record Office. There we find mention on 15 Jan. 1580 of Lord Strange's tumblers (542, fol. 8), while we already knew that his servants performed feats of tumbling and activity on 28 Dec. 1581 and 1 Jan. 1583 (Fleay, *Stage*, pp. 29, 30; cf. *Revels*, p. 177). These are clearly the same as the 'Symons and his fellowes,' who showed feats of activity on 1 Jan. 1585 (*Stage*, p. 30; *Revels*, p. 188), for on 9 Jan. 1586 we hear of tumbling and activity by 'John Symonds and Mr Standleyes Boyes' (542, fol. 79), Lord Strange's name being, of course, Ferdinando Stanley. They performed yet again on 28 Dec. 1587 (542, fol. 108). It is clear, then, that there was a company of boy acrobats under the patronage of Lord Strange. The next point to be noticed is that the Admiral's men, who are occasionally mentioned at an earlier date as representing plays, are paid for performances on 29 Dec. 1588 and 11 Feb. 1589 'for showinge other feates of activitye and tumblinge' as well (542, fol. 126). They also appear to have varied their programme similarly the following season, 1589–90, during which they performed on 23 Dec. and 3 Mar. (*Stage*, p. 77). The significance of these entries will be apparent when we consider the next. This is the payment for performances on 27 Dec. 1590 and 16 Feb. 1591, 'and for other feates of Activitye then also done by them,' which are assigned by the Pipe Rolls to Strange's men (542, fol. 156), and by the Acts of the Privy Council to the Admiral's (5 Mar. 1591). During the season of 1591–2 Strange's men gave six performances, during that of 1592–3, three. The Admiral's men do not reappear till 1594–5, and we hear no more of feats of activity.

Probable union of Strange's with the Admiral's men.

There is a strong suggestion in these entries of a union of some sort between the Admiral's men and Strange's boy tumblers, leading gradually to the latter superseding the former as an effective dramatic body. Leicester, it should be remembered, died on 4 Sept. 1588, and it is not unlikely that Kemp, Bryan, and Pope, who were certainly members of Strange's company in 1592, joined the boys at a moment when these were beginning to grow up. The Admiral's men were temporarily dispersed about this time, some going on tour in Germany. There are not wanting indications that a more or less close union was effected between the rising forces of Strange's company and what remained of the older Admiral's men, though no actual amalgamation took place. The list of the former contained in their warrant of 6 May 1593 is headed by 'Edward Allen, servaunt to the right honorable the L. Highe Admiral' (p. 74). On 7 Jan. 1594 an entry was made on the Stationers' Register of *A Knack to Know a Knave*, which was published in the course of the year 'as it hath sundrie tymes bene played by Ed. Allen and his Companie. With Kemps applauded Merriments of the men of Goteham.' Kemp was, of course, one of Strange's men named in the above-mentioned warrant, and the play was first performed by that company on 10 June 1592 (**8** 6). The fact that Allen was popularly known in London in 1594 as the leader of Strange's men, proves that he must have occupied that position at least as early as the beginning of their tenure of the Rose in 1592. Whether other servants of the Admiral besides Alleyn were touring with Strange's men is not certain, but there is some reason to believe that Alleyn had his boy or apprentice, usually known as Pig, with him, and that Thomas Downton, later a leading member of the Admiral's company, was also of the party (MS. I. 15). The two companies are recorded as acting together at Shrewsbury probably in Aug. 1593 (p. 75). Lastly, after the return of the companies to town in the spring of 1594 the Admiral's men are found for a while at Newington Butts in joint occupation with the Chamberlain's, who, as I shall endeavour to show later on, have been rightly regarded as the continuation of Strange's company. Against this view of a union between the Admiral's and Strange's men must be set Lord Mayor Hart's letter already mentioned (p. 69), which certainly shows that the two bodies were distinct and capable of independent action. It by no means proves, however, that they were not at this time working in concert with each other.

Strange's men perform at the Cross Keys in 1589,

Strange's men performed, then, in defiance of magisterial authority at the Cross Keys within the City of London. The corporation had of course long waged war against the players, but the practical result of their opposition had so far been to cause the erection of various special houses in the northern and southern liberties, without sensibly diminishing the number of companies performing at inns within their walls. The spasmodic inhibitions in which energetic mayors such as John Hart occasionally indulged when newly arrayed in the dignity of civic office, resulted in nothing more than temporary submission, as in the case of the Admiral's, or temporary restraint, as in that of Strange's men. The Cross Keys, where the latter company performed, was an inn in Gracechurch Street, which seems to have been a frequent resort of theirs for some years. A desire to magnify the importance of the infant company, round which such august associations were to gather in its prime, has led to the belief that it performed at the Theatre, the natural centre of dramatic interest and romance (Lee, *Shakespeare*, p. 37). This may possibly have been so if the supposed union with the Admiral's men was actual, for it is pretty certain that at the period in question the two Shoreditch houses were in the occupation of the Queen's and Admiral's men (it is impossible to specify further); if not, the enthusiastic Shakespearian will have to content himself with the Cross Keys as the cradle of the company.[1]

and at the Rose in 1592.

On Saturday, 19 Feb. 1591/2, Henslowe began his accounts in connection with the representations at the Rose, his newly restored playhouse on the Bankside; and the first company which we find performing there is Lord Strange's (7). As already said, the actual date at which the building was finished is unknown, nor can we claim any positive knowledge of the date at which acting began there. All that we know for certain is that on the date above mentioned Henslowe first began to keep extant accounts of his receipts from the daily performances, and we may infer with reasonable certainty that on the date in question Strange's men either first began to act at his house, or else at least entered into such an agreement with him as to necessitate his keeping a daily record. What the nature of the agreement can have been is a perplexing problem which will require consideration later (§ VI).

Restraint of June 1592,

The entries continue from 19 Feb. to 22 (23) June when they suddenly cease owing to the inhibition issued by the Privy Council on that date (p. 51). It is clear from the series of documents already examined that Strange's men must have petitioned against the restraint and received permission to act three days a week at the house at Newington Butts. They preferred to travel in the country, but soon found that they were unable to collect enough money in this manner to support a company numbering at this time about two dozen. A second petition was therefore presented, as from them, and supported by another from the Thames watermen, which had the desired effect, and a warrant for the reopening of the Rose was issued by the Council probably in August. It will be noticed that the warrant was for the removal of the restraint from the house, and that it sanctioned the acting there of any company whether Strange's or not. The licence, however, came too late; the plague supervened early in Sept. and the houses remained closed till near the end of the year. It was on 29 Dec. that Strange's men opened once more at

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[1] This allocation of houses differs from that originally proposed by Fleay (*Stage*, p. 88). He has, however, kindly informed me that he no longer defends his original scheme. He further points out that Strange's men first appear at court [as performing plays and independent of the Admiral's men] in the season of 1591–2, when they acted no less than six times. It is immediately after this, and so possibly in consequence, that we find them for the first time certainly performing at a public theatre, namely, the Rose.

Henslowe's house. Their occupancy was, however, destined to be short, and the entries cease again after 1 Feb. 1593. During the winter they performed three times at Hampton Court, namely, 26 Dec. (three days before the opening of the Rose), 31 Dec. (a Sunday), and 1 Jan., the warrant for their payment being dated 7 Mar. (*Acts P. C.*). Already on 21 Jan. the plague was on the increase again and the Lords of the Council addressed a strong letter to the city authorities on the subject. This was followed on 28 Jan. by another recommending the prohibition of bear-batings, plays, &c., and similar instructions were sent to the justices of Surrey and Middlesex (*Acts P. C.* under dates mentioned). Why these were not at once operative is not known; anyhow the Rose remained open till 1 Feb., after which performances ceased.

and of Feb. 1593.

The sickness continued to spread, and many had died by 6 Apr. (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*); 1593 was, indeed, destined to be one of the great plague years. Fleay gives the number of deaths from plague as 11,503 (*Stage*, p. 162), while Camden states that there died of all diseases within the city and suburbs 17,890 (*Annals*, 1635, p. 423).[1] On 29 Apr. Sussex' men received a permit to travel, and on 6 May the Privy Council issued an order authorizing Lord Strange's men to 'exercize their quallitie of playing comodies, tragedies and such like in any other cities, townes and corporacions where the infection is not, so it be not within seaven miles of London or of the Coort . . . at their most convenient times and places (the accustomed times of Devine praiers excepted).' The cause of the restraint in London is explicitly stated, namely, that 'it was thought meet that during the time of the infection and continewaunce of the sicknes in the citie of London there shold no plaies or enterludes be usd, for th'avoiding of th'assemblies and concourse of people in anie usual place apointed nere the said cittie' (*Acts P. C.*). This warrant also contains a list of Strange's men, from which we should hardly infer that their numbers were very great (cf. MS. I. 16), but it must be remembered that only sharers or, at any rate, the most prominent members would be mentioned, and most of the hired men had probably been turned off since the previous summer. Only six players are named, including Alleyn, who is distinguished as 'servaunt to the right honorable the L. Highe Admiral,' though the whole troupe is described as 'being al one companie, servantes to our verie good the [*sic*] lord the Lord Strainge.' Shakespeare's

Warrant to Strange's men.

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[1] These figures must not be taken as authoritative. The figures given by Stow (*Annals*, 1615, p. 766^{a}), for the period 29 Dec. 1592 to 20 Dec. 1593, are of all diseases 17,893, and of plague 10,675 (rather 10,775?). These agree with Camden's but are distinctly stated to apply to the city and liberties only. There were, however, also out-parishes making returns, and a broadside of 1603 gives the corresponding totals for 20 Dec. 1592 to 23 Dec. 1593 as 25,886 and 15,003 respectively. Fleay's figures are those of the anonymous *Reflections on the Bills of Mortality* of 1665, but the accuracy of these was officially denied the same year. It seems, indeed, probable that the number 11,503 is a mere misprint for 15,003 (C. Creighton, *Epidemics in Britain*, 1891, i. pp. 253-4).

name does not appear, whence we may conclude that, though he was possibly already a member of the company, he was not at this time a shareholder.

The company, however, did not wait for the warrant before setting out on its journey. Alleyn, who had married Henslowe's step-daughter in the previous October, kept up a fairly regular correspondence with his friends in town, from which we learn in a general manner the movements of the company. Thus on 2 May we find Alleyn writing to his wife from Chelmsford (MS. I. 9). Henslowe's letter to Alleyn of 5 July is unfortunately without address (*id.* 10). On 1 Aug. Alleyn writes from Bristol giving Shrewsbury, Chester and York as further addresses (*id.* 11). At Shrewsbury we actually find in the Corporation records for this year the entry 'Item, paid and yeven to my L. Strange and my L. Admyralls players, xl*s*.' (Halliwell, *Illustrations*, p. 33). Another letter from Henslowe belonging doubtless to Aug. 1593 is addressed to Alleyn as 'one of my lorde Stranges Players,' which at least shows under what title the possibly joint company was passing at this time (MS. I. 12). From a further letter of Henslowe's, dated 14 Aug., we learn that the company had been at Bath where Alleyn had been too ill to perform (*id.* 13). Another tells us that Alleyn was still travelling on 28 Sept. (*id.* 14). Lastly, if, as would appear almost certain, the letter addressed to Mrs. Alleyn and signed John Pyk, that is, the boy actor commonly known as Pig, belongs to this period, we learn the important fact that Thomas Downton, a prominent member of the Admiral's company from 1595 onwards, who is represented as writing the letter, was at this time touring like Alleyn with Strange's men (*id.* 15). Whether Alleyn was an ordinary sharer is not known, but it seems likely that he acted as manager, a fact that would account for his name appearing at the head of the list in the warrant, and not appearing at all in the plot of 2 *Seven Deadly Sins*.[1] That he did himself act with the company is, however, proved by the title-page of *A Knack to Know a Knave* and by the allusion to his part having been taken by an understudy at Bath. Meanwhile on 25 Sept. 1593 Lord Strange succeeded to the earldom of Derby, and his players were known for a while as Derby's men. As such they performed at Leicester before the end of the year (Kelly, p. 227).

Their travels.

In his letter of 28 Sept. Henslowe mentions that Pembroke's men had already been back five or six weeks, having failed to pay their way in the country (MS. I. 14). This company, which had given two performances at court the previous winter, was, indeed, in sore straits. Probably

Return to London.

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[1] I do not think that the 'Ned' who played a female part in one of the four plays can have been Alleyn, who was then twenty-five. The fact that not a single name in the plot reappears in any of the lists of Admiral's men, seems to show that with the exception of Alleyn himself these latter had no existence in England at this time. Jones and Browne were in Germany. The use of the double title in the Shrewsbury records is easily explained by supposing that the players showed a copy of their warrant of 6 May.

other companies too were in town, waiting till a diminution of the sickness should allow of the reopening of the theatres, and ready to commence at whatever house they could secure. The Earl of Sussex', and later the Queen's men, played at the Rose. There is, however, no reason to suppose that Alleyn and his fellows returned before the following Easter. The fact of the Admiral's men opening Henslowe's house on 14 May, possibly indicates that Derby's had also returned, but their actual appearance was delayed till the first days of June. This may have been due to the fact that on 16 Apr. 1594 the Earl of Derby died, and his company was consequently left without an official patron. They lost no time in seeking service elsewhere, and soon became the servants of Henry Carey, Baron Hunsdon, who held the office of Lord Chamberlain, whence they were known as the Chamberlain's men.[1]

Strange's men become the Lord Chamberlain's.

They perform together with the Admiral's men.

As such the company performed at Newington from 3 (5) to 13 (15) June 1594 together with the Admiral's men (9 16). If the two bodies had been travelling together in the country, it would be natural enough that they should arrange for the joint occupancy of a theatre on their return to town, if anything occurred to prevent their following their normal careers independently. The nature of their relations as well as the limits of their union will best be discussed later in connection with the Admiral's men, who are from our present point of view much the more important company. For the moment it must suffice to say that after 13 (15) June the Chamberlain's men disappear from Henslowe's Diary, and consequently from this imperfect history. How they were engaged during the summer we do not know, though it may be conjectured that they were already established at the Theatre. An interesting document concerning them is dated 8 Oct. following. This is a letter written by Lord Hunsdon, 'now that the sickness hath departed from the City,' to the Lord

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[1] This statement requires a few words of explanation. Of the substantial identity of composition of the two bodies there can be no doubt: Cowley, Duke, Burbadge, Bryan, Sly, Phillips, Pope, and others were all members of Strange's company earlier, and later of the Chamberlain's. It is on the other hand difficult to trace any connection of repertory except in the case of *Henry VI* (see Chap. III, § 1). This need hardly surprise us. It is true that we find mention of a Chamberlain's company in 1585 and 1586, soon after Hunsdon's appointment, but it seems doubtful whether they were distinct from the Admiral's, and they disappear completely between 1586 and 1594 (p. 81). One other objection may be found in Hunsdon's letter to the Lord Mayor to be discussed shortly (p. 77). The Index to the Remembrancia represents him as there speaking of his 'new' company, which would suggest that it had been freshly raised (*Remembrancia*, p. 353). Halliwell, however, quotes the document as reading 'my nowe [*sic*] companie' which is open to the interpretation of 'the company now mine' (*Illustrations*, p. 31), and it is the latter reading that is correct. Hunsdon goes on, moreover, to mention the Cross Keys as the habitual winter resort of the company, which was, as we have already seen, the case with Strange's men.

Mayor, setting forth that 'where my nowe companie of players have byn accustomed, for the better exercise of their qualitie and for the service of her Majestie if need so requier, to plaie this winter time within the Citye at the Crosse Kayes in Gratious [Gracechurch] Street, these are to require and praye your Lordship to permitt and suffer them soe to doe, the which I praie you the rather to doe for that they have undertaken to me that where heretofore they began not their plaies till towardes fower a clock, they will now begin at two and have don betwene fower and five, and will nott use anie drumes or trumpettes att all for the callinge of peopell together, and shal be contributories to the poore of the parishe where they plaie accordinge to their habilities' (Halliwell, *Illustrations*, p. 31; cf. *Remembrancia*, p. 353). The mention of the sickness having now left the city, whereas in fact the plague had ceased several months before, would suggest that the writer had in mind some occasion a year or so previously when a similar request may have been made, and refused on the ground of the infection. 'This winter time,' when the company had been accustomed to play at the Cross Keyes, must, of course, refer merely to the season and not to any particular year, and we may conjecture that Strange's (now Hunsdon's) men had not performed at the inn in question since the winter of 1591–2. It is also clear that the company looked on the inn as its winter quarters, and the fact of its acting there would in no way interfere with its occupation of the Theatre as its regular house. Later on Worcester's men are found in occupation both of the Red Bull and the Curtain (p. 107). There is, therefore, no reason to suppose with Fleay that permission was refused (*Stage*, p. 134), though there is certainly no evidence that it was granted. The Chamberlain's men were certainly acting the old *Hamlet* at the Theatre in 1595 or 1596, and no doubt occupied that house till the expiry of Burbadge's lease in 1597. It was demolished in the winter of 1598–9, and the Globe was built of its materials during the latter year. In the interval the Chamberlain's men possibly acted at the Curtain. On the accession of James the company came under royal patronage, and was thenceforth known as the King's men. A list of the various titles under which it passed will be found in Chap. V, § IV.

Hunsdon's letter on their behalf.

Their subsequent history,

The composition of the company is known in some detail from various plots and documents connected with it. Lists will be found in Chap. V, § XII. We also find in the Diary entries from the years 1594 and 1595 relating to William Blackwage, Ralph Raye, and Richard Hoope, each of whom is described as 'my lord chamberlenes man' (**3–3**^{v}; cf. Young, ii. p. 328). Fleay does not regard them as actors (*Stage*, p. 135), but there is no means of telling. They are not mentioned elsewhere, and were at most hired men. The plot of 2 *Seven Deadly Sins*, it should be remembered, dates from before the great plague year, which must have profoundly modified the less stable elements of

and composition.

Strange's, as it did of other companies. Lastly may be mentioned that on 30 Jan. 1598/9, Dekker was discharged by the Admiral's men from an arrest at the suit of the Chamberlain's, at the cost of £3. 10, which Henslowe advanced (**53** 17; cf. **101** 1).

§ III. The Earl of Sussex' and the Queen's Men.

The next companies that fall to be considered are, at least from our present point of view, of little importance. They are the servants respectively of Sussex and Elizabeth, and since the latter are only found in the Diary in conjunction with the former, the two companies may be conveniently treated together.

Sussex' company

performs at the Rose, Christmas 1593-4,

Sussex' men began to act at the Rose immediately upon the cessation of the plague in Dec. 1593, when Derby's and the Admiral's companies were probably still wandering in the provinces. Patronized by Henry Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, they never attained eminence and are only occasionally met with in London. We find them mentioned for the first time in the Leicester records in Feb. and Nov. 1589 and again in Aug. 1591 (Kelly, pp. 224, 226). It is true that players of the 'Lord of Sussex' appeared there in 1573–5, but that was before Henry Radcliffe's succession, and it is doubtful whether the company was the same (Kelly, pp. 205–6). They gave one isolated performance at court on 2 Jan. 1592, a Sunday, a warrant for their payment being issued on 20 Feb. (*Acts P. C.*). They also appear to have been in London in the winter of 1592–3, for we find a warrant from the Privy Council issued in the spring of the latter year authorizing them to travel (*Acts P. C.*, 29 Apr. 1593). Possibly, like Pembroke's men, they were unsuccessful, for they were in London again at the end of the year, and apparently took advantage of the delayed return of the regular London companies when the plague began to abate, to open at the Rose on 27 (26) Dec. (8^{v} 4). They do not appear to have enjoyed much success. The first three or four days fair receipts were gathered, as might be expected in Christmas week after a long cessation of dramatic activity, but the takings soon fell off, Henslowe's share sinking on one occasion as low as 5*s*. The only event of interest was the production of *Titus Andronicus* ('titus & ondronicus') as a new play on 23 (24) Jan. 1593/4. The company ceased again after 6 Feb. On 3 Feb. the Lords of the Council had written to the Lord Mayor, requiring him to restrain until further notice all public plays and interludes within five miles of the city of London, on account of the plague (*Remembrancia*, p. 353), and no doubt similar instructions had been issued to the county justices. There were 421 deaths from plague in the course of 1594, and the Rose was not opened again till Easter.

and again at Easter.

When the Easter holidays arrived they succeeded in obtaining, or else took, leave to reopen, this time in conjunction with the Queen's men. They began on Easter Monday, 1 Apr., and performed till 8 (9) Apr. following. The two companies presumably used the house on different days, and as only two of the pieces acted by them can be traced in the earlier repertory of Sussex' men the majority presumably belonged to the Queen's. The performances of Sussex' company were on 3, 4 and 7 (8) Apr. After this they disappear from London, and indeed from dramatic history generally. We learn from an allusion in Heywood's *Apology* (1612, ed. Shak. Soc. p. 57) that they performed *Friar Francis* at Lynn in Norfolk, but the date is not mentioned. Their original patron died 14 Dec. 1593 and was succeeded by Robert Radcliffe, who presumably took his father's company under his protection. Of its composition nothing whatever is known.[1]

The Queen's company

The Queen's company was instituted in 1583, when twelve of the foremost actors were appointed servants to Elizabeth with the status of grooms of the chamber.[2] The history of the company in the days of its greatness does not concern us here; we only come across it in its decline. By 1591 all the more important members of the original company were either dead or had retired from the stage, and no younger actors of ability appear to have been introduced to fill the vacancies thus caused. Literary competition seems also to have told against them. Marlowe had apparently ceased to write for them, and Greene remained their solitary support. In 1592 he died. They are said to have acted at the Theatre, and to have got into trouble over the Martin Marprelate controversy in 1589. They continued, however, to perform regularly at court down to 1591, and were only prevented by the plague from acting at Christmas 1592 (B.M., MS. Lansd. 71, fol. 204; Collier, *Annals*, i. p. 294). In the autumn of that year they were travelling, and we find them at Chesterton, near Cambridge, on 8 Sept. (*Annals*, i. p. 289). When they returned to London is uncertain, but

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[1] Mr. Chambers has kindly drawn my attention to an interesting passage in Thomas Kyd's letter to Sir John Puckering (ed. Boas, p. cviii) which may show that Marlowe wrote for this company. 'My first acquaintance wth this Marlowe,' writes Kyd, 'rose vpon his bearing name to serve my Lo: although his L^{p} never knewe his service, but in writing for his plaiers, ffor never cold my L. endure his name or sight, when he had heard of his conditions.' The question as to who Kyd's 'Lord' was is discussed by Boas (p. lxiv), and the most likely suggestion seems to be that he was Robert Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex. Marlowe was, of course, dead before he succeeded to the title, but may possibly have had dealings with his father's company. The *Jew of Malta* is, however, the only play of Marlowe's in this repertory, and that was certainly not a company piece.

[2] According to Stow (*Annals*, 1615, p. 697^{a}) 'they were sworne the Queenes seruants, & were allowed wages, and liueries, as groomes of the chamber.' They were not, however, appointed to the office, for the list appended to a warrant of 8 Nov. 1586 contains fifteen names only, none of which are those of members of the company (B. M., MS. Add. 5750, fol. 113).

acts at the Rose at Easter 1594.

they performed again at court on 6 Jan. 1594, and appear at the Rose together with Sussex' men from 1 to 8 (9) Apr. (**9** 1). Their performances were on 1, 2, 5, 6 and 8 (9) Apr., and their repertory included the old *King Leir*. On 8 May 159[3/]4[1] Francis Henslowe laid down 'for his share to the Quene's players when they broke & went into the contrey to playe the some of fyftenpownd' (**2**^{v} 30). Since we find him apparently acting with another company in 1595 (**3**^{v} 5), it is possible that the Queen's men came to a definite end in the interval. It is true that we find mention of the Queen's Majesty's Players in the Leicester records as late as 1602, as well as at other places (e. g. Ludlow, 1595–6), but the form of the entries bears out the view that the term may have been applied to any of the recognized companies which were in the habit of performing at court (Kelly, p. 235; cf. Fleay, *Stage*, p. 79). Little is known of the composition of the company at the time we come across it. The warrants for the payments for court performances were made out in favour of John Laneham and John and Lawrence Dutton. Francis Henslowe, as we have seen, bought a share on 8 May 1594, and it has been suggested that the three witnesses to the loan, John Towne, Hugh Daves, and Richard Alleyn, may have been members of the same company. It is quite impossible to pronounce on the point. John Towne may be an error for Thomas Towne, who, like Richard Alleyn, was later a member of the Admiral's company; Hugh Davis is also found connected with the company.

§ IV. THE LORD ADMIRAL'S OR EARL OF NOTTINGHAM'S MEN.

Lord Howard and the Earl of Sussex.

Lord Howard and Lord Hunsdon.

We now come to the theatrical organization for our knowledge of which we are most of all indebted to Henslowe. Its patron was Charles Howard, Baron Howard of Effingham, and later Earl of Nottingham. On the death, 9 June 1583, of the Earl of Sussex, Howard was appointed Lord Chamberlain, and it is possible that he may have taken over his predecessor's company.[2] In July 1585 Howard was appointed Lord High Admiral, and Henry Carey, Baron Hunsdon, became Chamberlain (Stow, *Annals*, 1615, p. 708). Between 1583 and 1585 there is no mention of a Chamberlain's company, but in the latter year we find 'the Lorde Chamberlens and the Lord Admiralls playors' performing at Leicester (Kelly,

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[1] Francis went on tour with them, for the money, advanced by his uncle Philip, was to be repaid 'at his Retorne owt of the contrey.' This proves that the date must be 1594 and not 1593, during which year Francis was in London. He actually left on 18 May 1594 (p. xx).

[2] The evidence on this point is singularly involved. Sussex was appointed in July 1572. For a summary of all the available evidence concerning the succession of the Lords Chamberlain and their companies during Elizabeth's reign, see the valuable paper contributed by E. K. Chambers to the Malone Society *Collections*, 1907.

p. 215), while on 31 Jan. 1586 payment was made 'To the servantes of the Lo. Admirall and the Lo. Chamberlaine, . . . for a plaie by them presented before her Majestie one Twelfe daie last paste' (Pipe Rolls, 542, fol. 79; Halliwell, *Illustrations*, p. 31). If these entries are to be trusted, Hunsdon had a company of players within a few months of his appointment as Chamberlain,[1] though we hear nothing further of any Chamberlain's company till he took over Derby's (Strange's) in 1594. It might, therefore, be questioned whether the two companies were, in fact, distinct, or whether we ought not rather to regard the entries as merely due to confusion, what was really meant being 'the Lord Admiral, late Lord Chamberlain, his servants.' In view, however, of the fact that the Admiral's men alone gave a performance at court on 27 Dec. 1585, which was not included in the warrant already mentioned, it is perhaps more reasonable to suppose that the two companies united at this date, and, after for a while preserving their double name and to some extent their independence, ultimately became merged under the patronage of Lord Howard. Either hypothesis necessitates the pre-existence of a company in his service, and this may perhaps trace its descent from the organizations of the time of Sussex' Chamberlainship.

Admiral-Chamberlain companies.

Edward Alleyn and the Earl of Worcester's men.

At this time Edward Alleyn was a member of Worcester's company. The earliest mention of him as an actor that we possess is in a licence to these men dated 14 Jan. 1582/3 (25 Eliz.), which contains a list of the members. A copy of this licence is happily preserved in the records of Leicester, in connection with a visit paid by Worcester's men to that town in 1584 (Hall Papers, i. fol. 38; Kelly, p. 212; cf. Young, ii. p. 3).[2] Next we have the deed of sale by R. Jones to Alleyn, dated 3 Jan. 1588/9, which also records the names of several members (MS. I. 2). The company does not appear ever to have acted in London, but in the provinces it had a long if not a distinguished career. It is found at Leicester in 1563, 1566, 1571, 1572, and 1575 (Kelly, pp. 195, 197, 204–6). It was doubtless with this company that Alleyn spent the years of his dramatic apprenticeship and he appears as one of its leading members at the early age of sixteen. If we are to infer from his being mentioned in the warrant that he was already a sharer, he may indeed be said to have risen quickly in his profession. The list of Worcester's men known to us is as follows:

Composition of Worcester's company.

* Robert Browne
James Tonstall
* Edward Alleyn
William Harryson
Thomas Cooke
* Richard Johnes
Edward Browne
Richard Andrews
[* John Alleyn.]

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[1] Lord Hunsdon's Servants had performed at court 27 Dec. 1582 (Fleay, *Stage*, p. 29).

[2] Fleay (*Stage*, p. 86) follows Halliwell (*Shak. Soc. Papers*, iv. p. 145) in giving the wrong date, 28 Eliz., i.e. 1585–6.

All except the last appear in the licence of 1583, while those distinguished by an asterisk are mentioned in the deed of sale of 1589; it would seem as though these constituted the whole body of remaining sharers. The company was probably then much diminished and may have already contemplated dissolution. Two others, Thomas Powlton, and William Pateson who is described as 'my lord Harbards man,' were also with the company at Leicester in 1584; they were presumably not sharers, and are not heard of again (Kelly, p. 213). Of the eight names in the 1583 list, Harryson, Cooke, and Andrews do not reappear. An Edward Browne is met with in the Diary in 1600 (**20**^{v} 14–5), presumably as an Admiral's man, and also in the plot of 1 *Tamar Cam* (Apx. II. 7); while Tunstall is found witnessing deeds for John and Edward Alleyn in 1590–1 (MS. I. 4–5), and is doubtless the same as the Admiral's man James Dunstone: neither was, it would seem, a sharer in 1589. The rest also reappear as members of the Admiral's company.[1]

Transference of Worcester's men to the Admiral's company.

We have already seen that what Alleyn did, according to the deed of sale, was to purchase Jones' share in the stock of the company, not, as has been commonly supposed, to buy up the whole stock (p 70). It follows that the deed by no means implies the breaking of the company. William Somerset, Earl of Worcester, died, however, on 22 Feb. 1589, when the company passed under the patronage of his son Edward Somerset, and appears at Leicester in 1590, 1591, 1593, 1595, 1596, and 1603 (Kelly, pp. 225–9 and 236). But it is clear that the leading members soon separated themselves from the provincial troupe and no doubt sought their fortunes in London. They reappear, as we have seen, among the Admiral's men. The date at which they left Worcester's company is uncertain; equally so that of their joining the Admiral's. Fleay, writing under the erroneous belief that the deed of sale implied the breaking of the company in Jan. 1589, after pointing out that some of Worcester's men joined the Admiral's company, proceeds: 'I believe, however, that this did not take place immediately, and that this Worcester's company passed at his death under Pembroke's patronage,' and goes on to imply that they only joined the Admiral's men in 1594, at a time when, during the joint occupation of the Newington house, the Chamberlain's men seem to have been acting plays which Pembroke's men had been obliged to sell the year before (*Stage*, p. 87). This conjecture, however, can fortunately be disproved, for, strange as it may seem, Fleay has quite overlooked two important pieces of documentary evidence. In the first place, John Alleyn, Edward's elder brother, who appears as one of Worcester's men in the deed of sale of Jan. 1589, is styled 'servaunte to me the Lo. Admyrall' in a letter from the Privy Council to certain Aldermen dated 14 July the same year (MS. III. 3; *Alleyn Papers*, p. 5). Again, both Richard Jones and Robert Browne, who appear in the lists of Worcester's men in 1583 and 1589, are mentioned in a passport from the Lord Admiral dated 10 Feb. 1591/2 (Cohn, p. xxviii). Edward Alleyn, too, while heading Strange's men in 1593, is described as the servant of the Lord Admiral, and the fact that in 1594 Derby's men were popularly known as 'Ed. Allen and his Companie' makes it practically certain that he had led the troupe in London in 1592 (p. 72). This would throw back his connection with the Admiral's men at least to 1591. That the four men in question, the two Alleyns, Jones and Robert Browne, not to mention Tunstall and Edward Browne, left Worcester's company and joined the Admiral's in a body cannot be proved; but the probability is in favour of the supposition, and in that case there can be little doubt that the occasion was the death of the old Earl of Worcester. There is clearly no room for Pembroke's company. Of the general outline of events there can be little doubt. Early in 1589 the two Alleyns, Browne and Jones, left the declining provincial troupe and joined the now famous Admiral's men. These, after an interval of three years, had performed at court on 28 Dec. 1588 and continued to do so regularly till the spring of 1591 (Pipe Rolls, 542, fols. 126, 156; *Acts P. C.*, 28 Feb. 1589, 5 Mar. 1591). Where they acted is not known for certain. They are mentioned among the companies performing about the city in the report of a spy of Walsingham's on 25 Jan. 1586/7 (MS. Harley, 286, fol. 102; Collier, *Annals*, i. p. 263), and were evidently using some inn-yard when, unlike Strange's men, they 'very dutifullie obeyed' the restraint of the Lord Mayor in Nov. 1589 (p. 69). It is also not unlikely that they may have performed at the Curtain, at least in the summer months, though we lack definite evidence. They were at court on 16 Feb. 1591; the following year their place appears to have been taken by Sussex' and Hertford's men, who performed on 2 and 6 Jan. 1592 respectively (*Acts P. C.*, 20 Feb. 1592), and it is clear that the company was dispersed for a while. On 19 Feb. 1592 Strange's men commenced at the Rose, and there is every reason to believe that Edward Alleyn, now twenty-five years of age, had already become manager of this company now emerging into fame. Nine days earlier, Browne and Jones, together with their fellows

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[1] Young (ii. p. 5) mentions a list of Worcester's men in 1586, but this is evidently a mistake due to Halliwell having misdated the licence of 1583. I ought to say that the deed of 1589 is capable of being construed in a different sense from that assumed above. The company whose stock is in question is not named, and although it is obvious that its personnel is the same as that of Worcester's, it might be argued that the actors named had already left their former company and joined the Admiral's. I do not, however, think this likely. Jones is represented as holding his interest in the stock jointly with Edward and John Alleyn and Robert Browne, which must imply that these four were the only sharers of the company in question. Although we know little or nothing of the composition of the Admiral's men at this early date, we can hardly suppose them to have been such an insignificant organization as this would imply.

Early reference to the Admiral's men,

and their dispersion from 1591 to 1594.

Bradstriet and Saxfield (Sackville), who now appear for the first time, had obtained their passport from Howard to travel in Germany and 'd'exercer leurs qualitez en faict de musique, agilitez et joeuz de commedies, tragedies et histoires' (Cohn, p. xxviii). Of John Alleyn we do not hear at this time, but as he was an inn-holder he was probably not dependent on the stage for a living. Indeed, he seems to have retired, for, though he survived till the spring of 1596, he does not again appear in connection with dramatic affairs (**3**^{v} 22 ; Mun. 110). Other members of the Admiral's company evidently travelled in the provinces. They are found at Leicester on 19 Dec. 1592 (Kelly, p. 227), and the following year, in conjunction with Strange's men, at Shrewsbury (Halliwell, *Illustrations*, p. 33). Whether there was a union of the two bodies has been already discussed (p. 72). It is most unlikely that during this unsettled period they should have produced many, if any, new plays, whence it follows that any pieces produced by them in 1594, and not then marked as new, most probably date back as far as 1591. They do not, however, start with a very large stock ; only ten or twelve against the eighteen or so possessed by Strange's men in 1592.

The Admiral's men act at the Rose in June 1594.

Conjunction with the Chamberlain's men only temporary.

In the spring of 1594 the principal members of the Admiral's company were once again assembled in London. Alleyn during his connection with Strange's men had been brought in contact with Henslowe, and their relations had become more intimate through the marriage of Alleyn with Henslowe's step-daughter, Joan Woodward, which took place on Sunday, 22 Oct. 1592 (**2** 5). The two men seem to have suited each other, and some sort of partnership was clearly to the advantage of both. Having, in the spring of 1594, as we may suppose, rejoined his own company, Alleyn naturally sought to establish it at Henslowe's house. Performances are actually recorded at the Rose 'Jn the name of god Amen begininge the 14 of maye 1594 by my lord admeralls men,' but only continued for three days (**9** 11). The reason of this is not known, but the most likely explanation is that certain repairs or at least an extensive cleaning proved necessary. Meanwhile arrangements were made for the Admiral's men to act for a while in company with the Chamberlain's at Newington Butts. The duration of this arrangement has been very generally misapprehended. Indeed, so far as I am aware, Fleay was the first to point out that it extended to ten performances only (*Stage*, p. 140). Yet the arguments upon which this limitation is based are absolutely convincing. After the performance of 13 (15) June Henslowe has drawn a line across the page, below which the entries run on, with occasional intervals, in regular succession till the summer of 1597 without further heading. Now the entries above the line mention three plays, which are known to have been connected with the Chamberlain's men either as having been acted by them (*Titus*) or as having served as the basis of later work for them (*Hamlet*, *Shrew*), but which never occur below the line. On the other hand, of all the plays occurring below the line, many of which are known on independent evidence to have been acted by the Admiral's men, not one can be traced to the Chamberlain's. This seems absolutely conclusive as to the two companies having parted after 13 (15) June. That the Admiral's men also returned to the Rose is evident, for it is impossible to suppose that they can have continued for long at such a playhouse as that at Newington, where even the Lords of the Privy Council had, as early as the summer of 1592, to admit that no self-respecting company could be expected to perform. Moreover, the great difference in the receipts entered above and below the line proves that some essential change in the position of the company had taken place. That the Chamberlain's men also left Newington, though not certain, may likewise be presumed, for they as well as the Admiral's men had, during the joint occupation, paid toll to Henslowe, and of this no further record is found.

Nature of their arrangements.

The nature of the arrangements between the two companies is a far more uncertain question. It is, however, one which, though happily less important, nevertheless deserves consideration. It has been usual to assume that the two companies performed on different days: the Admiral's players 'acted at Newington Butts on days when it was not occupied by the Chamberlain's men,' says Fleay (*Stage*, p. 140). This may of course be so, but we have seen above that it is not improbable that some sort of juncture was effected between the two bodies in the provinces. In that case they must certainly have performed jointly; and it would be only natural for them to have continued to act jointly after their return to London if chance threw them together. On the other hand, the stocks of the two companies were certainly not held in common. The ten performances at Newington comprised seven different plays. Three of these, the *Jew of Malta*, *Cutlack*, and a new piece, *Bellendon*, afterwards occur in the Admiral's lists and may therefore be ascribed to that company. The other four must then fall to the share of the Chamberlain's men. Though all old plays, however, none of them occur in the earlier Strange's lists, so that we must conclude that they had been acquired in the interval. Of this we have independent evidence. Two of the pieces in question are known from the title-pages of early editions to have been acted by Pembroke's men: these are *Titus Andronicus* and the *Taming of a Shrew*. We also know that in Sept. 1593 Pembroke's men were in very low water and were forced to pawn their wardrobe and most probably to part with some of their play-books as well (MS. I. 14). There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Chamberlain's men (then Derby's) secured them, and a strong probability arises that the remaining pieces, *Hester and Assuerus* and the old *Hamlet*, both now lost, came from the same source. The third part of *Henry VI* is also known to have

Plays pass from Pembroke's men to the Chamberlain's.

passed from Pembroke's to the Chamberlain's men (see p. 92). It should be remarked that the *Jew of Malta* occurs both in the Admiral's and Strange's repertories and evidently belonged to Henslowe, or possibly Alleyn. It may have been acted by either company, or we may see in its occurrence here evidence of their co-operation. The only new piece produced, *Bellendon*, clearly belonged to the Admiral's men and it seems unlikely that the Chamberlain's took any part in the performance. Unfortunately the dates given by Henslowe for some of these Newington performances are clearly wrong, and cannot be corrected with complete certainty. No arrangement, however, will give any regular alternation between the plays of the two companies, a fact which goes to support the theory that the performances were in the main joint affairs. Financially the experiment does not appear to have been very much of a success, though it is of course impossible to be sure what Henslowe's relations with the companies may have been. He most probably hired the house and received some portion of the takings in return.

The Admiral's men establish themselves at the Rose.

On 15 (17) June 1594 the Admiral's men started on their independent career at the Rose. It is worth noticing that the first play they performed was *Bellendon*, and that Henslowe's receipts were £3. 4 as against 17*s*. received on the occasion of the piece being acted as a new play at Newington. The accounts are very regularly kept from this point down to the summer of 1597, and the following table of runs can be readily checked from the Diary (**9** 29–$\mathbf{11}^{v}$ 45, $\mathbf{12}^{v}$, **13**, **14**, $\mathbf{14}^{v}$, $\mathbf{15}^{v}$, $\mathbf{21}^{v}$, **25** 14–**27** 11):

15 (17) June 1594	to	14 Mar. 1595;	37 days' interval
21 Apr. 1595	to	26 June;	59 days' interval
25 Aug. 1595	to	27 (28) Feb. 1596;	43 days' interval
12 Apr. 1596	to	18 (23) July;	95 days' interval
27 Oct. 1596	to	15 Nov.;	9 days' interval
25 Nov. 1596	to	12 Feb. 1597;	18 days' interval
3 Mar. 1597	to	19 July; also performances on 27–8 July.	

Incidental records.

At some unspecified date in 1594 Henslowe incurred certain expenses with which he debits the company: 'Layd owt for my Lorde Admeralle seruantes' (**236** 1). They were apparently connected with some legal business, for mention is made of visits to Somerset House and to the court, and of the 'mackinge of o^{r} leater [our letter] twise,' as well as of 'drinckinge w^{th} the Jentellmen,' which forms the heaviest item. The business may have been connected with the agreement between Henslowe and the company when they began to play at his theatre. During the thirty-seven days' interval in Lent 1595 repairs were carried out at the Rose, and on 4 June the carpenters received further payments for 'the throne Jn the heuenes' (see p. 54). The company began to act again on Easter Monday. In May 1596 Henslowe was advancing money to Alleyn on behalf of the company, the repayments for which continue till July (**71**^{v}). Further entries of a like nature are also found extending from 14 Oct. till the following Jan. (**23** 11). They evidently contain the germ of the elaborate system of accounts which begins in Oct. 1597. On 25 Mar. 1597 we find the company indebted to Henslowe to the extent of £30 (**22**^{v} 9). From an entry dated 28 July 1597 it would appear that Ben Jonson contemplated buying a share in the Company on the instalment system, paying 3*s.* 9*d.* towards it on that date (**24** 16). The transaction was, however, not completed, probably on account of certain events which now fall to be considered.

The restraint of July 1597

It will be noticed that the last few entries in July 1597 are irregular. The date of 20 July is duly entered but no play or receipts appear. No further entry is made for some days; then we have 27 and 28 July with plays and receipts all in order; after which the accounts break off, not to be resumed till Oct. This cessation of acting at the Rose is obviously connected with a series of records which have been preserved elsewhere. Thus on 28 July 1597 the Lord Mayor wrote one of his periodical letters to the Lords of Council recommending 'the present staie and fynall suppressinge of . . . stage playes as well at the Theatre, Curten and Banckside, as in all other places in and abowt the Citie' (the 'public' houses being, of course, all outside his jurisdiction) on account of the alleged disorders arising therefrom (Halliwell, *Illustrations*, p. 21; *Remembrancia*, p. 354). This letter by itself would not have much importance: a similar request for the suppressing of plays on the Bankside had been made on 13 Sept. 1595, and the Rose accounts show that it had no effect whatever (*Remembrancia*, p. 354; cf. **13**). On the present occasion, however, the Privy Council had reasons of its own for taking action, for there is satisfactory evidence that several companies, the Admiral's among them, had been guilty of producing plays containing 'seditious' matter. On the same day on which the Lord Mayor wrote to the Privy Council their Lordships wrote to 'the Justices of Middlesex nerest to London' to the effect that 'Her Majestie being informed that there are verie greate disorders committed in the common playhouses both by lewd matters that are handled on the stages and by the resorte and confluence of bad people,' order is to be taken that no plays be performed 'during this tyme of sommer' or 'in any publique place within three myles of the citty untill Alhallontide next,' and further that 'those play houses that are erected and built only for suche purposes shalbe plucked downe, namelie the Curtayne and the Theatre nere to Shorditch or any other within that county' of Middlesex. A letter was also sent to 'the Justices of Surrey, requiring them to take the like order for the playhouses in the Banckside, in Southwarke or elswhere in the said county within iij^{e} miles of London' (*Acts P. C.*, 28 July 1597; cf. Halliwell, *Illustrations*,

p. 20). The last performance at the Rose took place the very day these letters were issued. That the inhibition, however, was not strictly inforced appears from the fact that whereas plays were forbidden till 1 Nov. we find the Rose in point of fact opening again on 11 Oct. The clause ordering the demolition of the playhouses had, like similar orders earlier, no effect whatever. Neither the Curtain nor the Globe was touched. The Theatre was, indeed, dismantled in 1598–9, but certainly not in obedience to the orders of the Council.

owing to the 'Isle of Dogs'

Henslowe has himself recorded the reason of the restraint at the Rose. Having occasion on 10 Aug. 1597 to make a memorandum of William Birde's binding himself to play with the company for the space of three years, he mentions that the term is to begin 'Jmediatly after this Restraynt is Recaled by the lordes of the cownsell w^{ch} Restraynt is by meanes of playinge the Jeylle of dooges' (**232** 10). This entry, the most astonishing thing about which is that it appears to be genuine, shows that at some date before 10 Aug. the Admiral's men had performed Nashe's *Isle of Dogs* and had been in consequence inhibited. There is no entry of the performance, but it is tempting to assign it to 20 July, for which day the date, but not the play or receipts, is entered. It may be remarked that Martin Slaughter, a prominent member of the company, left on 18 July (**27**^{v} 5). Possibly he foresaw trouble and did not wish to be involved. He is found with Hertford's men early in 1603 (Pipe Rolls, 543, fol. 96). The justices may have been responsible for the fact that no further performances took place till 27 July, while as soon as the company recommenced the Privy Council issued their restraint. Their Lordships considered the question of the *Isle of Dogs* at a meeting held on 15 Aug. 1597, and that was certainly not the first time that the subject had come up for discussion, for a domiciliary search had already been made and Nashe's papers seized (*Acts P. C.*). The play is described as 'seditious,' but it must be remembered that this is a word which those in authority have at all times been fond of applying to whatever was derogatory from their own dignity, and we need not suppose that, in the present instance, it meant anything more than what we should call 'satirical.' Several of the actors, we learn, had been apprehended, including one who was part author of the play. This bears out Nashe's statement in *Lenten Stuff* that he himself wrote no more than the first act (ed. McKerrow, iii. p. 153). The collaborator was most probably Samuel Rowley, who was with the Admiral's men at least as early as 3 June this year (Apx. II. 3), and is the only member of the company who is known to have written for the stage.[1]

The nature of the 'lewd matters' handled at the northern houses is not known,

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[1] It may, however, have been Thomas Heywood, who was writing for the Admiral's men as early as Oct. 1596 (**23** 19), though he is not known to have acted at Henslowe's house before Mar. 1598 (**231** 13).

and other 'seditious' plays.

but we may conjecture that they are less likely to have been such as the term would now suggest, repugnant as these may have been to the city puritans, than subjects more personally offensive.[1] It seems on the whole likely that, both in the case of the Rose and of the Middlesex houses, the 'seditious' matter put on the stage was primarily directed against the civic authorities, though these may have been able to induce the Council to take up the question by representing that persons of greater dignity were involved. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the fact of the Privy Council delaying to take notice of the offence till petitioned to do so by the Lord Mayor.

Internal affairs of the Company.

During the enforced idleness of the summer of 1597 Henslowe occupied himself in binding the Admiral's men together and to himself.[2] On 27 July he hired Thomas Hearne 'for to searve me ij yeares in the qualetie of playenge . . . and not to departe frome my companey tyll this ij years be eanded' (**233** 1). On 3 Aug. John Helle the clown, who was already with the company, bound himself, in consideration of a loan of 10*s*., to continue at the Rose till the following Shrovetide (**233** 25). Richard Jones bound himself on 6 Aug. to continue playing with the Admiral's men at the Rose for a term of three years from the ensuing Michaelmas, and was at the same time surety for Shaa's fulfilling the same conditions (**232**^{v} 1 and 11). William Borne, or Birde, bound himself on 10 Aug. for three years from after the restraint; he may have been new to the company (**232** 1). Lastly, Thomas Downton bound himself on 6 Oct. for two years from the following Shrovetide (**232** 15). He was not new, and would seem to have been with Strange's men together with Alleyn as early as 1593 (MS. I. 15). One or two further acquisitions were made after the Rose had been reopened. On 8 Dec. William Kendall was hired for two years (p. xlix), and on 18 Dec. the boy James Bristow was bought for £8 of William Augusten, player (**232** 26). The position which these various members occupied in the company is a question which will call for attention later. Some were clearly already with the Admiral's men at the time of their inhibition. It is quite possible that they were in financial difficulties at this time, and they may have entered into the above agreements in consideration of advances made by Henslowe, as was, we know, the case with John Helle. The company was already in Henslowe's debt (**22**^{v} 12).

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[1] Fleay thinks that among them was 'notably the representation of my Lord Chamberlain Brook L. Cobham's son Henry as Sir John Oldcastle in Shakespeare's Henry 4' (*Stage*, p. 158). He proceeds: 'This order, made in Brooke's interest, was just too late. William Brooke, the Chamberlain, died 5th March 1597, and George Carey, succeeding him on 27th April, soon acquired enough influence to neutralise this opposition.' But this reasoning is surely very loose. *Ex hypothesi* the offence must have been committed before 5 Mar. at a period when Shakespeare's company was plain Hunsdon's men and wanted a powerful patron on the Council, and yet we are asked to believe that their Lordships waited to take action till 28 July, more than four months after the death of the man to whose influence their action is ascribed, and when the patron of the peccant company had already for three months held the powerful office of Lord Chamberlain.

[2] At some period after 14 Mar. 1597, and consequently presumably in Aug. or Sept. the company appears to have been in the country (**235** 39).

Union of the Admiral's and Pembroke's men.

Nature of their joint arrangements.

After an interval of 74 days acting was resumed at the Rose. Henslowe's entry runs: 'the xj of octobe begane my lord admerals & my lord penbrokes men to playe at my howsse 1597' (**27**^{v} 15). The relation of these two companies has given rise to a good deal of speculation. It will, in the first place, be observed that the accounts are very irregular. On 11 Oct. a play is duly entered with receipts. This is followed by another play with receipts but no date; this by a play with neither date nor receipts. Then, after two lines with nothing but the actuarial constant 'tt at,' we have the date 19 without either play or receipts; next a play with receipts and the line indicating a new week, but no date (probably 24 Oct.). Then on 31 Oct. we have a regular entry and so from 2 to 5 Nov. when the accounts end abruptly. Not so, however, the performances, for we find a note of payment to the Master of the Revels: 'the m^{r} payde the 26 of novmbȝ 1597 for iiij weckes the some of xxxx^{s}' (**27**^{v} 26). Moreover, there now begins a series of weekly payments to Henslowe in place of the daily ones recorded hitherto. The first of these is dated 21 Oct., when acting had been proceeding for more than a week; this may have been set right by a payment on 30 Oct. following one on 28 Oct. (**36**^{v}). The first table of receipts is headed: 'A Juste a cownte of all Suche monye as J haue Receued of my lord admeralles & my lord of penbrocke men'; this continues down to 4 March 1598, and the companies are also found mentioned together in entries dated 23 Oct. and 5 Nov. 1597 (**37** 1 and 6), while the Admiral's men appear alone on 8 Dec. (**37**^{v} 4). It has been supposed that the acting was on different days; that is, that the companies kept distinct. This may have been so for a while; the evidence on the subject is rather scanty. The first three plays mentioned after 11 Oct., *Jeronimo*, the *Comedy of Humours*, and *Faustus*, are old Admiral's plays. *Friar Spendleton* was a new piece. There remain only *Hardicanute* and *Bourbon* to be assigned to Pembroke's men. Both passed, together with several other plays, into the hands of the Admiral's men and are found in their inventories of stock taken in 1598 (Apx. I. 1. ll. 185, &c.). Pembroke's men do not appear, however, to have contributed more than half-a-dozen pieces in all, and we can hardly suppose these to have constituted their whole stock. Again it is quite clear that the accounts were not kept distinct. The new pieces anyhow were common property since Henslowe bought two plays, on 23 Oct. and 5 Nov. (as above), 'for the company [*sic*] of my lorde admeralls men & my lord penbrockes.' How long the companies remained together before they either amalgamated or parted cannot be determined with certainty, though an approximation is possible. We find an account in the Diary headed: 'A Juste a cownt of all suche money as J haue layd owt for my lord admeralles players begynyng the xj of octobȝ whose names ar as foloweth borne gabrell shaw Jonnes dowten Jube towne synger & the ij geffes 1597' (**43**$^{\text{v}}$ 1). Here it will be seen that, though the date is the same as that in the heading already quoted (**27**$^{\text{v}}$ 15), there is no mention of Pembroke's men. Further consideration, however, will show that these accounts are not contemporary. The first two entries are duplicates of the purchases of 23 (here 21) Oct. and 5 Nov. (**37** 1–10), with the omission of Pembroke's name, while the third and fourth, 26 Nov. and 1 Dec., are also transcribed from the same place (**37** 11–16). So again the remaining entries on this page, with the exception of the last, which is cancelled, ranging from 3 to 28 Dec., are similarly copied from rough memoranda elsewhere (**37**$^{\text{v}}$ 4–28). The original entries have in all cases been crossed off. At the top of the following page occurs the fresh heading: 'layd owt for my lord admeralles meane as foloweth 1597,' and the first entry bears the date 5 Jan. 1597/8 (**44** 1). It follows that the former set of accounts (**43**$^{\text{v}}$ 1–35) was entered between 28 Dec. and 5 Jan. It also follows that by 5 Jan. Henslowe had ceased to have any connection with Pembroke's company as such. Consequently the two bodies had either become merged under the name of the Admiral's men or had finally separated. Their accounts had not been kept distinct and we find items originally expended on behalf of both companies, debited, when transcribed, to the Admiral's alone; also plays presumably belonging to Pembroke's men passing into the Admiral's stock. The inference that at least a partial amalgamation took place is clear. Here comes in the evidence of personnel. The list of Admiral's men given by Henslowe in the heading quoted above (**43**$^{\text{v}}$ 1) is of the utmost importance, and Fleay's attempt to prove it incomplete is based on a mere blunder (*Stage*, p. 143; cf. Apx. II. 3). We shall see later that of the players mentioned in this list, Jones, Downton, Juby, Towne, and Singer were old Admiral's men. There remain Birde (Borne), Gabriel Spenser, Shaa, and Anthony and Humphrey Jeffes. Birde, as we have already seen, 'came & ofered hime sealfe to come and playe w$^{\text{th}}$ my lord admeralles mean' on 10 Aug. 1597 (**232** 1), while Shaa had been introduced by Jones four days earlier (**232**$^{\text{v}}$ 11). Whence they came we do not know, but they came individually, and bound themselves to the Admiral's men two months before Pembroke's men appear. With Spenser and the Jeffes it is different. Their story is a complicated but a pretty one. In 3 *Henry VI*, as printed in the 1623 folio of Shakespeare's plays, there are accidentally preserved the names of three actors, namely, in one place 'Sinklo, and Humfrey' (III. i.; 1623, p. 158*a*) and in another 'Gabriel' (I. ii. 48; 1623, p. 150*a*). That the actors thus designated were John Sinkler, Humphrey Jeffes, and Gabriel Spenser, has never been questioned, nor is there any reasonable ground for doing so. Now the play was printed in a somewhat different version as early as 1595

Their accounts.

Probable amalgamation.

Composition of the companies.

when it was described as 'The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt, . . . as it was sundrie times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembrooke his seruants.' Thus we find Humphrey and Gabriel appearing in the MS. of a play which is known to have been formerly acted by Pembroke's company, and again appearing as recent accessions to the Admiral's men just after their junction with that company. Two inferences hardly admit of doubt: Spenser and Jeffes must have passed from Pembroke's to the Admiral's men in the autumn of 1597, and the MS. from which 3 *Henry VI* was printed in the folio of 1623 must have originally belonged to Pembroke's men.[1] Sinkler does not now concern us. He is found with Strange's men as early as 1592 (see Apx. II. 1), which proves that the MS. must have been written not later than that year, though it most probably remained in the hands of Pembroke's men till the winter of 1593–4 and then passed together with the other pieces to Derby's (the Chamberlain's) company. Of Anthony Jeffes nothing is known previous to the mention in the Diary, but it may be reasonably conjectured that he came in company with Humphrey.

Summary of events.

The events of the autumn of 1597 were then as follow. On 11 Oct. the Admiral's and Pembroke's companies formed some sort of joint arrangement and commenced at the Rose. At first presumably each company acted its own plays, but it is probable that the distinction was not rigidly observed, and all Pembroke's plays which we know to have been performed at this period are found afterwards in the Admiral's stock. New plays were purchased for the two companies jointly, and were most probably jointly performed. The double title of Lord Admiral's and Lord Pembroke's men was kept up till 5 Nov. (**37** 8), though they were spoken of as 'the company' in the singular; on 26 Nov. Henslowe spoke of 'the company' without further specification (**37** 14), and on 8 Dec. of 'the company of my lord admeralles men' (**37**^{v} 4). It would of course be unwise to lay very much stress upon the wording of his casual entries, but we can be perfectly sure that Pembroke's men had disappeared by 5 Jan. 1598 (**44** 1). At least three of their number had become sharers in the Admiral's company and others may have remained as hired men: William Cartwright, Robert Tailor and Thomas Drom may all have once been Pembroke's men. The amalgamation does not, however, seem to have been complete, for only a portion of the stock appears to have been transferred, and a company under the name of Pembroke's men was at Leicester in 1598 and 1600 (Kelly, pp. 229 and 233), and again at the Rose in Oct. of the latter year (**83**). It is just possible that after leaving the Admiral's men at the end of 1597 the remnant endeavoured to establish themselves in London, either at the Swan or in the City, the Theatre being certainly empty at this date and the Curtain probably in the occupation of the Chamberlain's men. That some company was making the attempt appears from an important letter addressed by the Lords of the Council 'to the Master of the Revelles and Justices of Peace of Middlesex and Surrey' on 19 Feb. 1598. The document runs: 'Whereas licence hath bin graunted unto two companies of stage players retayned unto us, the Lord Admyral and Lord Chamberlain, to use and practise stage playes, whereby they might be the better enhabled and prepared to shew such plaies before her Majestie as they shalbe required at tymes meete and accustomed, to which ende they have bin cheefelie licensed and tollerated as aforesaid, and whereas there is also a third company who of late (as wee are informed) have by waie of intrusion used likewise to play, having neither prepared any plaie for her Majestie nor are bound to you, the Masters [*sic*] of the Revelles, for perfourming such orders as have bin prescribed and are enjoyned to be observed by the other two companies before mencioned. Wee have therefore thought good to require you uppon receipt heereof to take order that the aforesaid third company may be suppressed and none suffered hereafter to plaie but those two formerlie named belonging to us, the Lord Admyrall and Lord Chamberlaine, unles you shall receave other direccion from us' (*Acts P. C.*). Pembroke's men had prepared no play for court since Jan. 1593; but if, as Fleay supposes, they had been acting at the Curtain till 1597, they could hardly be said to have of late intruded in Feb. 1598 (*Stage*, p. 159). The matter remains obscure.[1]

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[1] Of the further inferences, Halliwell's theory that Shakespeare had once been with Pembroke's company, appears to me to be quite groundless, and Fleay's assertion that the play cannot have been even revised by Shakespeare extremely doubtful.

An intrusive company, possibly Pembroke's.

The Admiral's men continue at the Rose.

We may now pass on to consider the later fortunes of the Admiral's men. The records of weekly payments, which now take the place of those of the daily performances, enable us to construct tables of runs as before, though of a slightly less definite character (**36**^{v}, **35**, **48**, **48**^{v}, **62**^{v}):

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[1] It may be well to point out that Fleay's remarks concerning the duration of the joint occupation of the Rose by the Admiral's and Pembroke's men are quite inconsistent. In one place (*Stage*, p. 137) he says that the 'conjunction lasted till 1598, March 4' (the date of the last entry in the first set of weekly payments, **36**^{v} 24), and that 'A remodelling of the companies then followed,' which is quite certainly wrong; elsewhere (p. 158) he represents Pembroke's men as acting with the Admiral's from 11 Oct. to 5 Nov. only, a view which rests upon purely negative evidence. He also thinks (p. 137) that the two companies occupied the house 'on different nights' except on one notable occasion 'when they played together the Ages of Heywood; and this uniting of forces was so exceptional that Heywood specially refers to it in his Prefatial Address to the Iron Age.' This address, however, which does not name either company, was written as late as 1632 and gives no clue to the particular occasion intended. Another erroneous statement is that 'The "commission" of the company was changed in 1597, probably in December' (p. 101). It is, of course, based on certain accounts of Henslowe's headed: 'Layd owt at Sundrey tymes of my owne Readey money a bowt the changinge of ower comysion' (**38** 8), which I have elsewhere shown to refer almost certainly to the Bear Garden, 'ower comysion' being the licence to bait held by Henslowe and Alleyn from the Master of the Royal Game (p. 37).

11 Oct. 1597 to 4 Mar. 1598 (wanting 25 Dec.); 28 days' interval
2 Apr. 1598 to 8 July; 20 days' interval (a fortnight)
29 July 1598 to 24 Feb. 1599; 29 days' interval (three weeks)
26 Mar. 1599 to 3 June; 124 days' interval
6 Oct. 1599 to 10 Feb. 1600[1]; 27 days' interval
9 Mar. 1600 to 13 July.

The payments were usually made at the end of the week, the day varying from Friday to Monday. The date of commencement given above, in each case except the first, is that of the earliest payment. Acting must, of course, have begun a few days before. The payments of 29 July, 26 Mar., and 6 Oct. would appear to be for a whole week, those of 2 Apr. and 9 Mar. for two or three days only. These periods should be deducted from the intervals given. After this unfortunately the weekly payments are not recorded. The Admiral's men moved to the Fortune and some change in their position with regard to Henslowe seems to have taken place.

Internal affairs again.

We have seen that on 18 July 1597 Martin Slaughter retired from the company (**27**^{v} 5). On 8 Mar. 1598 we find him involved in a suit with Birde, Downton and Spenser (**39** 30), and as early as the preceding 12 Dec. Downton had retained counsel (**37** 28). The question in dispute can hardly have been one affecting the company generally, or we should have found the sums advanced by Henslowe entered in the common accounts.[2] Before 29 Dec. 1597 we further find that Alleyn had retired or rather had 'leafte [p]laynge' (**43** 2). He had, according to Fleay (*Stage*, p. 140), become co-manager with Henslowe, but of this I find no evidence previous to the migration to the Fortune in 1600. Alleyn's retirement was clearly only temporary, for his name appears in the Plot of the *Battle of Alcazar* which almost certainly belongs to 1598, and again in that of *Tamar Cam* in 1602. Between 14, or rather 21, Jan. and 4 Mar. 1597/8 certain payments were made to Henslowe with reference to a half share apparently belonging to Humphrey Jeffes (**36** 4). The transaction, however, was not carried through, as appears by the memorandum: 'This some was payd backe agayne vnto the companey of my lord admeralles players the 8 of marche 1598 & they shared yt amonste them,' which would suggest that the remaining members of the company had been unsuccessfully endeavouring to buy Jeffes out. Moneys were also received by Henslowe from Gabriel Spenser 'of his share in the gallereyes,' 6 Apr. to 24 June 1598 (**33**^{v} 1), and also on behalf of Humphrey and Anthony Jeffes from the company, 29 Apr. to 21 July 1598 (**34** 1), but no particulars are given as to the nature of the transactions, which were therefore presumably of a private character.

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[1] This date is confirmed by the note 'sence we left playing' which occurs in the accounts opposite an entry of 13 Feb. 1599/1600, the previous entry being dated 10 Feb. (**67**^{v} 16). They had bought a drum for their provincial wanderings on 6 Feb. (**67**^{v} 2).

[2] Fleay's view, that difficulties had arisen concerning the winding up of Slaughter's share in the company (*Stage*, p. 144), is, therefore, hardly likely, especially as two out of the three who took action are not known to have been members of the company at the time of his retirement.

On 19 Sept. 1598 the Admiral's men borrowed £35 on the occasion of an agreement with one Langley or Langleys, but it is not clear that he was anything more than a costumer or pawnbroker (**50** 20). About this time also it appears that the Queen was at Croyden and that on 27 Sept. the company rode down to 'ther lorde,' i. e. Nottingham, presumably for the purpose of giving a performance (**38**ʳ 29).[1] Again we learn from a subsequent entry, that on 4 Nov. following one James Cranwigge played a challenge, most likely at fencing or some exhibition of 'agility,' at the Rose, and that the company made certain profits on the occasion of which Henslowe claimed £2 as his share (**51**ᵛ 31). On 7 Apr. 1599 Thomas Towne and Richard Alleyn received 10*s*. to go to the court (**54**ᵛ 11). The money for the Christmas performances was payable to Shaa and Downton (Pipe Rolls, 543, fol. 56), but it may have been collected by deputy. On 27 Apr. 1600 the company as a whole borrowed 50*s*. to attend the 'installinge' at 'winswarth' (**68**ᵛ 29), which presumably indicates a performance at Windsor on the occasion of an installation of Knights of the Garter, St. George's day (23 Apr.) being the feast of the Order. Lastly it should be mentioned that in the summer of 1601 the Admiral's men seem to have been involved in some legal business, involving payments to a Clerk of Assize and to a jury (**93** 24). The nature of the transactions is unknown, for Collier's suggestion that they refer 'to the trial of Francis Henslowe' cannot be entertained (*Diary*, p. 199). Francis had nothing to do with the company, and his arrest (cf. **90**ᵛ 6–18) almost certainly occurred some years later (MS. IV. 53).

The Admiral's men move to the Fortune.

In 1600 the Fortune was built, and the accounts for its construction extend from 8 Jan. to 8 Aug. or later. The Admiral's men ceased playing at the Rose, as we have already seen, in July, the last weekly payment being made on 13 of that month. On 10 July they had made a reckoning with Henslowe and had then acknowledged a debt of £300 for advances made by him in connection with their business (**69**ᵛ 32). The next six entries (**70**ᵛ 1–16) belong to Aug. and Sept.; two are for properties, one an advance to Dekker for a play, while no less than three are loans to the company for no specified object. I think it is pretty certain that acting was not in progress at the time. At the end of Oct. the Rose was occupied for a couple of days by Pembroke's men (**83**). The next entry is dated 11 Nov.; it is an advance of £4 to the Admiral's men to pay Alleyn 'a bowt ther composicion' (**70**ᵛ 17). This looks like some arrangement among the sharers previous to opening at the new house. Then comes the most important entry of all. It is unfortunately not dated but cannot be later than 14 Dec. It runs: 'pd vnto my sonne alleyn for the firste weckes playe the xj parte of xvij^{li} ix^{s} w^{ch} came to therti & ij shellinges,' a reckoning in which Alleyn gets the advantage of the odd three pence or so. Whether we are justified in assuming that this represents the share due to Alleyn as part owner of the Fortune is, in view of the fact that no further entries of the kind occur,[1] very doubtful; what is clear and of importance is that the Admiral's men began to act at the Fortune not later than 7 Dec. 1600.

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[1] I do not find any mention of Elizabeth being at Croyden at this date, but she was at Nonsuch about 20 Sept. (Nichols, *Elizabeth*, iii. p. 428), and we find Nonsuch and Croyden mentioned together under 15 Aug. 1600 (*id.* 513), and she may easily have gone over from one to the other.

Internal affairs.

The absence of any further lists of weekly payments prevents our constructing tables of runs for the Admiral's men at the Fortune. The accounts are continuous and it is impossible to say exactly when the company was acting and when not. Entries continue till 12 Mar. 1602/3, and on 5 May the company 'leafte of playe now at the kynges cominge' (**109**^{v} 24). The Admiral's men performed at court in the winter of 1600–1 on 28 Dec., 6 Jan. and 2 Feb. (Fleay, *Stage*, p. 122). At some unknown date Henslowe undertook to discharge a bond of the company's to one Treherne, on condition of receiving from them the money due for their court performances when this should be paid over (**191**^{v} 4). On 10 Apr., according to Henslowe's memorandum, which must, however, have been written at a later date, he paid the bond amounting to £21. 10 (**88**^{v} 14). On 4 May Alleyn handed over to him the court money, £28. 10 (**88**^{v} 8), so that Henslowe made a handsome profit on the transaction. These dealings are really straightforward enough, for though the warrant authorizing the payment in question was dated 31 Mar. (*Revels*, p. xxxiii) there may easily have been delay in getting it honoured by the Treasurer of the Chamber. Henslowe's original undertaking must presumably have been before 31 Mar. 1601, when the warrant was obtained. This was for £30, but 30*s.* may have been spent in fees. Between 21 Jan. and 23 Feb. 1601/2 Jones and Shaa left the company and received £50 on the occasion, presumably for their share of the stock (**104** 29). This sum was advanced to the company by Henslowe, and was still owing to him at the time of the last recorded reckoning on 5 May 1603 (**109**^{v} 28).

The Admiral's become Prince Henry's men.

On 22 Oct. 1597 Lord Howard had been created Earl of Nottingham. We find the company styled Nottingham's men for the first time in the Diary on 26 May 1599 (**63** 2). He retained, however, his office of Lord High Admiral, and since it was only gradually that the old title for the company was superseded, I have thought it convenient to retain it throughout. After the accession of James all the recognized companies were taken under royal patronage, the Admiral's men becoming Prince Henry's players. Of this we find external testimony in Gilbert Dugdale's *Time Triumphant*

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[1] Alleyn received 27*s.* 6*d.* out of the gallery money, 23 Feb. 1602, but so far as we know this was an exceptional payment (**105** 5).

(1604), where the following important passage occurs: 'our all-kinde Soveraigne. . . taking to him the late Lord Chamberlaine's Servants, now the King's Acters; the Queene taking to her the Earle of Worster's Servants, that are now her Acters; the Prince their Sonne Henry Prince of Wales, full of hope, tooke to him the Earle of Nottingham his Servants, who are now his Acters' (Nichols, *James I*, i. p. 413, where Dugdale's pamphlet is printed in full; cf. also Collier, *Annals*, i. p. 350). Our knowledge of the composition both of the Admiral's and Prince's companies would of course alone enable us to prove their identity. The actual date of transfer is however doubtful. Collier writes: 'They were taken into the service of Prince Henry immediately after his father came to the Crown' (p. 351), and Fleay agrees that 'In 1603 (May) Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral, transferred his players to Prince Henry' (*Stage*, p. 200).[1] It appears, however, that the company was acting at Leicester on 18 Aug. under its old title of 'the Lorde Admyralls playōs' (Kelly, p. 236). Acting was, of course, very much disorganized this year, the queen's illness, James' accession, and the subsequent plague, forcing the players to discontinue their regular performances. The patent of the King's men is dated 19 May (Collier, *Annals*, i. p. 347), but we know that Worcester's men had not yet been adopted by Queen Anne on 9 May, and as we find no Patent or Privy Seal relating to them we may conclude that they were not licensed before the outbreak of the plague in June, and that like the Admiral's men they continued to travel under their old title till the end of the year. Both had assumed their new styles early in 1604. We only find one mention of the Prince's men in the Diary; a reckoning dated 14 Mar. 1604 (**110** 6). This might, of course, mean 1604/5, but it so happens that immediately above is a probably contemporary entry, vaguely dated 1604, of a payment in earnest of 'the pasyent man & the onest hore,' a play which was entered on the Stationers' Register on 9 Nov. that year. It is therefore probable that 14 Mar. 1603/4 was meant.

Their final reckoning with Henslowe.

Henslowe celebrated the beginning of the new reign by discarding the volume which had served the book-keeping needs of himself and his family for some quarter of a century or more. From this point consequently our knowledge of the history of the companies in which he was concerned becomes of a far less intimate character, and can only be touched on very briefly in this place. How long the Admiral's men remained in the country, whither they went to travel when the plague became serious in London, we do not exactly know. That they did travel, and that they were back by 21 Oct. 1603, appears from a letter of that date from Joan Alleyn to her husband, when he was apparently staying with a Mr. Chaloner in Sussex, and while Henslowe was following the court near Winchester probably in connection with their patent (MS. I. 38). This does not imply that acting had begun, though the sickness was supposed to be lessening. The deaths from plague continued at a high figure till the close of the year, and reached the alarming total of over 30,500. We have just seen that the Prince's men, duly invested with their new dignity, cast up their accounts with Henslowe on 14 Mar., when they probably acknowledged the debt of £24. The previous indebtedness had amounted to over £197, so that some extensive transactions had taken place.

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[1] Collier treats the list of Prince's men preserved in B.M., MS. Harley 252, as belonging to 1603 (*Annals*, i. p. 351). This Fleay rightly denies, though his reasons happen to be wrong (*Stage*, p. 200). The document in question is dated, and the date is 1610 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1906, p. 67).

Warrant for the three authorized companies.

On 9 April the Privy Council issued a warrant for the three authorized men's companies (MS. I. 39). It is addressed to the Lord Mayor and the Justices of Surrey and Middlesex, and requires them to permit the King's, Queen's and Prince's players to perform at their usual houses, namely, the Globe, Curtain and Fortune (which are, however, given in the wrong order), without let or hinderance, except when 'there shall happen weeklie to die of the Plague Aboue the Number of thirtie wthin the Cittie of London and the Liberties therof.' This is the first authoritative mention of an automatic restraint in time of sickness. In 1605 began the complicated negotiations by which Alleyn ultimately became possessed of the freehold of the Fortune in 1610. The remaining documents preserved at Dulwich are of a more personal character and will be considered elsewhere in treating of Henslowe's financial arrangements with the individual members. There is reason to suppose that after the Prince's men had begun acting again, under the warrant of 9 Apr. 1604, their relations with Henslowe became less intimate. Alleyn was joint proprietor of the house in which they performed, and it is not unlikely that he may have considered that the continued financial dependence of the company upon Henslowe rendered its position uncertain, and have preferred that the body to whom he leased the Fortune should be established upon a more secure basis. If the company was able in Mar. 1604 to reduce its debt from nearly £200 to £24, it can have had little difficulty in clearing off the remainder. At any rate no papers remain to suggest that Henslowe financed the Prince's men in the same manner as he undoubtedly did both the Admiral's and Worcester's men at an earlier, and the Lady Elizabeth's at a later, date.

Later fortunes of the company.

Prince Henry died on 6 Nov. 1612, and the company then sought and obtained the patronage of the Elector Palatine, who had arrived in the preceding Oct. as a suitor for the hand of Princess Elizabeth. Their new licence, by royal letters patent, was dated 4 Jan. 1613 (Collier, *Annals*, i. p. 380; the original, according to him, being in the Chapter-house, Westminster). The Fortune continued to be their playhouse. After 1625, however, they appear to have ceased to be under the Elector's patronage and are known simply as the Fortune company, but their further history does not concern us.

Composition of the company, 1589-1594.

The exceptional amount of evidence which survives as to the composition of the company makes it worth while considering the matter in some detail. That of the old Worcester's company has already been discussed. For the period after the Admiral's men had been joined by the chief members of Worcester's company and before their appearance in the Diary, we are able to construct a list, which though doubtless somewhat defective, is probably not seriously so. The dates after the names are those of the first mention of the actor in question as actually belonging to the Admiral's men, though in most cases they no doubt joined in 1589.

Robert Browne 1592
James Tunstall 1595
Edward Alleyn 1593
Richard Jones 1592
Edward Browne (?) 1600
John Alleyn 1589
John Bradstreit 1592
Thomas Saxfield 1592.

The last two, who only appear in the passport from Charles Howard, may have belonged to the original Admiral's company before 1589; they remained in Germany, where Bradstreit or Breidstrass can be traced as late as 1606 and Saxfield or Sackville as late as 1617 (Cohn, p. xxxv). Tunstall or Donstone is found witnessing deeds for John Alleyn as early as 1590. When we turn to the Diary we find various lists, which are not, however, all of equal authority. The first one in particular presents points of difficulty (**3** 12–19). It is merely a list of names, entered for no apparent purpose, as there is no heading and they do not appear to be witnesses to the preceding loan. Whether 'lame Charles alen' belongs or not is doubtful; nothing else is known of him. The list appears between entries of 14 Dec. 1594 and 14 Jan. 1595.[1] The second list occurs at the head of the company accounts and is dated 11 Oct. 1597 (**43**^{r} 4–5). We have, however, already seen reason to suppose that it was really entered at the end of the year and contains the names of certain members of Pembroke's company who did, indeed, begin to act with the Admiral's men on 11 Oct. but only amalgamated with them at a subsequent date (p. 91). The third and fourth lists consist of autograph signatures appended to the accounts at the reckonings of 8/13 Mar. 1598 and 10 July 1600 (**44**^{v} 22, **70** 5). The fifth list, belonging to 7/23 Feb. 1602, is similar except that it is not autograph (**104** 17). The lists may be arranged as follows, retaining the original spelling of the names as a curiosity, but discarding the order as obviously fortuitous and in some cases impossible to determine.

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[1] The second of these dates is, of course, ambiguous, and some justification is needed for the assumption that 1595 and not 1596 is intended. We find from Henslowe's continuous accounts that he was still using the date 1594 on 14 Mar. 1594/5 (**11**$^{\text{v}}$ 21), while he first used the date 1596 on 12 Apr. that year (**15**$^{\text{v}}$ 1). There is, therefore, no improbability in this entry and the following, dated 8 Apr. 1595, belonging in reality to 1596, though the tendency to adopt the new date earlier in scattered than in continuous accounts, leaves the alternative of their belonging to 1595 equally open. It so happens that the names in the entry of 8 Apr. supply a clue to the real date. It is, namely, possible that 'w$^{\text{m}}$ stonard' is an error (probably for 'm$^{\text{r}}$ stonard') and that the person intended is the Thomas Stonnard who signed an acquittance on 2 Jan. 1594, i.e. presumably 1594/5 (**20** 8). He was the Master of the Revels' man, and as Tilney seems to have changed his servants frequently we may conjecture that the two entries were separated by no long interval of time. Hugh Daves, moreover, who witnessed the loan, also affixed his mark to another entry dated 28 Apr. 1595, which being in Alleyn's hand is more likely to be correct (**13**$^{\text{v}}$ 6,) and then disappears till 8 July 1597 (**72**$^{\text{v}}$ 23). There is consequently a fair presumption that the entries of 14 June and 8 Apr. really belong to 1595 and not to 1596. There is, however, the further possibility that the

1595-1601.

c. 1595 (?) by Henslowe	11 October (?) 1597 by Henslowe	8/13 March 1598 autograph	10 July 1600 autograph	7/23 February 1601 by Henslowe
E A[lleyn]				
J Syngr	[J.] synger	J. Singer	J. Singger	J. Singer
R Jonnes	[R.] Jonnes	R. Jones	R. Jones	
T towne	[T.] towne	T. towne	T. towne	T. Towne
m^{r} slater				
[E.] Jube	[E.] Jube	[ ]	E. Jubye	E. Juby
T dowten	[T.] dowten	T. Downton	T. Downton	T. Downton
[J.] donstone				
	[R.] shaw	R. Shaa	R. shaa	
	[W.] borne	W. Birde	W. birde	W. Byrd
	gabrell [Spenser]	G. Spenser		
	[A.] geffes	[ ]	A. Jeffes	A. Jeffs
	[H.] geffes	H. Jeffes	H. Jeffes	H. Jeffs
		C. massye	C. massye	C. Massy
		S. Rowlye	S. Rowley	S. Rowley

Alleyn evidently stood in too intimate a relation to Henslowe, either personally or financially, for his signature to be required in acknowledgment of the company's debt. We know from the plots that he was with the Admiral's men in 1597, 1598 and 1602, though he seems to have retired for a while in 1597 sometime before 29 Dec. (**43** 2) and after 8 Dec. when he is found witnessing a loan to the company (**37**^{v} 9). This may account for his not appearing in the 1597 list which was entered after 28 Dec. (p. 91). The absence of E. Juby and A. Jeffes from the

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list of names may have been written at a later date in an accidental blank. A minute examination of the original has failed to decide the question either way. On the whole, however, it seems probable that a conjectural date of c. 1595 may be safely assigned.

1598 list is evidently due to an oversight; both appear in the plot belonging to the same year. As to the accessions, we have already seen that Shaa was introduced by Jones on 6 Aug. 1597, that Birde (*alias* Borne) bound himself on 10 Aug., and that Spenser and the two Jeffes came with Pembroke's men on 11 Oct. The inseparable pair Massye and Rowley were acting with the Admiral's men as early as June 1597, as appears from the plot of that date. We find them, however, on 16 Nov. 1598, not binding themselves to play at Henslowe's house like other sharers of the company, but placing themselves in the position of covenant servants to him, which would seem to imply that they were merely hired men. It is true that they appear with the prefix 'Mr' in the plot of 1598, but the significance of this is doubtful. How then do they appear as signing the reckoning in Mar. 1598? Their agreement with Henslowe was till Shrovetide 1600, after which they would very likely become sharers, so that the appearance of their names in the list of July 1600 is natural enough. Now it will be noticed that in the 1598 list their names occur in a separate column from the others and may therefore have been added at a later date. It would, therefore, seem that on their becoming sharers, perhaps early in 1600, Henslowe took the precaution of getting them to sign the record of the previous indebtedness of the company.

Accessions.

So much for the accessions: the losses are simpler. Slater or Slaughter left, as already said, on 18 July 1597. He is later found with Hertford's men, whose court money he received in 1602/3 (Pipe Rolls, 543, fol. 96). Dunstall evidently withdrew about the same time. He is present in the plot of June 1597 and appears as a witness on 27 July (**233** 9); he is absent from the list of 11 Oct. and the plot of 1598. Spenser was killed by Ben Jonson in Hoxton Fields with a three shilling rapier, and buried on 24 Sept. 1598 (MS. I. 24). Jones and Shaa, who had bound themselves on 6 Aug. 1597 to play till Michaelmas 1600, apparently left together between 21 Jan. and 23 Feb. 1601/2 (**104** 5, 29).

Losses.

When we compare these lists obtained from the Diary with that which we constructed for the earlier period, we notice the appearance of five names which have not occurred before: John Singer, Thomas Towne, Martin Slaughter, Edward Juby, and Thomas Downton. The last we previously saw was most probably travelling with Alleyn in 1593, but whether as a member of the Admiral's or of Strange's men we have no means of telling. One Singer, whose christian name is unknown, was a member of the Queen's company in 1583, but his identity with the Admiral's player is conjectural (Halliwell, *Illustrations*, p. 118). Of the history of the other three nothing is known: they may or may not have been members of the company previous to 1589.

For the period after the Diary ends, we have to rely for our knowledge of

1604-1613.

the composition of the company upon occasional official lists. The earliest of these belongs to 1604 (Chamberlain's Records; *New Shak. Soc. Transactions*, 1877–9, p. 17*). The second occurs in a patent to the Prince's men dated 30 Apr. 4 James I, i.e. 1606 (*Shak. Soc. Papers*, iv. p. 42, where, however, the date is given as 1607, an error reproduced by Fleay, *Stage*, p. 200). The third is the list in the copy of the Book of the Household Establishment of Prince Henry dated 1610 (B. M., MS. Harl. 252; *Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1906, p. 67). The last appears in the Privy Seal to the Palsgrave's men, 4 Jan. 10 James I, i.e. 1613 (Collier, *Annals*, i. p. 380).

1604		30 Apr. 1606		1610		4 Jan. 1613	
E. Allen	1						
W. Bird	2	W. Byrde	4	W. Byrde	4	W. Bird	4
T. Towne	3	T. Towne	3	T. Towne	2		
T. Dowton	4	T. Downton	2	T. downton	3	T. Downton	2
S. Rowley	5	S. Rowle	6	S. Rowleye	5	S. Rowle	6
E. Jubie	6	E. Juby	5	E. Jubye	6	E. Juby	5
H. Jeffes	7	H. Jeffs	7	H. Jeffes	8	H. Jeffs	8
C. Massey	8	C. Massey	8	C. Massye	7	C. Massey	7
A. Jeffes	9	A. Jeffs	9	A. Jeffes	9		
				E. Colbrande	10	E. Colbrand	12
				W. Parre	11	W. Parr	13
				R. Pryore	12	R. Price (?)	17
				W. Stratford	13	W. Stratford	14
				F. Grace	14	F. Grace	10
				J. Shanke	15	J. Shanck	16
						W. Cartwright	11
						R. Gunnell	15

It will be seen, from the numbers inserted after the names to show their respective positions in the different lists, that the order followed is roughly one of seniority, but that it is open to a good deal of minor variation and cannot be depended on for any precise information.

Non-sharers.

So far, since 1595, we have been considering the sharers only. We have, however, a very full knowledge, for the years covered by the Diary, of the hired men and boys also. On 25 Mar. 1598 Thomas Heywood engaged himself as a covenant servant to Henslowe for the space of two years, undertaking to play nowhere but at his house (**231** 13). He also wrote for the company though he never became a sharer. We later find him writing for and probably acting with Worcester's men, among whom his position was that of a shareholder. On the same day Richard Alleyn engaged himself for a like period (**231** 1). John Helle the clown had bound himself on 3 Aug. preceding to play till Shrovetide, and on 18 Dec. Henslowe had acquired his boy James Bristow (**233** 27, **232** 26). This boy he let out to the company, and received for him wages which were often in arrear (**85**v 32, **82**v 3). We learn from an entry dated 17 Nov. 1599 that Jones also had a boy called James (**13**v 10). William Kendall was hired for two years on 8 Dec. 1597 (p. xlix).

Evidence of the plots.

Our fullest knowledge of the personnel of the Admiral's company from 1597 to 1602 comes, however, from certain dramatic plots which have happily survived. This is not the place to discuss these, for they have been printed in full elsewhere (Apx. II. 3-7), but a few remarks may be advisable as to the evidence they supply. There are, in the first place, certain difficulties as to the names. James Tunstall or Donstall appears as Dunston in 1597, but the variations of his name are common and lead to no difficulty. Thomas Downton appears as Dowghton in 1598, and his name manages to get transformed into Denygten in 1602. His identity, however, is clear. Whether Fleay is right in treating his name as a variant of Dutton is questionable (*Stage*, pp. 141 and 372). It is certainly curious that though he was already a sharer in 1595 he does not appear in the plot of 1597, while an Edward Dutton does appear. It is, however, impossible to regard this as an error, for Dutton also appears in the Diary in 1597-8 (**234** 17, **235** 37). The question as to what is implied by the prefix 'Mr.' is a far more difficult one. It is certainly used to distinguish prominent members: Fleay states dogmatically that it indicates a sharer (*Stage*, p. 143, where, however, he is in error in saying that Rowley and Massye are so designated in 1597). The first thing to observe is that it is not always consistently used. Towne appears both with and without the prefix in 1597. Otherwise that plot agrees with the Diary lists. In 1598, on the other hand, we find the two Jeffes without the prefix, though they were certainly sharers, while Richard Alleyn and Thomas Hunt have it though they never attained that position. Rowley and Massye also have it, but their position, as we have seen, is uncertain. Hunt is again dignified with the prefix in 1599. Rowley and Massye appear without it in '1600', but the date of this fragment is very doubtful. Lastly in 1602 the Jeffes, who had been sharers since 1597, again appear without the prefix. I may add that if the Black Dick of 1597 is Richard Jones, as Fleay supposes (*Stage*, p. 141), it is further evidence against his theory. If, by the way, Black Dick was Jones, then the Dick who was not Black was probably Richard Juby. It appears perfectly evident, then, that the plots cannot be relied on to distinguish between the sharers and the hired men.[1] Fuller tables of the composition of the company will be found in Chap. V, § XII.

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[1] The plot of 1602 made special demands upon the resources of the company, for not only did the play itself necessitate a large cast, but there appeared at the end a procession of twelve pairs

§ V. Companies of the Earls of Pembroke and Worcester and Others.

For reasons which will appear in the sequel, it is convenient to treat the remaining companies mentioned in the Diary together, although it is doubtful whether any actual relation between them can be established. And, in the first place, it will be well to give the recorded facts concerning Pembroke's and Worcester's men.

Pembroke's men first appear in 1592.

We have already seen (p. 82) that Fleay's theory that the old Worcester's men of 1589 became Pembroke's men is untenable: those who left the former company passed direct to the Admiral's.[1] So far as I have been able to discover, the earliest definite allusion to this company is on 11 Mar. 1593, when they received payment for two plays acted at court on 27 Dec. and 6 Jan. preceding (*Acts P. C.*; cf. Fleay, *Stage*, p. 78, the dates in the table on p. 80 being wrong).[2] These were the only performances they ever gave at court. We next hear of them in a letter of Henslowe's, dated 28 Sept. 1593, in which he writes in reply to Alleyn's inquiries: 'as for my lorde a penbrockes w^{ch} you desier to knowe wheare they be they ar all at home and hausse ben this v or sixe weackes for they cane not saue ther carges wth trauell as J heare & weare fayne to pane ther parell for ther carge' (MS. I. 14). This was after the plague had been raging for several months in London. Not only had they been forced to pawn their wardrobe, but also, it would seem, to part

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representing a number of different races. For this every available person about the house was requisitioned and the names of a number of boys and gatherers have apparently been preserved. In entering most of these in his lists Fleay assigns them to Pembroke's men in 1597, adding in some cases a conjectural 'Admiral's' also (*Stage*, pp. 370–7). This must be due to some strange confusion, for the names occur nowhere but in the plot, and this has no connection whatever with Pembroke's company.

[1] Of Pembroke's men he writes further (*Stage*, p. 87): 'I believe . . . that this . . . was the company abused by Nash in 1589 as having anticked it up and down the country with Delfrigus (Del Phrygio) and the King of the Fairies. Pembroke's men are first heard of in London in 1589; see the Address to Greene's Menaphon.' In this passage, however, the writer has made the not uncommon error of confusing fact and conjecture. The statement that Pembroke's men are heard of in London in 1589, for which Nashe's prefatory address to *Menaphon* is quoted as authority, is a deduction from the conjecture that it was this company that Nashe was attacking in that address, and is consequently no confirmation of that conjecture. There is, indeed, some reason to suppose that the conjecture is correct, but it is necessary, in view of Fleay's very ambiguous statement, to emphasize the fact that the company is nowhere mentioned by name.

[2] Wm. Pateson, one of the players who were with Worcester's men at Leicester in Mar. 1584, was 'my lord Harbards man.' This must presumably mean Lord Herbert's man, but Henry Herbert had been Earl of Pembroke since 1570 and William was only three years old. In any case, however, 'man' need not mean player.

Their repertory.

Union with the Admiral's men in 1597.

with at any rate a portion of their stock of plays. Some of these they turned to account by sending them to the press; others they sold to rival companies. The fact illustrates in a striking manner the precarious nature of their profession. It happens also to supply us with evidence that in happier days Pembroke's men had been able to command the pens of no insignificant playwrights. From the title-pages of plays published in 1594 and 1595 we learn that *Edward II*, the *Taming of a Shrew*, *Titus Andronicus*, and the *True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, that is, 3 *Henry VI*, had been in their repertory. It is clear that Marlowe at least must have written for them. In June 1594 the Chamberlain's men acted at Newington in four pieces, *Titus Andronicus*, the *Taming of a Shrew*, *Hamlet*, and *Hester and Assuerus*. All four were old plays, yet none belonged to the stock of Strange's men in 1592. Two, as we have just seen, were Pembroke plays; the obvious inference is that the others came from the same source. Of *Hester and Assuerus* we know nothing except that it may possibly have been the original of an extant German piece; *Hamlet* is, of course, the lost play commonly ascribed to Kyd. Since *Titus Andronicus* is said on the title-page to have been acted by Derby's men (as well as by Pembroke's and Sussex') it must have passed, no doubt in company with the rest, to its new owners between 25 Sept. 1593 and 16 Apr. 1594. This would suggest that Alleyn had procured the play-books for the company with which he was then travelling in consequence of the information vouchsafed by Henslowe in his letter of 28 Sept. We hear nothing further of Pembroke's men till 11 Oct. 1597, when, as we have seen (p. 90), they began acting at the Rose in conjunction with the Admiral's men, and some sort of amalgamation ensued. The relations of the two companies have been already discussed, and it will be sufficient to repeat here that, although some of the leading members of Pembroke's company may have definitely associated themselves with the Admiral's men, it is nevertheless clear that the former continued its separate existence, for we find it at Leicester in 1598 and again in 1600 (Kelly, pp. 229 and 233). In the latter year we again find Pembroke's men mentioned in the Diary (**83** 1). They opened at the Rose, which the Admiral's men had recently vacated, on 28 Oct., but only gave two performances. What happened we do not know for certain, but it is at least a plausible supposition that, at a time when Alleyn was endeavouring to erect the Fortune without Cripplegate, it was found expedient to keep up the fiction, to which the Master of the Revels had given his support, that the Rose was to be abandoned. This is the last we hear of Pembroke's men for certain, and the outline we are able to reconstruct of their career is very slender. What they were doing between 1593 and 1597 we do not in the least know. In Henslowe's letter they are mentioned as if they were a London company, and their performances at court in 1592-3 make it likely that they occupied one of the regular theatres, possibly the

Curtain. Fleay maintains that they continued there from 1589 to 1597 (*Stage*, p. 136), but there is, so far as I am aware, no evidence whatever of their being in London between 1593 and 1597. They prepared no play for court, and it is almost incredible that in their decayed state they should have been able to hold their own at one of the big London houses at a time when the rivalry between the Chamberlain's and Admiral's men was at its height. Whether the letter from the Lords of the Council of 19 Feb. 1598 refers to them is more than doubtful (see p. 93). If, however, they did not occupy the Curtain, the house presumably stood empty, for there is no other company at this date to which it can be assigned. The Chamberlain's men probably moved into it in 1597, and after their migration to the Globe it appears to have been occupied for a while by the later Derby's men.

The later Worcester's men.

Passing over for the moment more controversial matters, it will now be best to summarize the known facts regarding Worcester's men. We have already seen reason to suppose that if the early Worcester's company did not break on the death of its patron on 22 Feb. 1589, at any rate the leading members then joined the Admiral's men. But it is probable that some at least of the old company passed under the patronage of Edward Somerset, son and heir of the late Earl. A company of his servants is found at Leicester in 1590, 1591, 1593, 1595, and 1596, eight times in all, and then not again till 1603 (Kelly, pp. 225–36). They appear, however, in the Diary on 17 Aug. 1602. Whether the interval between 1596 and 1602 indicates a breaking of the company or whether they merely did not happen to be at Leicester during those years it is impossible to say. On the date mentioned Henslowe heads an account: 'Lent vnto my Lorde of worsters players as foloweth begynynge the 17 day of aguste 1602' (**115** 1). The acting was doubtless at the Rose (cf. **100**^{v} 2), and the entries are continuous till 16 Mar. 1603 when Henslowe makes out a reckoning for £140. 1.. This is signed by Thomas Blackwood, but the signature was no doubt appended later, for he and Lewin and Perkins had gone with the rest of the company to play in the provinces on 12 Mar. (**113**^{v} 11, 14, **114** 22). They were back again early in May, and a new account was opened: 'In the name of god amen Begininge to playe agayne by the kynges licence & layd owt sense for my lord of worsters men as folowethe 1603 9 of maye' (**121** 1). Only one entry, however, appears, and the company was no doubt soon forced to travel again owing to the outbreak of the plague. The only appearances of this company at court were on 3 Jan. and 14 Feb. 1602, when they performed plays for which payment was made to Kemp and Heywood (Pipe Rolls, 543, fol. 83).

No regular lists of Worcester's men appear in the Diary. Nine names, however, occur in the accounts as those of actors authorizing expenditure on behalf of the company, who must therefore have been sharers. We also find mention of Richard

Records of them in the Diary.

Perkins who was doubtless a shareholder, though he does not appear in the regular accounts (**114** 18, 22). Underell, who received wages from the company on 11 Oct. 1602, was probably a hired man (**116**^{v} 28). Dick Syferweste, who borrowed money from Perkins on 4 Sept. 'to Ride downe to his felowes,' cannot have belonged to Worcester's men, since the company was evidently acting in town at that date (**114** 20). Fleay, indeed, includes him, while omitting Underell; he also interprets 'cattanes' (**119**^{v} 6), which he gives in the form 'Catharnes,' having misread Collier's 'Cattarnes' (*Diary*, p. 248), as Katherines, but no actor of that name is otherwise known (*Stage*, p. 138). He omits Heywood, who, however, thrice appears as authorizing payments, and he must be mistaken in adding Munday, who did not even write for the company. Lastly we ought, most probably, to add R. Lee, of whom we shall hear further shortly, though he was very likely not a sharer.

Worcester's become the Queen's men.

After James' accession Worcester's men were taken under the protection of the Queen, Anne of Denmark. We have already seen Dugdale's account of the matter (p. 97). I may add here the testimony of Thomas Heywood himself, who in dedicating his Γυναικεῖον to the Earl of Worcester in 1624 wrote: 'I was (my Lord) your creature, and (amongst other of your seruants) you bestowed me vpon the excellent Princesse Q. Anne . . . but by her lamented death your Gift (my Lord) is returned againe into your hands.' Of the Queen's men three lists are extant. One of these is in an undated draft of their patent printed in Collier's *Annals* (1879, i. p. 336, not in the 1831 edition). Fleay dates this May 1603 (*Stage*, p. 191), which is almost certainly a year too early, since Worcester's men appear at Leicester probably in the summer or autumn of that year (Kelly, p. 236).[1] The second list is that in the Chamberlain's Records for 1604 (*New Shak. Soc. Transactions*, 1877–9, p. 16*); the third is a later patent of 15 Apr., 7 James I, i. e. 1609 (*Shak. Soc. Papers*, iv. p. 45).

Their composition.

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[1] Fleay also suspects the document of being a forgery. For this opinion he gives three reasons: '1. It licenses their playing "within (our City of) London;" but no men players were allowed at this date within the City. 2. It provides that the deaths from Plague should be under thirty per week, whereas forty is well known to be the correct number. 3. It mentions the Boar's Head and Curtain as the usual playhouses of the company, whereas we know that Worcester's played at the Rose in May 1603, and at the Red Bull and Curtain in 1609, while of a Boar's Head playing-house no other mention is found since Queen Mary's time.' Not one of these objections has the slightest weight. The first is founded on a mere blunder: the words 'within (our Cetie of) London and the liberties (therof)' refer not to acting but to the infection. The second raises a question to which I shall have to return (p. 144). It must suffice here to point out that thirty is the number mentioned in the Privy Council's warrant of 9 Apr. 1604 (MS. I. 39), which Fleay, of course, as well as every one else, accepts as genuine. The third is sufficiently answered by a document showing that Oxford's and Worcester's men acted together at the Boar's Head tavern in Eastcheap in 1602 (*Remembrancia*, p. 355).

From the Diary 1602–3	Patent 1603–4 (?)		Chamb. Record 1604		Patent 1609	
T. Blackwode						
J. Thare						
'Cattanes'						
J. Lowen						
W. Kempe						
	T. Greene	1	T. Grene	9	T. Greene	1
C. Beston	C. Beeston	2	C. Beeston	1	C. Beeston	2
T. Hewode	T. Hawood	3	T. Haward	6	T. Haywood	3
R. Perckyns (?)	R. Pyrkins	4	R. Purkins	5	R. Pirkyns	4
R. Palante	R. Pallant	5	R. Palante	4	R. Pallant	5
J. Dewcke	J. Duke	6	J. Duke	3	J. Duke	7
	T. Swynerton	7	T. Swetherton	8	T. Swinnerton	6
	J. Hoult	8	J. Houlte	7	J. Haulte	9
	R. Beeston	9	R. Beeston	10	R. Beeston	10
	R. Lee	10	R. Lee	2	R. Lee	8
Underell						

Kemp is found with the Queen's Revels' company in 1605; Lowin joined the King's men in 1603; Blackwode, Thare, 'Cattanes,' and Underell are not otherwise known.

Kemp and company.

We must now leave the region of fact to follow out certain more or less plausible conjectures. When the Chamberlain's men left the Curtain for the newly built Globe in 1599, according to the best accredited theory, four of the company appear to have separated themselves from the rest. These were Kemp, C. Beeston, Duke, and Pallant, all of whom reappear as Worcester's men in 1602–3. With them most probably went R. Lee, whose name is found in a plot belonging to Strange's men in 1593 (Apx. II. 2) and again in the list of the Queen's men as above. 'I do not see,' says Fleay, who, however, makes no mention of Lee, 'what these men could have been doing if they did not continue to act as members of Pembroke's company' (*Stage*, p. 138). He was apparently not aware that a Worcester's company was already in existence, though we do not find it actually mentioned during these years, and that there was consequently nothing to prevent the men from the Chamberlain's company from transferring their allegiance direct. In favour of a connection between the seceders and Pembroke's men there is only one very slender piece of inferential evidence. On 21 Sept. 1600 we find Duke in London and borrowing 40*s*. of Henslowe for a month (**83**^{v} 12); while on 28 and 29 Oct. we find Pembroke's men acting at the Rose (**83** 1). The entries, moreover, appear on opposite sides of the same leaf. This is somewhat inadequate evidence for supposing that Duke—not to mention Pallant, Beeston and Kemp—must have belonged to Pembroke's company, yet it is all Fleay has to rely on; for, even supposing that it was these four who were satirized as Sir Oliver Owlet's men in *Histriomastix*, there is nothing to identify the fourth company of that play with Pembroke's rather than Worcester's men. Fleay proceeds to the assertion (*Stage*, p. 139) that the four 'joined in the "composition" of Worcester's' company on 17 Aug. 1602. This would seem to imply some record of the institution or reconstruction of Worcester's men at that date, but nothing of the kind exists. The date is merely that of the commencement of Henslowe's accounts and the company did not meet 'at the mermayd when we weare at owre a gement' till 21 Aug. (**115** 1, 12). The only 'composicion' mentioned in the Diary, or, I believe, anywhere, is that of the Admiral's men on 11 Nov. 1600 when about to open at the Fortune (**70**^{v} 17).

Francis Henslowe and company.

There is, however, another set of players who may have had something to do with Pembroke's company. These centre round Francis Henslowe, Philip's nephew. We have already seen that he paid £15 for a share in the Queen's company on 8 May 159[3/]4 (p. 80, and **2**^{v} 30, see errata; Collier printed '3 of may', *Diary*, p. 5; Fleay has '5th May', *Stage*, p. 138, but cf. p. 82). On 1 June 1595 we find him paying £9 for a half share 'wth the company w^{ch} he dothe playe wth all' (**3**^{v} 5; Collier, *Diary*, p. 8, and consequently Fleay, *Stage*, p. 138, have 1596). Of course he borrowed the money from his uncle, and the loan is witnessed by William Smyght, George Attewell and Robert Nycowlles, who are all described as players and were no doubt members of the same company, though unfortunately nothing further is known of any of them except Attewell or Ottewell, who received payment on behalf of Strange's men in 1590/1 (Pipe Rolls, 542, fol. 156). Fleay says that this was a 'certainly different company' from the Queen's (*Stage*, p. 138), and though it is perhaps not easy to see the grounds of his confidence, this view is, on the whole, probably correct. Nothing certain is heard of the Queen's men after May 1594, and had Francis Henslowe in 1595 been merely buying an additional half share in his old company we should certainly have expected to find this mentioned by name and not referred to by the periphrasis quoted above. On 15 Dec. 1597 Francis took a house on the Bankside known as the Upper Ground (**62** 16). This was shortly after the partial amalgamation of Pembroke's men with the Admiral's. He took it 'so as to be near the Rose,' according to Fleay (*Stage*, p. 139), but he has unfortunately left no record of his motive. The temporary union was very likely already at an end on 15 Dec.; in any case it cannot have been expected to be permanent; there is no trace of Francis in connection with the Admiral's men; and it is very doubtful whether Pembroke's men remained in town (p. 93). We next find him acting 'in the duckes nam,' that is, as a member of Lennox' company, together with Garland, Symcockes and Savery (**100** 19). The entry is not dated,

Lennox' men.

but we hear nothing of Lennox' men before 1604. He is also mentioned in connection with Garland and Savery as the servant of the Duke of Lennox in two documents belonging to March 1605 (MS. I. 41–2). On 13 Oct. 1604 Lennox had written 'To all maiors Justeses of peas Shreefes Balifes Constabells and all other his highnes officers and lofing subiects' complaining that they had inhibited his players, and requiring them to desist, as the men in question had his licence to play (MS. I. 40). The document is interesting in view of the fact that only three companies were licensed by the Privy Council to perform about London, and all three were under royal patronage (MS. I. 39). No doubt Lennox' men proposed to travel in the country, but this endeavour to resuscitate the Elizabethan tradition of noblemen's companies does not appear to have met with much success. It is even doubtful, in spite of Lennox' proximity to the Scottish crown, whether the attempt was not illegal under 1 James I, c. 7 (1603–4). One Richard Bradshawe, who had been Spenser's man in the Admiral's company in 1598, was evidently travelling with some provincial company in 1600–1 (**85** 1 and 9) and is last heard of in 1605 (MS. I. 25). This company may or may not have been that with which Francis Henslowe was concerned (Fleay, *Stage*, p. 139).

Problematical connections between Pembroke's, Worcester's and Lennox' companies.

Since, then, Francis Henslowe may have been a member of Pembroke's company in 1597 and certainly was a member of Lennox' in 1604, it is possible that the Duke took over the patronage of the Earl's servants. What happened in the interval between Pembroke's death in Jan. 1601 and the first mention of Lennox' men in 1604 we cannot say. They cannot well have passed under the Duke's patronage till after James' accession: possibly they continued for a while under that of William Herbert when he succeeded to his father's title. The connection of Pembroke's with Lennox' men is at best problematical; all I wish to suggest is that it is as plausible as that of Pembroke's with Worcester's. A better case can, I think, be made out for Francis Henslowe having belonged to Pembroke's men, than for Duke and his fellows, and since there is no evidence of Francis having ever like them been connected with Worcester's men, we have, to say the least, no right to assume that they had ever belonged to the same company.

§ VI. Henslowe's Dramatic Finance.

The time has come to consider the important but difficult question of the business arrangements which existed between Henslowe and the various companies in which he was interested, as well as the general financial conditions under which he carried on his theatrical speculations. It was only natural that a good deal of confusion should result from the first endeavours to read the evidence of the mass of detail presented in the Diary, all the more so since the only available text laboured under grave suspicions in the matters of accuracy and honesty alike. What is, however, astonishing is the serene confidence with which assertions have been made, which one would have thought the most casual perusal of documentary evidence must have at once disproved. Thus we find Lee writing in his notice of Henslowe (*D. N. B.*): 'His extant account-book proves that he bought plays direct from the authors, and hired them out at a profit, together with the necessary properties, to various acting companies.' Now I have not the slightest hesitation in saying, in the first place, that, during the years for which we possess detailed accounts, Henslowe never himself bought a play from any author, either directly or indirectly; and, in the second place, that no entry in the Diary lends the least colour to the suggestion that he ever hired out either properties or plays to any company.[1] Or again, we find Fleay repeatedly arguing that because a play is known to have been performed by the Admiral's men, say in 1600, it must therefore have appeared in Henslowe's accounts. But here he overlooks the patent fact that the record preserved in the Diary is at best fragmentary as regards the general transactions of the company. The expenses incurred were by no means necessarily entered in Henslowe's book. I do not quote these examples as arguing any unusual carelessness on the part of the writers, but simply as showing that in their case, and *a fortiori* in that of others, the use made of the Diary as an historical document has been based upon a more or less fundamental misconception of the nature of the evidence it has to offer.[2]

Misconceptions regarding Henslowe's accounts.

The most general misconception with regard to Henslowe's records is well exposed by Fleay himself in a passage which I shall take the liberty of quoting

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[1] It is just possible that Henslowe did own a few of the plays performed in the early days at the Rose, and if so probably hired them out to the companies, but this is mere conjecture (cf. p. 119). Again at a later date we find Henslowe apparently speculating in the works of Daborne and others, and selling them to the companies at a profit, but this was long after the Diary was closed. Lee evidently had in mind the plays for which Henslowe paid the authors at the appointment of the company.

[2] I further wish in self-defence to remark that, if in the sequel I make little or no allusion to what Collier, Halliwell, Lee, Ordish, Mantzius and others have written on the subject, it is not that I am unacquainted with their views, but that it seems to me a question upon which the less said the better. From this category I desire expressly to exclude Fleay, who is the only writer who has ever done anything to reduce the detailed evidence of the Diary to workable shape, and whose Abstract (*Stage*, pp. 94-116), in spite of many errors, is by far the ablest piece of work which has yet been done on the subject. I cannot, it is true, promise to go fully into every point on which I differ from him; but there are, I fancy, not many instances in which I shall do so without finding it necessary to give my reasons at some length. Thus if I appear to be rather frequently engaged in controverting some view of his, it must be borne in mind that the fact is evidence that I regard him, not as the least, but as the most, competent critic who has handled this intricate subject.

Henslowe's methods not typical.

at length (*Stage*, p. 117): 'One prevailing error has been the assumption that Henslow's was a typical management, and that other companies were conducted in the same manner. This was not so. Henslow was an illiterate moneyed man, by trade a dyer, in practice a pawnbroker; who regarded art as a subject for exploitation, and was alike ignorant of stage management and dramatic literature. Having had the shrewdness to build a theatre on the Bankside exactly when it was wanted, and the good fortune to obtain in Alleyn a son-in-law who supplied his want of technical knowledge, he managed, by a policy well known to the tallymen and money-lenders of the present time, to keep his actors in subservience and his poets in constant need by one simple method, viz., by lending them money and never allowing their debts to be fully paid off. In this conduct he was largely aided by the great competition among the dramatic poets of this period. The success of Marlow, Greene, and their associates had attracted nearly all the poets, at a time when poets were as plentiful as blackberries, to writing for the theatres. Many of these were men of real genius, and all were poor. . . . The only rival company to Henslow's was for some six years the Lord Chamberlain's, but the policy of this company was the exact opposite to that of their rivals. Managed by the housekeepers or principal sharers, whose interest was that of the whole company, and not by an independent employer whose object was to fill his own pocket, they sought to produce plays of lasting interest, which would bear revival and be a perennial source of income. They employed few poets, and paid them well. I have not been able to trace more than three poets at one time in their employment during Elizabeth's reign—Henslow usually occupied twelve—nor more than four new plays produced by them in any one year (say one in two months). Henslow's playwrights averaged one every two weeks. The subsequent history confirms this view. Hardly ever do we find a play passing out of the possession of these men, and if we do it is invariably by some surreptitious procedure; while the plays produced for Henslow were continually rewritten, renamed, and resold to other companies. In fine, the especial value of Henslow's document lies not, as I have seen it asserted, in its showing us what the inner arrangement of Shakespeare's company must also have been, but in setting before us the selfish hand-to-mouth policy on which its principal rivals were guided, and consequently an explanation of their ultimate failure, in spite of the excellence of many of their plays, and the genius of their authors.'

This must not, of course, be taken as a fair account of the matter; indeed, a good deal can be dismissed at sight as mere rhetorical embroidery.[1] Nevertheless,

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[1] Of Henslowe's knowledge or ignorance of stagecraft we have absolutely no means of judging; it is far easier to announce that the Rose was built 'exactly when it was wanted' than to give the precise date; it is quite uncertain whether the playwrights who appear in the Diary were often in Henslowe's debt or not. As to the pay given by the Chamberlain's men we are in complete

I quite agree with Fleay that Henslowe's methods were not those best adapted to the free development of the dramatic energies of the company, being such as were forced upon them by their want of capital, and I believe his comparison to be in the main a true one. What it is important to bear in mind is that the financial arrangements which we find obtaining in the groups of companies under Henslowe's control were the exception rather than the rule.

Henslowe's relations with the Master of the Revels.

Before going into the question of Henslowe's relations with the companies it will be well to consider the ways in which he was brought in contact with the official authorities. The person with whom both as proprietor and manager he had to deal was the Master of the Revels, a post which, during the whole period covered by the Diary, was held by Edmund Tilney. We find in Henslowe's accounts the record of a number of payments to this official or his servants, which will on closer inspection be found to fall into two categories: periodical payments for the licence of the house while acting was in progress, and payments for the licence of individual plays. The latter are entered among the current expenses of the company, the former appear independently among the scattered memoranda. The play licences are the more important and may be considered first.

Play licences

The question which naturally arises is whether these licences of individual though not always specified pieces were for acting or printing. Fleay maintains the latter view. 'We shall see presently,' he writes in his Abstract (*Stage*, p. 107), 'that Henslow made payments to the Master of the Revels for licensing plays, and it has always been supposed that this meant licensing for *performance*. The instances are far too few to allow of this interpretation. It meant licensing for the *press* independently of the Stationers' Company, and a comparison of Henslow's entries with the Index [VII.—List of Plays not yet found in S. R., 1584–1640] at the end of the present work [p. 386] enables me to state what plays were thus licensed. I subjoin a list, as novel as important for this period of stage history[1]:—

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ignorance, for we know practically nothing of the internal working of that company. Only we may well question whether, had Henslowe's papers perished as completely as those of other companies, we should have been able to trace more plays or more playwrights connected with the Admiral's than with the Chamberlain's men. Lastly, to suppose that Henslowe's connection with the former led to financial ruin would be grotesquely absurd, for after the accession of James I it was one of the three companies taken under royal patronage and there is nothing to lead us to suspect that it was not in a flourishing condition. After this, I believe, Henslowe ceased to finance it. Anyhow it continued a steady concern long after Henslowe's death, and was established on a long lease at what was certainly one of the most important and probably the largest of the London playhouses.

[1] In this table the only insertion I have made is the '(*sic*)'. The square brackets are Fleay's, and indicate 'conjectural matter.'

1599, Mar.	Brute Greenshield.	
”	The Four Kings [but is not this the same play as Clyomon?]	
”	[Two angry women of Abingdon.	These were probably the four “other plays” of Henslow. They were all printed in 1599.
”	A Humorous day's mirth.	
”	Alphonsus of Arragon.	
”	Cylomon (*sic*) and Clamydes.]	
1599, June 3	Agamemnon [by Dekker and Chettle].	
1599, Dec. 19	[A Shoemaker's Holiday.	Probably Henslow's “two plays” both printed in 1600.
”	Look about you.]	
1601, Sep. 3	3 Thomas Stroud.	
”	Remainder of Cardinal Wolsey.	

It is curious,' he adds by an afterthought, 'that in every instance where Henslow gives a play-name the play is non-extant.'

Fleay does not, however, appear to have realized the exceedingly damaging nature of this admission. If we accept his list we are met with the extraordinary fact that in the five instances in which Henslowe mentions the title the play has perished, while in the six instances in which he omitted to do so the play has survived. But this is not all. It is most unfortunate that in giving this list, 'as novel as important,' Fleay should have included only about half the licences mentioned in the Diary, and in particular that he should have overlooked two instances which are clearly inconsistent with his theory. The complete list is as follows:—

44	16	1598, 15/26 Jan.	14*s*.	1		14*s*. 'a bated' 5*s*. = 9*s*.
				2		
45	22	28 Mar.	14*s*.	3	1 Robin Hood.	Entered S. R. 1 Dec. 1600; printed 1601.
				4	2 Robin Hood.	
47^{v}	26	24 July	21*s*.	5		
				6		
				7		
54	9	1599, 8 (?) Mar.	14*s*.	8		
				9		
	16	18 Mar.	14*s*.	10		
				11		
	18	18/22 Mar.	7*s*.	12	Four Kings.	
	23	22/27 Mar.	7*s*.	13	Brute Grenshallde.	
63	14	3 (?) June	7*s*.	14	Agamemnon.	
66^{v}	16	19/26 Dec.	14*s*.	15		
				16		
67	15	1600, 10/18 Jan.	7*s*.	17	Beech's Tragedy.	
69	10	6/10 May	7*s*.	18	Ferrex and Porrex.	
	22	16 May	7*s*.	19	Damon and Pithias.	
93^{v}	9	1601, 3 Sept.	10*s*.	20	3 Tom Strowd.	
				21	'Remaynder of' Cardinal Wolsey.	

There can be no reasonable doubt that the two parts of *Robin Hood*, licensed on 28 Mar. 1598, are rightly identified by Fleay himself with the *Downfall* and

Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon, entered on the Stationers' Register on 1 Dec. 1600 and published the following year. This, however, entirely disproves his theory that the licences were for printing independently of the Company, while, on the other hand, the fact that none of the other eight pieces named were ever entered on the Register, proves that the licence was not obtained as a preliminary to such entry. I may remark incidentally that an official licence to print in no way obviated the necessity of entry on the Register with its accompanying fee; the only books that escaped were those published under royal privilege. We are thus left with no alternative but to suppose that the licences were for performance and not for printing. This view is borne out by an entry which appears in the Diary, but which was given by Collier in an incomplete and misleading form. In the midst of the daily entries of performances, we read, interlined above the entry for 10 Mar. 1594/5, '17 p frome hence lycensed' (11^v 17). This I take to mean that a batch of seventeen plays were at this point licensed by the Master of the Revels. This is a large number, and it happens to be exactly the number of the plays in the repertory at the moment, that is, of the plays entered as performed by the Admiral's men both before and after the date in question. The inference, that this date is the one at which such licensing was first enforced on the company after it had established itself at the Rose, seems irresistible.[1] Fleay's objection that the licences are too few to be for performance, is of no weight whatever. If other licences do not appear it is for the simple reason that the fees were paid to the Master of the Revels by the company out of its own funds without having recourse to Henslowe. That the accounts preserved in the Diary represent only a portion of the expenses of the companies concerned, and that this is not to be explained on any hypothesis of missing leaves, I shall show in detail later on; it happens, however, that it can be proved rather clearly from these very payments we are now considering. It will have been noticed that the cost of licensing was invariably 7*s.* Now on 3 Sept. 1601 Henslowe obtained a licence for 3 *Tom Strowd* and 'the Remaynder of carnowlle wollsey,' and paid 10*s.*, i.e. 7*s.* for the former and 3*s.* for the latter. There must therefore have been a previous payment of 4*s.* in earnest of *Wolsey* which was never entered by Henslowe, for there are no accounts missing from this portion of the Diary. One further piece of evidence may be mentioned here. On the back of an acquittance to Henslowe from Playstowe, Tilney's agent, dated 4 Aug. 1602, occurs the following note: 'bookes owinge for / 5 / baxsters tragedy Tobias Comedy Jepha Judg of Jsrael & the Cardinall loue parts frendshipp' (MS. I. 37). 'The

for performance, not printing.

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[1] The necessity of licensing was, of course, not new. In the warrant, dated 6 Feb. 1582/3 (25 Eliz.), exhibited by certain players at Leicester on 3 Mar. 1583/4, it is provided that 'No play is to bee played, but suche as is allowed by the sayd Edmund [Tilney], & his hand at the latter end of the said booke they doe play' (Kelly, p. 212; Young, ii. p. 4).

Cardinall' must be the *Rising of Cardinal Wolsey*, which was written after the *Life*. If we accept Warner's identification (p. 24) of 'baxsters tragedy' with Day's *Bristow Tragedy*, we find that all five pieces are mentioned in the Diary in actually consecutive entries (**105**–**105**$^{\text{v}}$). This disposes of the possible suggestion that the licences were with a view to court performance. None of these plays were printed.

Playhouse licences.

Licensing plays was not, however, the only manner in which the Master of the Revels derived an income from the stage. These charges, as we have seen, were levied on the companies performing; there was also a rate levied at every house where plays were in course of performance, which was paid by the proprietor. This is shown by the fact that the acquittances appear among Henslowe's scattered memoranda and loose papers, not in the company accounts. A good many such payments are recorded, and if we have by no means a complete set it is not because the companies paid them without having recourse to Henslowe, but because he lost or destroyed most of the acquittances which did not happen to have been entered in the Diary itself. At first, however, he kept a record of his expenses under this head in a more or less regular manner. Since these payments have never been systematically investigated we must consider them in some detail here. They begin, without heading, concurrently with the performances by Strange's men in Feb. 1592. Acting commenced on 19 Feb. and the first payment was made the following Saturday, 26 Feb. (**6**$^{\text{v}}$ 6). It is for 5*s.*, and we find weekly payments of a similar amount paid not very regularly down to 10 May. On 13 May there is a payment for 12*s.* which looks as though it included a licence. On 20 May, however, the weekly payment is raised to 6*s.* 8*d.*, and this sum is also paid on 9 and 14 June. One week, however, is omitted, nor is any payment recorded for the incomplete week in the course of which the company ceased playing. The dates entered, it must be remembered, are the often incorrect ones of Henslowe's daily accounts. During the disorganized year 1593 we find no record of these payments, nor, indeed, do they reappear till 31 May 1595, on which date we find in the list of performances the note 'pd' which, in view of subsequent entries, we may perhaps regard as indicating a payment to the Master (**12**$^{\text{v}}$ 12). More definite is the entry 8 Nov. the same year where we find the note 'm$^{\text{r}}$ pd' (**13** 48). This recurs on 18 Dec. and 30 (31) Jan. following, apparently marking a monthly payment (**14** 28, **14**$^{\text{v}}$ 12). On the cessation of the company on 27 (28) Feb. 1595/6 Henslowe notes: 'the master of the Revelles payd vntell this time al w$^{\text{ch}}$ I owe hime' (**14**$^{\text{v}}$ 36). From this point onwards we not only find frequent notes of payment but also in many cases the actual acquittances. These enable us to construct the following table:—

Weekly Payments, Feb. to June 1592 (**6**^{v}).

1592.	26 Feb.	5*s.*	for 19 to 26 Feb.
	4 Mar.	5*s.*	for 28 Feb. to 4 Mar.
	10 Mar.	5*s.*	for 6 to 11 Mar.
	17 Mar.	5*s.*	for 13 to 18 Mar.
	24 Mar.	5*s.*	for 20 to 25 Mar.
	28 Mar.	5*s.*	for 27 Mar. to 1 Apr.
	7 Apr.	5*s.*	for 3 to 8 Apr.
	19 Apr.	5*s.*	for 10 to 15 Apr.
	27 Apr.	5*s.*	for 17 to 22 Apr.
1592.	28 Apr.	5*s.*	for 24 to 29 Apr.
	5 May	4*s.*	for 30 Apr. (1 May) to 6 May.
	10 (12) May	5*s.*	for 8 to 11 (13) May.
	13 (15) May	12*s.*	for 13 (15) to 18 (20) May.
	20 (23) May	6*s.* 8*d.*	for 19 (22) to 24 (27) May.
	[wanting]		for 25 (29) to 31 May (3 June).
	9 June	6*s.* 8*d.*	for 5 to 10 June.
	14 June	6*s.* 8*d.*	for 12 to 16 June.
	[wanting]		for 18 (19) to 22 (23) June.

Down to 31 May 1595 there are about 57 weeks' play during which no payments are recorded. On that date occurs the doubtful entry 'pd' (**12**^{v} 12). Between 3 June and 8 Nov. 1595 there are 14 weeks.

Monthly Payments, 1595 to 1602.

Payments due	Notes of Payments	Acquittances, &c.
	1595. 8 Nov. **13** 48	
	18 Dec. **14** 28	
	1596. 30 Jan. **14**^{v} 12	
	27 Feb. 36	
	26 Apr. **15**^{v} 13	
	10 May 25	for two weeks, 12 to 26 Apr., 20*s.*; Bloomson **20**^{v} 1
	1596. 22 (24) May **15**^{v} 35	
		31 May, for 1 month, 40*s.*; Johnson **23**^{v} 1
	7 June **21**^{v} 8	
	19 (21) June 18	
		27 June, for 1 month, 40*s.*; Johnson 8
	5 July 30	
	12 (17) July 41	
		19 July, 40*s.*; Hatto (Bloomson) 15
27 Oct. 1596 to 12 Feb. 1597 no payments entered.		
	1597. 14 Mar. **26** 25	
	31 Mar. 34	
	28 Apr. **26**^{v} 16	
	28 May 41	
	27 June **27** 25	
	17 July **27**^{v} 6	
	26 Nov. (4 weeks, 40*s.*) 26	
	1598.	2 Jan., for 1 month to 28 Dec. 1597, 40*s.*; paid to Whittle. **38**^{v} 7
		22 Jan., for 1 month to 21 Jan. 40*s.*; paid to Whittle. 12
		23 Feb., for 1 month, 40*s.*; paid to Carnab. 17

Payments due	Notes of Payments	Acquittances, &c.	
27 weeks' play without payment.	1598.		
		12 Oct., for 3 months, £6. ; Johnson.	**23^{v}** 22
38 weeks' play without payment.			
	1599.	25 Oct., £3. ; Veale.	**81^{v}** 8
		20 Nov., £3. ; Veale.	13
	1600.	9 Jan., £3. ; Playstowe.	18
		9 Feb. £3. ; Playstowe.	23
8 weeks' play without payment.			
		28 Apr., £3. ; Playstowe.	**82** 3
		24 May, £3. ; Playstowe.	8
5 weeks' play without payment, to 13 July, after which there is no further record of performances.	[1601 ?]	9 June, for 1 month at the Fortune, £3. ; Hassard.	**100** 18
	1601.	31 July, for 1 month, £3. ; Playstowe.	**83^{v}** 1
	[1601 ?]	29 Aug., for 1 month, at the Fortune, £3. ; Hassard.	7
	1602.	4 Aug., for 1 month, £3. ; Playstowe.	MS. I. 37.

It will be seen that after the erection of the Fortune, and the removal of the Admiral's men thither late in 1600, that playhouse is occasionally specified by name. There is no evidence that Henslowe ever paid for two theatres when both the Rose and the Fortune were in use in 1602, though, of course, we cannot be sure that he did not. However, if we attach any weight at all to the orders in Council of 1600, the acting at the Rose must have been more or less surreptitious and he may, therefore, have escaped the tax, possibly at the cost of a bribe. It will have been noticed that the charge was gradually raised. The earliest payments are of 5*s.* a week; this rises to 6*s.* 8*d.* We next find acquittances for 40*s.* a month, and later for £3. Under Charles I the Master of the Revels claimed two 'benefits' annually, as well as a 'share' which he reckoned at £100. The change from weekly to monthly payments was made gradually. The accounts of 1596 show that Henslowe continued to make weekly or fortnightly payments, but the master's deputy only signed monthly acquittances.

Henslowe's relations with individual playwrights.

In the next place it will be necessary to clear the ground by considering Henslowe's financial relations with individual authors. I have already alluded to the almost universal belief that Henslowe speculated in plays, buying them in advance of their authors, and hiring them out to the companies, and have expressed my conviction that it is absolutely unfounded. The belief has, of course, arisen out of the entries of payments made by Henslowe to various playwrights in earnest of their work; but I hope to show in a moment that in all these cases Henslowe was merely acting on behalf of the company and was not himself interested in the transactions. There is, however, one class of plays, not contemplated by the advocates of the theory in question, for which their view may possibly hold good. There are certain old pieces which had already held the boards for many years at the time when the record of the Diary begins. We know for certain that a small number of the plays performed by the Admiral's men from 1594 onwards were the personal property of Edward Alleyn and others of Martin Slaughter, for we find these men selling the books in question to the company at a later date. The view that they were the authors of the pieces in question, a list of which will be found in Chap. V, § IX, is certainly erroneous. Now it will be seen, when we come to discuss the plays individually, that there is some reason to suppose that a few pieces may have been in Henslowe's hands, and if that was so we may reasonably suppose that he received some pecuniary benefit from lending them to the company (see Chap. III, nos. 1, 7, 38). Of this, however, we lack record, and the plays in question, if they did, indeed, belong to Henslowe, were probably acquired not from the authors themselves but from other companies.

Privately owned plays.

Henslowe's accounts not personal

as shown by the headings,

Be this as it may, there is no record, as has been supposed, of any speculations of Henslowe's own, so far as the evidence of the Diary is concerned. The accounts are company accounts. To begin with, the headings are significant. Even before the regular entries begin we find 'A note of Suche money as J haue lent vnto thes meane whose names folow at severall tymes edward alleyn martyne slather Jeames donstall & Jewbey 1596 all this lent sence the 14 of octobȝ' (**23** 11), the names mentioned being those of the chief members of the Admiral's men before their union with Pembroke's. Or again, about the same date: 'lente vnto my lord admerall players at severall tymes' (**22**^{v} 13). When Henslowe begins his regular accounts the amalgamation has already taken place and he heads the entries: 'A Juste a cownt of all suche money as J haue layd owt for my lord admeralles players begynyng the xj of octobȝ whose names are as foloweth borne gabrell shaw Jonnes dowten Jubc towne synger & the ij geffes 1597' (**43**^{v} 1), and again the following Jan.: 'layd owt for my lord admeralles meane' (**44** 1). Later on we find: 'Layde owt for the company of m^{r} [*sic*] lord of notingame men' (**63** 1), and still more significantly: 'the carlle of nothengames players deatteꝭ as foloweth' (**85**^{v} 1), or: 'Begininge wth a new Recknyng wth my lord of notingames men' (**105** 1). So again when we come to the other company with which Henslowe was connected at the close of Elizabeth's reign we find the headings: 'Lent vnto my Lorde of worsters players' (**115** 1), and lastly: 'Begininge to playe agayne by the kynges licence & layd owt sense for my lord of worsters men as folowethe' (**121** 2). Furthermore we find the totals of these accounts debited to the companies and confirmed by the signatures of the sharers. For instance, after 8 Mar. 1598: 'Thes men dothe aknowlege this deat to be dewe by them by seatynge of ther handes to yette' (**44**^{v} 29). The sum was then £46. 7. 3; during the next two years it had mounted up 'So that the full some of all the debtꝭ w^{ch} we owe M^{r} Henshlowe this xth of July 1600 comethe to Just the some of three hundred powndꝭ . . . Whiche some of three hundred powndꝭ we whose names are here vnder written, doe acknowledge our dewe debt & doe promyse payment' (**69**^{v} 32–**70** 4). Later again: 'frome ther handes to this place is 308^{li} – 06^{s} – 04^{d} dewe vnto me & wth the three hundred of owld is 608 – 06 – 04^{d}' (**104** 27). A new reckoning then was begun at the close of which 'Ther Reastethe dew vnto me to this daye beinge the v daye of maye 1603 when we leafte of playe now at the kynges cominge all Recknyngeꝭ abated the some of a hundred fowerscore and seventenepoundꝭ & thirteneshellyngeꝭ & fowerpence' (**109**^{v} 23). During the disturbed year 1603 the accounts do not seem to have been preserved, but in the following spring Henslowe enters: 'ttotalles from ther handꝭ is 194^{li} – 10^{s} – 06^{d}'; and adds the memorandum: 'Caste vp all the acowntes frome the begininge of the world vntell this daye beinge the 14 daye of marche 1604 by Thomas dowghton & edward Jube for the company of the prynces men & J Phillipe henslow so the^{r} Reastethe dew vnto me P henslow the some of xxiiij^{li} all Reconyngeꝭ consernynge the company in stocke generall descarged & my sealfe descarged to them of al deatꝭ' (**110** 5). So also with Worcester's men: 'Merd that the fulle some of all the deatbtes w^{ch} we owe vnto m^{r} Henslow̄ to this xvj of m^{r}che 1603 comethe to Juste the some of 140^{li} – 1^{s} – 00^{d} w^{ch} some of 140^{li} – 01^{s} – 00^{d} we whosse names are here vnder wrytten do a knowledge ower dew deatte & promysse trewe payment' (**120**^{v} 15). It is impossible in view of these entries to suppose that any of the sums mentioned were paid by Henslowe on his own account, or by way of private speculation. They were simply and in all cases advances made by him to the company, upon the security, as we shall see later on, of a share in the receipts.[1] Henslowe acted, in other words, as banker to the company, and Rendle put his finger on the heart of the matter when he described him as the 'Banker of the Bankside' and, indeed, in many respects 'King of the Bank' (*Henslowe*, p. 150).

by the reckonings,

But even supposing that the evidence collected above were not available, the form of the individual entries themselves would hardly leave any doubt as to their nature. This form varies, it is true, a good deal, but taken altogether the entries explain themselves pretty thoroughly, and as the form becomes more fixed it also becomes more explicit.

and by the form of the entries.

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[1] The only exceptions are certain small advances to authors which are occasionally entered in the margin but are not summed in the totals of the accounts.

At the time of the union of the Admiral's and Pembroke's men, before the beginning of the regular accounts, we find a few such entries as the following: 'lent vnto Robart shawe the 5 of novmbȝ 1597 to by a boocke of yonge horton for the company of my lord admeralles men & my lord of penbrockes the sum of x^{s} wittnes E Alleyn' (**37** 6). The meaning of this is quite clear, namely, that Shaa, acting for the combined companies, borrowed of Henslowe a certain sum in order to buy a play of Haughton, and that Alleyn witnessed the transaction on behalf of the companies; or, in other words, that Shaa and Alleyn jointly pledged the credit of the companies for the repayment of the loan. Among the earliest entries in the regular accounts we find, for instance: 'layd owt vnto Robarte shawe to by a boocke for the companey' (**43**^{v} 6), 'lent vnto Robarte shaw· for the companey to bye viij y^{r}des of clothe of gowlde' (12), 'lent vnto Robarte shawe to geue the tayller to by tynssell for bornes gowne' (15), 'Lent vnto thomas dowton . . . to by a boockes of m^{r} dickers' (**44** 8), 'lent vnto Thomas dowton for the company to paye to the m^{r} of the Revells' (16), 'lent vnto the companey . . . to dise charge m^{r} dicker owt of the cownter' (26). It is true that there are other entries which might refer to expenses of Henslowe's own, such, for instance, as: 'layd owt for mackynge allce perces bodeyes' (**43**^{v} 21), 'lent vnto Bengemen Johnson . . . vpon a boocke w^{ch} he showed the plotte vnto the company' (23), though this certainly implies that the players had approved the scheme, or: 'Layd owt vnto antony monday . . . for a playe boocke' (**44** 30). These, however, tend to disappear. For a while a typical form of entry is: 'lent vnto thomas dowton [or some other sharer] . . . to buy divers things for [some play]' though the payments to authors are often entered as direct loans, occasionally with some such addition as 'wittnes w^{m} Birde' (**45**^{v} 28), which no doubt indicates the sharer authorizing the payment. Rather later the entries of advances to authors begin to assume a more definite and constant form and we have, for instance: 'Lent vnto the company . . . to paye vnto m^{r} chapmane in fulle payment for his playe . . .' (**51** 4). This is quite unambiguous, but it was soon felt desirable that the name of the person authorizing payment should be more regularly recorded. Thus we find entries in the form of: 'Lent vnto thomas downton . . . to Leand vnto m^{r} Chapman in earneste of a Boocke . . .' (**53** 4), or: 'Lent vnto Robart shawe . . . to paye Thomas hawode in full payment for his boocke . . .' (8). In the spring of 1600 the entry was often made by the person receiving the money and took the form of an acquittance. The signatures are usually those of sharers, though there are instances of playwrights signing discharges to Henslowe. It is also in May 1600 that we first meet with a form of entry which was later adopted as the standard. A typical instance, not quite the earliest, runs: 'Lent at the apoyntment of Robart shawe to Thomas deckers & John daye & haryе chetell . . . in pte of payment of a Booke called the gowlden asse . . .' (**69** 12). Nothing can be clearer than that certain members of the companies with which Henslowe was connected had the right of authorizing expenditure on behalf of themselves and their fellows, that Henslowe made the payments desired, and that the players admitted their joint liability for the sums so expended. We shall see later on that these are precisely the arrangements contemplated in the articles of agreement between Henslowe and the companies with which he was connected in the second decade of the seventeenth century. Whether all the sharers were at this time authorized to appoint payment is not known; most probably the system only gradually became fixed and limited in the manner indicated by the later documents. As a rule only one player appointed any particular payment, and the office was, as we should expect, always tending to fall into the hands of one man. At first it is usually Downton who acts for the company, next Shaa's name predominates; towards the end we find Rowley making frequent appearance, though several others, notably Bird, are also occasionally met with. In the case of Worcester's men, with whom the arrangements appear to have been the same as with the Admiral's, the names of Duke, Thare and Blackwood are the most prominent, while those of Lowin, Kemp, Beeston, Heywood and Pallant likewise occur.

Evidence of Henslowe's correspondence.

Some interesting light is thrown on these transactions by such fragments of correspondence as have survived from this period. The first of these, from Shaa to Henslowe, refers, as Warner has shown (p. 16), to the play of *Henry Richmond*, and runs: 'we haue heard their booke and lyke yt their pryce is eight poundꝭ, w^{ch} J pray pay now to m^{r} wilson, according to our promysse' (MS. I. 26; cf. **65** 25). From this it appears that everything concerning the choice of plays and the agreement as to price rested with the company, so that Henslowe had no voice in the matter: Shaa's note may be adequately described as a draft on the company's banker. In another note Shaa authorizes payment for *Fair Constance of Rome*, adding: 'whereof J pray you reserue for me m^{r} willsons whole share w^{ch} is xj^{s}. w^{ch} J to supply his neede deliuered him yesternight' (MS. I. 31; cf. **69**^{v} 15). The importance of this letter lies in the fact that it shows that payments were sometimes made otherwise than through Henslowe. In the present case, indeed, the advance had been made by an individual sharer who consequently reclaimed it, but there is no reason to suppose that such payments were never made by the company out of its own funds. Again Sam Rowley writes on 4 Apr. 1601: 'J haue harde fyue shetes of a playe of the Conqueste of the Jndes & J dow not doute but Jt wyll be a verye good playe tharefore J praye ye delyuer them fortye shyllynges Jn earneste of Jt & take the papers Jnto yo^{r} one hands & on easter eue thaye promyse to make an ende of all the reste' (MS. I. 32). Compare with this note, the following entry in the

Diary: 'Lent vnto John daye & w^{m} hawghton the 4 of ap^{r}ell 1601 in earnest of playe called the conqueste of the weste enges at the apoyntment of Samvell Rowlye the some of xxxx^{s}' (**86** 18). From this we learn that when Henslowe enters a sum as paid in earnest of a play, it does not mean, as it should according to the strict modern usage, that he advanced the money on the promise of the play, as a sort of retaining fee, but that it was a part payment made on delivery of a portion of the MS.[1] If the author failed to produce the rest, the sheets could easily be given to another writer to finish. This practice of handing in the play piecemeal might account for many of the inconsistencies found in old plays, but if we may generalize from the subsequent correspondence with Daborne, it would seem that what the author delivered was a fair copy, so that he retained his rough draft for reference. The following transaction throws a very clear light on the nature of Henslowe's accounts. Between 24 Mar. and 16 Apr. 1601 Hathway and Rankins received of Henslowe sums amounting to £1. 19 in earnest of a play called the *Conquest of Spain by John of Gaunt* (**86** 10, 22, 29, **86**^{v} 1). Shortly afterwards Rowley wrote in an undated letter to Henslowe: 'J praye ye let m^{r} hathwaye have his papars agayne of the playe of John a gante & for the Repayement of the moneye backagayne he Js contente to gyue ye a byll of his hande to be payde at some cartayne tyme as Jn yo^{r} dyscressyon yow shall thinke good: w^{ch} done ye may crose Jt oute of yo^{r} boouke & keepe the byll: or else wele stande so muche indetted to you & kepe the byll o^{r} selues' (MS. I. 33). Henslowe evidently considered the company's authorization better security for the repayment of the sums in question than Hathway's bond, for he allowed the Admiral's men to retain the latter and let the entries stand in his accounts. The appearance of a play in the Diary is, therefore, no conclusive evidence that it was actually completed for the company. At other times the players would apply to Henslowe for private loans. Several such are recorded in the Diary, and one letter from Birde, undated, but written on 22 Apr. 1599 (see **42**^{v} 1), requesting an advance of 40*s.* for a week, is preserved (MS. I. 105), but there is no difficulty in distinguishing it from the letters written on behalf of the company. A few more of these survive, but though they are very interesting from the point of view of individual authors and works, they throw no further light on the general financial relations of the companies (MS. I. 34–36).

Transactions of later date.

Whether Henslowe's relations with authors remained unchanged throughout his career is a question which it is not altogether easy to determine, but there are certain considerations which point towards a negative. It is true that, as already said, the specific agreements which survive formulate the relations which we have deduced from the Diary with very satisfactory precision, but we have evidence in Henslowe's correspondence with Daborne, to be considered later, that the provisions of the articles did not always reflect the actual practice. That Henslowe bought plays for the Lady Elizabeth's men in 1613, on the same system as he did earlier for the Admiral's and Worcester's men, is highly probable, but it is also pretty certain that at this time he also speculated privately, taking bond of impecunious authors to produce plays for him which he counted on being able subsequently to sell to the company at a profit. Of this there is no trace in the Diary, and we are in a position to assert with some confidence that between the autumn of 1597 and the spring of 1603 at all events, Henslowe sold no play to either of the companies he was financing.

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[1] There is consequently no distinction to be drawn between payments in earnest and payments in part, both of which terms are of frequent occurrence in the Diary.

The accounts incomplete

I have above alluded to the possibility of payments having been made to authors by the company without the appearance of Henslowe as intermediary. As a general rule, no doubt, whatever payments had to be made would be made by Henslowe, and he would debit the company with the amount against security of the takings. There is an innate tendency in mankind never to pay cash where credit will serve, and since Henslowe, according to the view which I shall put forward in detail in a moment, anyhow impounded a portion of the receipts, referring creditors to him for payment was the exact equivalent, in the company's finance, of drawing a draft on their bankers. There is little doubt that the account was usually over-drawn, but that hardly differentiates it from many of those to be found in the ledgers of a modern bank.

owing partly to the loss of leaves out of the Diary,

The practical question which faces us is whether the company accounts in the Diary are defective, and if so whether it is possible to form any idea of the extent to which they are so. There is, of course, the possibility of mutilation to be taken into account. This subject has been considered in some detail elsewhere (pp. xvi and 323), but a close examination of the accounts will show that in the great majority of cases the leaves missing now must have been lost at a time before Henslowe used the volume. The only point at which we may reasonably suppose that some of the accounts have disappeared is after **54**, where three leaves are missing and there is a gap in the entries extending from 17 Apr. to 26 May 1599. Here it is probable that one of the missing leaves was at least partially filled with accounts.[1] This loss is not very serious in itself and probably stands alone. If the accounts can be shown to be elsewhere defective, it must be due, not to the loss of leaves, but to the fact that they were never complete.

We have already, in considering the payments to the Master of the Revels,

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[1] It is clear that these accounts were already defective when the volume was in Malone's hands, for his published abstract shows just the same hiatus.

but more to payments being made otherwise than through Henslowe.

found evidence of payments having been made which do not appear in the Diary, and at a date, moreover, at which the accounts show no sign of mutilation. I shall now give a few cases in which it is clear that other payments must have been made besides those entered in the accounts, referring for all details to the list of plays in Chap. III. Thus on 2 Dec. 1602 we find Munday receiving £3 in full payment of the *Set at Tennis* (250) though £6 was the lowest sum usually paid for a play at this date. Earlier we find Chettle, Dekker, Drayton and Wilson receiving only £4 in full for the second part of *Earl Goodwin* (135) though they had been paid £6 for Part I (131). Other cases might be cited, but there is sometimes a suspicion that other payments may have been entered for the same piece under another title. The cases in which sums are entered as paid for plays for which no payment in full is recorded are more numerous but also less significant, since it is usually impossible to say whither the piece was actually completed or not. Taken in the aggregate, however, they are important. In all, some 158 plays can be distinguished in the Admiral's accounts between Oct. 1597 and Mar. 1603, exclusive of unnamed pieces. Of these, 62 are entered as paid for in full, though in a certain number of instances the statement is not borne out by the figures. We may perhaps allow another 38 for which as much was paid as we should expect, though the payments are not expressly stated to be in full. This number includes the purchase of old plays, alterations and the like, and brings the total up to 100. Of the remainder, 29 are specifically entered as paid for only in part and the figures confirm this: the rest may be left doubtful for want of more precise information. Now of the 29 it is quite possible that a certain number were never finished for the company. This we know to have actually been the case with Hathway's *Conquest of Spain* (215), for the papers were returned to the author, as we learn from Rowley's letter already discussed (p. 123). In another case, that of Haughton's *Devil and his Dame* (204), the entry is cancelled and the sum was evidently refunded to Henslowe. A play of the name is, however, extant and may have been written for the company though not paid for by Henslowe. But it is hardly possible to account for the whole 29 titles in this manner. Take, for example, *A Woman will have her Will* (126), for which Haughton received £2 in part payment, and which was afterwards printed as *Englishmen for my Money*. In Dec. 1602 Chettle received the small advance of 5*s*. in earnest of *Hoffman* (253), though this may have been the same as the *Danish Tragedy* (238), in earnest of which he had received £1 the previous July. In neither case can we actually prove that the extant play was finished for the Admiral's men, though this is probable. More conjectural is the identification of the *Spanish Moor's Tragedy* (197), for which Day, Dekker and Haughton were paid £3 in part in

Feb. 1600, with *Lust's Dominion*, attributed to Marlowe on the title-page of the late quarto. Again in Jan. 1600 Dekker had received £2 in earnest of *Truth's Supplication to Candlelight* (195). This is certainly the *Whore of Babylon* printed in 1607 as performed by the Prince's men; and that it was acted at the time of composition is shown by the purchase of a robe for Time, who appears as a character in the play. Turning to the accounts with Worcester's men we find very much the same state of things. For instance, only 5*s.* was paid in earnest of 2 *Lady Jane* (271), yet there is very good reason to suppose that *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, printed in 1607 as performed by the Queen's men, and clearly the same piece, is cut down from a two-part play. It will, therefore, be evident that, though we probably have record of the greater part of the payments actually made by the company, we have certainly not got record of all, and that consequently, though from independent sources we may know that a certain play was written for one of Henslowe's companies during the period covered by the accounts, there does not follow any necessity of identifying it with one of the pieces mentioned in the Diary.

Scale of payments to authors.

A word may be said here as to the remuneration of authors. For the earlier period, that is down to 1597, we entirely lack evidence upon the subject, and in the absence of any reasonable basis, conjecture would be worse than useless. From the end of 1597 onwards, we have, on the contrary, very full evidence, which shows that the sums paid to authors were gradually rising. This was only part of the general rise in prices during this period, due to the steady depreciation of money consequent upon the continued influx of the precious metals from the New World. The earliest play for which we have complete records is *Mother Redcap* (122), for which Drayton and Munday received £6 in full. This appears to have been the usual sum, though it is probable that in some cases not more than £5 was given, as for each part of *Robin Hood* (125 and 127). The first part of *Black Baldman* (134) was bought for £7, but for Part II (139) the authors only got the usual sum of £6. This continued the standard for a long time with occasional variations of £5 on the one hand and £7 on the other. We suddenly find Chapman receiving £8. 10 for his *World Runs on Wheels* (165), though this may possibly include a payment for another piece. Chapman appears, however, to have commanded prices rather above the average, and Dekker and Jonson received £8 for *Page of Plymouth* (180). Prices now begin to fluctuate considerably. Day and Haughton only get £5 for *Cox of Collumpton* (188) and *Thomas Merry* (190) respectively, but the authors of *Sir John Oldcastle* (185-6) get £7 for each part, besides a bonus of 10*s.* on the occasion of the first performance, and Wilson £8 for 2 *Henry Richmond* (189), a play of which the first part is not recorded. The highest price entered also appears about this time, namely, the £10. 10 paid for *Patient Grissel* (187). It is, however, pretty certain that though the company authorised the expenditure of sums amounting to this total, the authors did not really get them, but only £6 most likely. The prices drop again, moreover, to something between £5 and £7 till about May 1602 when £8 begins to be a not infrequent price. This sum was obtained by the six or more playwrights concerned in *Caesar's Fall* (236) and the three who sufficed to compose *Merry as may be* (249) for court. The prices paid by Worcester's men are exactly the same, and it may be said that throughout the standard price remains £6, but that while in the earlier period £5 is not uncommon, towards the end payments of £7 and even £8 become comparatively frequent. A decade later prices had risen greatly. A third-rate poet like Daborne, evidently deep in Henslowe's toils, gets £10 to £20 a play, and is constantly asserting in his correspondence that he can get £25 elsewhere.

Nature of Henslowe's relation to the companies.

Having now cleared the ground by a general inquiry into the nature of Henslowe's accounts, we are in a position to consider the actual financial arrangements which existed between him and the various companies with which he was at different times connected. We must not, of course, expect to find a fully developed system starting at the very beginning and continuing unaltered to the end. We possess the accounts of what must have been a very early venture of Henslowe's if not actually his first, and he was a pioneer in the matter of theatrical finance. We shall, however, unless I am mistaken, find certain important features remaining more or less constant from 1592 down to his death in 1616. It has often been observed that there is a point in the autumn of 1597 which forms a division in Henslowe's accounts. Before this we have, in general, record of the money received, after it of the money spent. At first sight it looks as though Henslowe had kept two account books, in one of which he recorded his expenditure and in the other his receipts, and that at a certain period the two volumes were interchanged. But it appears to me that we can trace the genesis of the later debit accounts in the scattered entries of an earlier date, as well as the final form of the earlier receipt accounts in certain entries of a later date. These considerations have led me to the conclusion that the different characters of the accounts preceding and following the date of Oct. 1597 are due, not to an alteration in the manner in which Henslowe kept his accounts, but to a change in the nature of his relations with the companies. I mention this here because I shall assume, throughout the following discussion, that, though there may be gaps in either set of accounts, Henslowe had no other account book in use at any time during the years 1592 to 1603. If I succeed in showing that a consistent history of Henslowe's financial relations can be extracted from the document before us without assuming the existence of

No necessity to suppose any accounts lost.

any other accounts, it is evident that the hypothesis of a lost volume will become superfluous.

Leases of playhouses.

The simplest relation which the proprietor of a theatre can have with a company acting at his house, exists when he leases the house to the company at a fixed yearly rent. Such was the arrangement between Alleyn and the Palsgrave's men in 1618, when he leased them the Fortune for 31 years at £200 a year (Mun. 56), and such may have been the arrangement between Henslowe and the company which occupied the Rose previous to 1592, supposing the house to have been already in use. At any rate, no accounts have survived from this period, and since such an arrangement would require nothing beyond a lease, which might easily be destroyed, there is a slight *a priori* likelihood in its favour. Such an arrangement would be the simplest possible, but it may well be doubted whether it would be the most convenient. So long as the acting continued uninterruptedly all would be well, though the actors would probably be making large profits and the proprietor might think he was getting less than his due; as soon, however, as playing had for any reason to cease, there is a strong probability that the rent would fall in arrear and perhaps fail altogether. The system had, in fact, all the inconveniences which invariably attend those undertakings in which the vicissitudes of trade are borne by labour rather than capital. A year like 1593 would have seriously interfered with such an arrangement; the series of years 1606 to 1609, supposing the plague regulations to have been enforced, might have been trusted to break it down altogether. A more practicable arrangement would have been for the company to have paid a fixed rent for every week during which they performed. It is true that weeks differed greatly, the Christmas and Easter holidays causing great increase in the gatherings, while other periods were correspondingly slack. The difference, however, was not so great but that a fairly flourishing company might have been expected to tide over the shallows. No arrangement of this nature, however, is recorded. In its place the earliest accounts show daily payments varying, no doubt, with the takings of the house and possibly also with the piece acted. It may be that these payments represent a certain fraction of the total receipts; as later we find Alleyn on one occasion receiving an eleventh part apparently of the week's takings at the Fortune (**70**^{v} 21). More probably, however, Henslowe was granted the proceeds of a particular part of the house, for we know that at a later date he was paid either the whole or part of the money collected from the galleries (**48** 18, **62**^{v} 1; MS. I. 106; cf. Mun. 52). Or he might, of course, have had, as his share, the door-money of the whole house. The problem is, I believe, capable of solution, but not until we have the whole of the evidence before us I shall, therefore, return to it later.

Share in daily receipts.

In the earliest accounts we find frequent entries of sums which include an odd number of pence, though this does not continue beyond the first run of Strange's men. After that the odd pence never appear in the entries, which could therefore have been represented by two columns of figures, had not Henslowe elected to keep his accounts on the cumbrous roman system. On 24 Jan. 1597 we find for the first time a different mode of entry employed (**26**). There are now evidently two sets of figures, the interpretation of which is not easy. Instead of a single column of roman figures, we find no less than five columns of arabic, each of two digits, the first two columns being between three rules, while between the third and fourth and the fourth and fifth short dashes appear such as Henslowe usually places between *£ s. d.* when using arabic numerals. Different opinions have been held as to the meaning of these entries. Collier confessed himself unable to explain them: the first two columns, he says, 'probably contained, in pounds and shillings, expressed in Arabic figures, the sum Henslowe received as his share,' but as to the rest he thinks that their bearing 'must remain matter of conjecture' (*Diary*, p. 85). Fleay is more confident, though hardly, I think, more judicious. He writes in his Abstract: 'On January 24 a new mode of entry is adopted; Henslow's shares in ground and galleries being, I think, discriminated. The last two columns are shillings and pence, the three preceding for *£ s. d.*' (*Stage*, p. 100). This division I believe to be demonstrably wrong. In my textual note on the passage I showed that, in the first instance, two columns only were filled in, which proves that these constituted an entity by themselves. When the single noughts were added in the third column it was probably intended that this should stand for pence; but when the last five figures were added to each line it is evident that the last three columns were intended to be taken together. Again, the fact that in no case does the third column contain a number above 9 (except once where we find 30, probably an error for 03) and that in the vast majority of cases, where it is not 0, it is either 1, 2, or 3, is itself sufficient to show that it should be regarded as standing for pounds rather than pence. No doubt Fleay's division was suggested by the fact that on one occasion we find the number 30 in the fourth column, preceded by 01 in the third, which must be wrong if the two are taken together. This I regard as a mere slip of Henslowe's (as above). Indeed, we twice find a number above 12 in the final column, which both Fleay and I take to stand for pence. My conclusion, therefore, is that we must regard the first two columns as representing pounds and shillings, and the last three pounds, shillings and pence. Nor can I agree with Fleay as to the interpretation of the sums entered. The first two columns agree sufficiently closely with the sums previously entered to justify the supposition that they represent similar takings, and I believe that the remainder represents some quite novel payment. This varies even more widely than the other entries; indeed, there are often for days together no sums entered in any

Different forms of entry used.

Difficulties of interpretation.

of the last three columns, so that they can hardly represent the takings from any particular part of the house. Of course, Henslowe might only become entitled to a share when the takings exceeded a certain amount, but there are sometimes quite good takings entered in columns one and two, and none at all in columns three, four and five; while, on the other hand, large sums occasionally appear in the last three columns when only quite low takings are recorded in the first two. The two sets of figures show, so far as I have been able to discover, no mutual dependence whatsoever. I have a different explanation to propose.

Company wardrobe and properties.

Henslowe's loans to actors

So far Henslowe has only appeared as the proprietor of the theatre and his relation with the various companies has rested solely upon that basis. It is during the year 1596 that we first find him figuring in another *rôle*, that of the theatrical *enterpreneur* or *impresario*, charged with financing the companies. No doubt, his new relation arose naturally out of his dealings with individual actors. The wardrobe of a company appears to have been a complicated affair; part, like the stage-properties, belonged to the company in general, that is to say, was the common property of the sharers, while part belonged to individual actors. Thus, on the one hand we find Pembroke's men pawning their 'parel in 1593 (MS. I. 14), and Edward Alleyn buying Jones' share in the common stock of 'playinge apparrelle,' &c., belonging to Worcester's men in 1589 (MS. I. 2); while on the other we find John Alleyn laying out considerable sums of his own for what were evidently stage-costumes in 1589–91 (MS. I. 3–5). Again, on the one hand we have Edward Alleyn's list of what was apparently his own private wardrobe (MS. I. 30), and Henslowe's inventory of the company's stock (Apx. I. 1) taken in 1598. Now many of the articles of wear on which Henslowe lent money were of a nature that could be turned to account on the stage.[1] As early as the autumn of 1594 we find him selling apparel and jewels to players and receiving payment in weekly instalments. Richard Jones, of the Admiral's company, buys 'a manes gowne of pechecolor Jn grayne,' and William Sley or Sly, of the Chamberlain's, 'a Jewell of gowld seat wth a whitte safer' (**15**). From 2 May 1596 onwards Alleyn borrowed sums 'for the company' amounting to close on £40 which he repaid in irregular instalments between 10 May and 8 July (**71**^{v}). On 14 Oct. Henslowe opened a joint account with four of the chief members of the Admiral's company, Alleyn, Slaughter, Donstall and Juby, for a variety of expenses including the purchase of plays, and recovered various sums from them on the occasion of certain successful performances early the next year (**23** 11–36). There was also another account concurrent with this, with 'my lord admerall players' as a body (**22**^{v} 13–33). The former reached a total of over £30, the latter of nearly £50. My suggestion then, with regard to the mysterious figures which appear so erratically in the last three columns of the daily accounts, is that these represent the sums which Henslowe was able every now and then to squeeze out of the company towards the repayment of the moneys advanced. This view is borne out by the fact that, as we shall see later on, when the practice had become systematized in the next century, the takings of a special portion of the house were actually earmarked for the repayment of advances.[1]

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[1] It is sufficient to mention as among the pawns a doublet 'of pech coller satten', 'a fyne black cloke wth a velluet cape edged wth bindinge lace & faced wth sylke', a 'lane aperne wraght eaged wth gowlde lace & creamson stringes', 'a geardell & a payer of hangers Jn bradered wth gowld', 'a manes gowne of frenshe Roset layd wth belyment lace fored wth coney', 'a payer of hosse & dublet of oreng coler satten & j payer of Rownd hosse of syluer lace panes & canyons of clothe of sylver & j payer of hosse blacke whittpte wth lace vpon velluet & a fayer blacke clocke wth iiij brode laces Rownd about & faced wth branched velluett', 'a forepte for a woman of branched velluet Jmbradered a pone wth agleates', 'a manes gowne of sewatr grene layd wth lace & fored throwgte wth lambe & faced wth graye fore'. I take these items from my private notes made with the Diary before me but not published.

and to the company

explain the mysterious accounts.

In the following Oct. (1597) occurred the conjunction of the Admiral's men with Pembroke's. Whatever may have been the results on the constitution of the two companies, some change certainly occurred in their relation with Henslowe. It is evident, for one thing, that the arrangement arrived at no longer necessited the keeping, on Henslowe's part, of a daily record of performances, but was such as enabled him to receive his share weekly, without the labour of checking the results. He may possibly have appointed as his gatherer a man whom he could trust and who paid over to him his weekly takings. It is probable that some one kept a daily record of the receipts, since it would be necessary to have some index of the popularity of different pieces, but it was clearly no longer necessary for Henslowe to do so. We thus lose the valuable list of the daily performances which we possess for the earlier period, but at the same time we gain a series of accounts, representing the

Alteration in Henslowe's relation to the company.

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[1] I ought to mention that there is one instance in which we find a payment received by Henslowe on the occasion of a first performance recorded both in the scattered entries and in the daily accounts, and that the sums do not tally. This is unfortunate for my theory, but it is not difficult to suggest possible explanations of the discrepancy. On the one hand, it may be pointed out that the separate entry: '℞ at a womon hard to please the 27 of Janewary 97—iiij^{li},' occurs in the accounts with the four individual players mentioned above, and it is uncertain whether these should really be regarded as company accounts or not (**23** 36). On the other hand, I may refer to my textual notes on the regular accounts (**26** 1), where I have shown that the entry in question—'[Jan.] 27 | ne | tt at womane hard to please— | 2 | 11 | 06 07–08' (**26** 4), from which the sum paid appears to have been, not £4 as above, but £6.7.8—was not made at the time, the bulk of this entry being written not earlier than 5 Feb. and the last five figures added probably on 12 Feb. It is quite possible, therefore, that Henslowe may have extracted a further sum of £2.7.8 out of the first performance takings after he had made the entry found in the separate accounts.

expenses of the company which prove of even greater historical interest. The record of the weekly gatherings extends, with intervals during which the company was not acting, from 21 Oct. 1597 to 13 July 1600. The Admiral's men then removed to the Fortune and no further payments to Henslowe are recorded. It must be remembered that Henslowe and Alleyn were partners in the new house so that some alteration in the arrangements was inevitable. How the joint control was worked we do not know; there are, I believe, only two pieces of evidence bearing on the question, and these are too fragmentary to afford any reliable clue. One is the entry: 'pd vnto my sonne alleyn for the firste weekes playe the xj parte of xvij^{li} ix^{s} w^{ch} came to therti & ij shellingℯ,' which must have been made between 11 Nov. and 14 Dec. 1600 (**70**^{v} 21), and the other is the subsequent entry: 'Jtm pd vnto my sonne E Alleyn w^{ch} was after we had Reckneyd to geather the company & J w^{ch} after ou^{r} castying dew to my sone owt of the gallery mony the some of—xxvij^{s} vj^{d}' (**105** 4). It may be added that when the Pembroke's men opened at the Rose in Oct. 1600 Henslowe reverted to his original method of accounts, entering the daily receipts; but only two performances were given (**83** 1). Something of the same kind happened at Christmas 1608, but this was probably exceptional (**126**^{v}).

Weekly payments to Henslowe.

We have several accounts of the weekly payments, and a close examination of them will be necessary in order to arrive, as I hope in a moment to do, at what Henslowe's share actually was. The earliest has the heading: 'A Juste a cownte of all Suche monye as J haue Receued of my lord admeralles & my lord penbrocke men as foloweth be gynynge the 21 of octobʒ 1597,' and continues down to 4 Mar. 1598 (**36**^{v}). It is summed £65. 16. 7, which seems to be one shilling less than the correct total, but although the period includes the Christmas holidays the average receipts are under £3. 6 a week. Next we have the heading: 'Receued as ffolowethe of the company of my lorde admeralles mean for the 2 of ap^{r}rell 1598 at divers tyme as foloweth' (**35**). The account continues to 8 July and the total reaches £59. 3. 5. This includes the Easter holidays, and the summer was always a better time for the Bankside houses. The average is almost £3. 19. The heading of the next account is significant, but it will be well not to make any inferences until we have considered the matter further. It runs: 'Here J Begyne to Receue the whölle gallereys frome this daye beinge the 29 of July 1598' (**48** 18). It is a long account continuing till 3 June 1599 with two additional entries from the following Oct. At the end is the memorandum: 'Reconed wth the company of my lord of notingame men to this place beinge the 13 of octobʒ 1599 & yt doth a peare that J have Receiued of the deate w^{ch} they owe vnto me iij hunderd fiftie & eyght pownds' (**48**^{v} 32). There is also the interesting entry opposite the payment of 26 Mar. 159[8,]9: 'dew 233^{li}—17^{s}—17 [*sic*]^{d}.' The actual total as correctly summed in the margin is £358. 3, giving an average of a little under £8. 3 a week. Lastly, there is an account headed: 'Heare J begane to Receue the gallereys agayne w^ch^ theye Receued begynynge at myhellmas wecke being the 6 of octobȝ 1599 as foloweth' (**62**^v^). The entry for 6 Oct. is, however, struck out. The account runs from 20 Oct. to 13 July 1600. The sum is £207. 2, giving an average of just over £5. 15. This is lower than in the preceding account but still much higher than in the first two, and we must remember that if official documents are to be trusted the Rose was at this time falling into a dangerous state of decay.

Henslowe's share in the receipts

The question now arises: what was Henslowe's share? It is pretty clear that the sums paid in the early accounts were for rent for the theatre, also that at the end he received payments against the advances made. But the rent must have continued, so that in the later period he was receiving two sets of payments, one for rent and one for the repayment of loans. Now at a still later date, namely in the agreements of about 1613, we find it explicitly laid down that Henslowe shall receive one-half of the takings of the galleries as rent for the house which he was to provide, and the other half towards the repayment of his debt, that is, for the moneys he advanced at the appointment of certain sharers (MS. I. 106). The headings of the weekly accounts appear at first sight to bear out the evidence thus obtained from later documents: Henslowe distinctly says that he began, in July 1598, to receive the takings of the whole galleries; he had presumably been previously in receipt of only half.[1] May not one half have been for rent, and one for the repayment of advances, as we find later? There are, however, serious difficulties. In the first place, we see from the memorandum at the end of the third account, as cited above, that the whole of the recorded receipts were balanced against a debt, and we shall see later on that not only were the receipts balanced against the advances, but that they failed to cover them. Where, then, did the rent come in? Moreover, by taking certain typical periods of 1595, during which year the accounts are particularly regular, we find that the average daily share falling to Henslowe was about 30*s*. This we decided was for rent alone, since the advances do not begin till the following year. But the highest of the weekly payments only average as we have seen, £8. 3, or about 27*s*. a day. If these were the takings of the whole galleries, the 1595 takings must have been so too. In that case the whole of the gallery receipts were already devoted to rent and cannot have been also devoted to the repayment of advances. Yet at a later date the galleries supplied the funds for both. We seem to have reached an absolute contradiction.

I have a solution to propose which may at first appear far-fetched, but it at least reconciles all the evidence and I would therefore recommend it to the careful consideration of any one who may be interested in following out the intricacies of

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[1] In Apr.–June 1598 Henslowe was certainly not in receipt of the whole gallery money, for during those months at least Gabriel Spenser had a share (**33**^v^ I).

Elizabethan dramatic finance. It will be noticed that though, in the heading to the third set of accounts, Henslowe definitely states that he was in receipt of the whole takings of the galleries, he does not state that the figures entered represent those whole takings. I believe that he was in receipt of the whole takings, as he says, but I also believe that the sums he entered represented only half the receipts. This, if my theory is correct, was really quite natural. I suppose Henslowe, namely, to have been from the beginning to the end of his recorded career in receipt of one half of the takings of the galleries as rent for his house. As this was a constant payment there was no need to specify it and as it was all profit there was no need to keep a record. With the other sums paid it was different since these had to be balanced against the money advanced to the company and periodical reckoning made. When, therefore, Henslowe notes that he was in receipt of the whole gallery-money, it implies that the amount received in repayment of loans, the amount, in other words, of which record had to be kept, was half the takings of the galleries, and it is these half takings, I believe, that are entered. The amounts received as rent were, of course, the same, which agrees with the sums recorded for 1595. The first two weekly accounts are only of 'Suche money as J haue Receued,' and the average being about half that of the later accounts, may be taken to represent one fourth part of the proceeds of the galleries. At this time, therefore, Henslowe must have been receiving three fourths of the takings: when the remaining quarter was added he naturally wrote: 'Here J Begyne to Receue the wholle gallereys,' though he continued only to record that portion which was necessary to his accounts. This is, indeed, only a working hypothesis, but it is at least a workable one, and as such I submit it with some confidence.[1]

consisted in half the gallery money as rent

and a quarter or half as security for advances.

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[1] If we venture to pursue conjecture further we arrive at certain rather curious results as to the capacity of the old playhouses. In the Fortune the space devoted to the spectators seems to have been divided into four portions: the uncovered and unseated yard or pit, the galleries consisting of three stories, and the twopenny rooms and gentlemen's rooms which seem to have been boxes, divided off from the rest of the galleries (p. 62). Since the Fortune was a public house we may suppose that the entrance fee or door money was one penny (Collier, *Annals*, iii. p. 345). This admitted to the open yard, the prices charged for seats in the other parts of the house, or for entry to the scaffold as some of the old writers put it, being extra. The charge in the twopenny rooms was presumably two pence, which would imply that one penny was the charge for seats in the galleries. This charge is also borne out by other evidence. That in the gentlemen's rooms was most likely sixpence. Whether the same arrangements obtained at the Rose we cannot say for certain, but it is probable that they were not materially different. We know that there was a lords' room corresponding to the gentlemen's rooms (p. 49). Now, by the hypothesis advanced above, the takings of one half of the galleries averaged, under favourable conditions, about 30*s*. This is equivalent to 360 fees of one penny each, so that the average attendance in the galleries must have been over 700, and they must have been capable of accommodating, on occasions, at least

It remains to consider the actual state of the accounts between Henslowe and the companies as represented in the record of expenditure which begins in Oct. 1597. The first addition was made 8/13 Mar. 1598 and amounts to £46. 7. 3 (**44**ᵛ 22).[1] By 28 July 1598 a new debt of £120. 15. 4 had been incurred.

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double this number. Supposing that, on the average, the attendance in the other portions of the house was equal to that of the galleries the door money must have amounted to about £6 a day. Assuming again that the twopenny rooms and gentlemen's rooms together held somewhat fewer than the yard, the takings from these would about equal those from the galleries. This would make the average receipts for the whole house some £12 a day. At a rough approximation the average attendance would, then, work out at about 1500 and the total capacity of the house at about 3000. It may be remarked that in the famous passage from his diary De Witt mentioned the Rose and the Swan together as two of the finest of the London houses standing about 1596, and stated that the latter, the larger of the two, had a capacity of 3000. I am bound to say, however, that, on the basis of the known dimensions, it is exceedingly difficult to imagine how even the Fortune can have accommodated more than 500 in the galleries.

The entries of large takings, which suggest that the house had a maximum capacity of about double the usual attendance, might possibly be explained in a different manner. We might in the first place suppose that higher prices were charged on the occasion of first performances, and in the second that some of the sums entered include payments to Henslowe as proprietor of the pieces represented. That higher prices were charged for first performances at a later date appears probable (Collier, *Annals*, iii. p. 342), and the practice may, of course, have also obtained at the period we are considering. I do not, however, think that it will account for the receipts in question. These often remain pretty constant for the two or three earliest performances of a new play and only gradually fall off; while in other cases the first performance only realizes comparatively low receipts and it is the second which appears to have been particularly successful. So again with those plays which bring in higher takings throughout. These appear to have been generally popular plays and the receipts can be accounted for on that basis. It is doubtful, though not improbable, that Henslowe, like Alleyn, owned plays himself. In any case the rent for a play must have been a very small affair seeing that the capital value of an old piece was never more than £2. I think, therefore, that these suggested causes of high receipts may be dismissed as inadequate.

[1] It is unnecessary here to go into the accuracy of all Henslowe's sums—considering the cumbrous nature of his book-keeping the accounts are surprisingly correct—but a few words may be said concerning the present addition, since Fleay has made it the text of an attack on his financial methods. The critic writes (*Stage*, p. 143): 'There is no break in the account in January, for Henslow's total amount is given to 8th March as £46, 7s. 3d. The amount from January 5 to March 8 is only £34, 18s. The previous items, amounting to £15, 18s. 3d., must therefore be included. This seems to involve an under-statement of £4, 9s. on Henslow's part; but on p. 105 [of Collier's edition, i. e. **37**ᵛ] it appears that on December 1 they had paid him £1, and the odd 9s. paid to the Master of the Revels certainly ought not to have been put by Henslow in this account. The £3 unaccounted for may also have been paid, although no receipt for it appears in Henslow's muddled day-book.' Now, in the first place, the sum from 5 Jan. to 8 Mar. is £35. 3, not £34. 18, so that the discrepancy is £4. 14. The error is due to Collier. Moreover, had Henslowe really been in the habit of reckoning in his additions payments casually recorded in other portions of the volume it would obviously be mere waste of labour to seek to unravel his accounts. This, however was certainly not the case. Again, there is not the remotest ground for excluding the payment to the Master of the Revels, which was quite rightly charged to the company. The explanation of the discrepancy is very simple: three items, amounting together to exactly £4. 14, have been cancelled. Fleay, of course, had not the full evidence before him, but without such his confidence is unjustified,

With the sum already acknowledged the debt amounted, therefore, to £167. 2. 7.

Summary of Henslowe's financial relations with the Admiral's company, 1598

As a set-off to this we find that Henslowe had received up to this date in weekly payments the sum of £125. This was hardly satisfactory from the point of view of security, and it is clear that he drew the attention of the company to the fact that their account was seriously overdrawn. A change in the arrangements followed, for the very next day he enters: 'Here J Begyne to Receue the wholle gallereys,' and the weekly sums entered become roughly twice what they were before. The loss of a page or two of accounts in Apr.–May 1599 throws out our reckoning and several of the notes about this time are obscure, notably one to the effect that 'Hary cheattell hath strocken of his deate as foloweth 1598 vnto the companye' (**61** 9). The weekly receipts, however, continue regularly and are summed from time to time in the margin. In the Lent interval in 1598/9 Henslowe notes 'dew 233^{ll} – 17^{s} – 17[*sic*]^{d}' (**48^{v}** 19), but the bearing of this is not clear, any more than of that in the debit accounts for June 1599 'ttottalles – 386^{ll} – 17^{s} – 7^{d} Reste dewe – 262^{ll} – 12^{s} – 7^{d}' (**63** 26–7). However, on 13 Oct. 1599 there was a reckoning (**64^{v}** 18) by which it appeared that since the last audit in July 1598, when the company's account was overdrawn to the extent of £42. 2. 7, their indebtedness had risen to £632, of which they had repaid £358, the correct total, omitting three odd shillings, of the weekly receipts from 29 July 1598 to 13 Oct. 1599 (cf. **48^{v}** 31). The balance £274 is entered in the margin but is not heard of again. A new account is opened, and by 10 July 1600 a further debt of £300 has been run up (**69^{v}** 33). Against this may be set weekly receipts amounting, from 20 Oct. 1599 to 13 July 1600, to £207. 2, but the two are not balanced. The indebtedness of the company, therefore, was now £367. After this we find no further record of weekly payments, but the advances continue as before. From 14 Oct. 1599 onwards each page is summed separately, which aids considerably in the addition. The accounts from 14 Aug. 1600 to 23 Apr. 160[0/]1 are summed 'as may apere' £51. 19. 6 (**85^{v}** 36). No reckoning is made, however, and the sum is carried over. In Feb. 1601/2 the reckoning shows a fresh debt of £308. 6. 4, to which is added £300 old debt and also £50 paid to Jones and Shaa on retirement (**104** 28). This makes a

1599

1600

1602

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for he elsewhere shows himself quite sufficiently alive to the defects of Collier's editing. Moreover, in the present case he should have been on his guard, for Collier notes the cancelling of the first of the three entries, though he takes no notice of the other two. So again, in the total of 28 July 1598 (**48** 17), Fleay gives £123. 10. 4 in place of Henslowe's £120. 15. 4 (*Stage*, p. 103), but his figures are incorrect and also include another cancelled item. 'This "Diary" ought,' he remarks, 'to be edited by someone familiar with commercial business.' I question whether it needs anything more than accuracy and common-sense, but matters are certainly not simplified by printing £1. 15. 0 in place of £35 (*Stage*, p. 104, Sept. 19; cf. **50** 20, and Collier, *Diary*, p. 134).

total of £658. 6. 4. Since the previous debt was £367, it would appear that £67 had been paid off on some unspecified occasion. At Christmas 1602 a fresh reckoning was made showing an indebtedness, including the £50 given to Jones and Shaa, of £226. 16. 8 (**108**^{v} 28). When the Admiral's men ceased playing in Mar. 1602/3 the debt had risen to £243. 10. 6, and by 5 May to £247. 13. 4 besides bonds due, presumably for old debts, amounting to £400. 0. 6 (**109**^{v} 20, 27, 19), in all, therefore, £647. 13. 10. Finally, upon coming under the patronage of the Prince of Wales the company must have made a great effort to clear themselves of encumbrances, for Henslowe, casting up his accounts from the beginning of the world till 14 Mar. 1604, wrote: 'the^{r} Reastethe dew vnto me P henslow the some of xxiiij^{li} all Reconyngeꝭ consernynge the company in stocke generall descarged & my sealfe descarged to them of al deatꝭ' (**110** 10).

1603

Worcester's men began to act at the Rose on 17 Aug. 1602, or rather that was the date of the first advance made to them by Henslowe (**115** 4). By 7 Mar. 1602/3 the total expenses had amounted, according to the addition, to £220. 13. 3, which is in reality an understatement of 1*s.* 3*d.*, and the 'Reste dew' to £131. 12. 4 (**120** 31). Henslowe had, therefore, received sums amounting to £89. 0. 11, or just over £3 a week, supposing acting to have been continuous. This would point to his only receiving one fourth of the gallery money in repayment of advances (p. 132). By the time they ceased acting on 16 Mar. the debt had risen to £140. 1, which is the sum charged against the company by Henslowe and subscribed by Blackwood (**120**^{v} 14), though the additional entries since the last balance amount to just £13. Whether, as Collier suggested (*Diary*, p. 250), the rest of the company refused to acknowledge the correctness of the accounts there is no evidence to determine, but it is not very likely in view of the fact that a fresh account was begun on 9 May. In this, however, only one entry was made, the performances being presumably interrupted by the outbreak of the plague. No further accounts are extant.

and with Worcester's company 1602-3.

The documents which survive from a later date, though in general we learn far less from them concerning the details of Henslowe's transactions, are yet of sufficient interest to make it worth while endeavouring to determine the constitution of the companies involved. From the duplicate bonds of 29 Aug. 1611 we learn that a number of actors, twelve in all, bound themselves to observe certain articles, no doubt theatrical, with Henslowe (Mun. 47; MS. XVIII. 9).[1] Into the details of the composition and the very intricate history of this

Henslow's later enterprises.

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[1] Fleay thinks that the articles were 'to act at the Swan, where they produced Middleton's Chaste Maid in Cheapside, the "Proud Maid" of the Court accounts' (*Stage*, p. 186). The title-page to Middleton's play informs us that it had 'beene often acted at the Swan on the Banke-side by the Lady

company I do not propose to enter. A general reference to Fleay (*Stage*, pp. 186, &c.) and a brief outline must suffice to preface an examination of the documents. The company formed in 1611, which may be called 1 Lady Elizabeth's men, continued to act, very likely at the Swan, till Mar. 1613, when it amalgamated with Rossiter's Revels' company which had been acting at Whitefriars. The outcome was 2 Lady Elizabeth's men, who appear to have used the Whitefriars house. In Apr. (? Mar.) 1614 the company was joined by Prince Charles' (late Duke of York's) men, and became 3 Lady Elizabeth's. In the meanwhile Henslowe had undertaken the rebuilding of the old Bear Garden so as to serve equally for baiting or acting. The contract with Katherens is dated 29 Aug. 1613. In this enterprise Henslowe had a partner Jacob Meade who had all along been connected with the bear-baiting. It was to this house, now called the Hope, that 3 Lady Elizabeth's men removed, while probably retaining the Whitefriars house as well, and it was here that they performed Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* on 31 Oct. 1614. Such is the outline of the history as given by Fleay, and though it will no doubt require modification in minor points, it is probably in the main correct, and may be accepted for our immediate purpose, only it may be observed that the company certainly underwent a good many more reconstructions than it is now possible to trace.

The Lady Elizabeth's men, 1611 to 1616.

The first of the documents we have to consider contains articles between Henslowe and Meade, no doubt as partners in the Hope, and a company of actors represented by Nathan Field (Mun. 52). These must have been either 2 or 3 Lady Elizabeth's men. The articles are unfortunately undated, being slightly defective at the end, but certainly belong to c. 1613. They are for three years, and provide that Henslowe and Meade shall, 'when noe restraynte of playinge shalbe,' furnish at their proper cost 'a sufficient howse or howses for the saide Company to play in.' This almost looks as if a private house in the city were contemplated as well as a public house probably on the Bankside. The partners are further to 'disburse and lay out all suche som̄e & somes of monny as ffower or ffive Sharerꝭ of the saide Company chosen by the saide Phillipp and Jacob shall thinck fittinge for the furnishinge of the said Company wth playinge apparrell towardꝭ the settinge out of their newe playes,' as also 'for any play w^{ch} they shall buy or condicōn or agree for,' such sums advanced for the purchase of plays to be refunded 'vppon the second or third daie wheron the same play shalbe plaide by the

Articles with the company.

Elizabeth her Seruants,' but this was printed in 1630, so that the date of the performance remains vague. The *Proud Maid's Tragedy* is, indeed, said to have been performed at Court by the same company on 25 Feb. 1611/2 (*Revels*, p. 211), but Fleay himself pronounces the entry in question to be a forgery (*Stage*, p. 178), and has apparently withdrawn the identification, at best conjectural, in his later work (cf. *Drama*, ii. pp. 96, 328). The articles most likely provided that Henslowe should secure a house for the company's use, as in the latter agreements, without specifying any by name, but the Swan appears to have been the only one available at the time.

Articles with Dawes.

saide Company.' The further provisions are unfortunately doubtful owing to the decay of the vellum upon which the deed is written, but it appears that Henslowe and Meade were to receive half the takings from the galleries toward the payment of a debt of £124, due presumably for a stock of apparel transferred to the company, as also, it would seem, towards the repayment of the sums advanced for the purchase of further properties. The next document is a set of articles between the same partners and an individual actor Robert Dawes, dated 7 Apr. 1614 (Apx. I. 2). Most of the provisions are of a personal character, such as the amount of the forfeit to be exacted in the case of Dawes happening to be overcome with drink at the time when he ought to play, and the like. One provision raises a curious point of theatrical organization. Dawes is to act with such company as the partners shall appoint, for the space of three years, 'at the rate of one whole Share according to the custome of players.' It would appear from this that Dawes was a sharer and not a hired man, and yet the company with which he is to act rests in the appointment of Henslowe and Meade. It is evident that the basis of organization has changed, and that Henslowe stands in some more intimate relation to the company than in the early days, when he merely financed it and the sharers held real interest in the capital of the concern. It further appears that the partners claim one half 'of all suche moneyes as shal be receaved at the Galleries and tyring howse' as rent for the use of the theatre, and also the other half in satisfaction of the same debt of £124 mentioned in the articles with Field, and for the repayment of such further sums as may be advanced for the purchase of new apparel. The importance of this provision as bearing on the general financial arrangements of the companies is evident. Further it is provided that the partners shall have the use of the house on certain days for the purposes of baiting, but the imperfect state of the document makes the details of these clauses uncertain. It is, however, clear that they must have referred to the Hope, which was avowedly intended for a double purpose.

Articles of Grievance against Henslowe.

Next in order come the important Articles of Grievance and Oppression against Henslowe belonging to 1615 (MS. I. 106). Into these it is unnecessary to go in detail: I will merely summarize the history to be extracted from them and the general arrangements which they reveal. In Mar. 1612/3 Henslowe and Rossiter joined companies, the resulting body acknowledging a debt for stock and advances of £320. This company Henslowe broke in Mar. 1613/4, seizing the stock for the debt. The same month he formed a new company, buying Rossiter's share of the stock and apparently now first introducing his partner Meade. With this company he agreed to receive 'halfe galleries' as rent 'and the other halfe galleries towarde his debt of 126^{ll}: and other such moneys as hee should laie out for playe apparrell.' This was presumably, therefore, the company to which the agreements before considered belong. The sum of £126, there given as £124, was the value of the stock, part of which he had bought of Rossiter for £63, and part of which, remaining in his own hands, he valued at the like sum, though the company held that it was not worth more than £40. In the following June, differences having arisen, he threatened to break the company again and certain intricate and obscure rearrangements, involving 'the threequarter sharers advauncinge them selves to whole shares,' followed, 'by w$^{\text{ch}}$: meanes they are out of purse 30$^{\text{ll}}$: and his parte of the galleries bettred twise as much.' In Feb. 1614/5 Henslowe again broke the company by dismissing the hired men, and sold the stock for £400. In three years he had broken and dismembered five companies. The players now made a claim against him for £567, while admitting a liability of £600. The balance due was, therefore, according to them £33. It is probable that this quarrel continued for a year, at the end of which Henslowe died.

Agreement with Alleyn.

On 20 Mar. 1615/6 a new agreement was concluded by Alleyn and Meade with the actors who had apparently constituted themselves into a new company under Rossiter in May 1615 (MS. I. 107). By this the former, claiming a debt of £400 and upwards as due to Henslowe and Meade, agree to accept £200 in full discharge. This sum was to be paid in daily instalments of one fourth of the takings of the galleries wherever the company might be acting, and the company further undertook to continue to act at the Hope or elsewhere at the direction of Alleyn and Meade according to the terms of the former articles concluded with Henslowe and Meade. I infer from this that the partners now gave up the practice of financing the company and merely received half the takings of gallery as rent and one quarter in liquidation of debt. It also seems likely that the company was now using the house at Blackfriars, for the erection of which Rossiter had obtained his privy seal the year before, but of which the history is obscure. Lastly, we have a letter written from these men to Alleyn, from the not very clear wording of which it appears that they had left the Hope owing to a disagreement with Meade as to the days for baiting; they may have had the Whitefriars or possibly the Blackfriars house to retire to (MS. I. 110). The letter is undated, but was evidently written in the winter. Fleay dates it c. Feb. 1616 (*Stage*, p. 265), which would place it before the previous articles; but I think the following year more likely. Nothing further is heard on the subject, but a dispute between Alleyn and Meade which followed suggests that the former may have regarded the action of the players as not unreasonable (see p. 67).

Correspondence with the Palsgrave's men.

There is extant a somewhat voluminous correspondence belonging to Henslowe's later ventures, chiefly in the year 1613, which incidentally throws some light upon the details of theatrical organization at this time. More than one company is involved. Charles Massye, whom we have met before as one of the Admiral's men, and who was now acting at the Fortune under the patronage of the Palsgrave, was in low water and applied to Alleyn for a loan (MS. I. 67). The letter is interesting as showing to some extent the internal economy of this company at the date in question. As a sharer Massye receives 'my gallery mony, and my quarter of the hovse mony,' and he proposes to pay over the former to Alleyn in discharge of a loan of £50, and if at the end of six months this prove to be insufficient to discharge the principal and interest in the course of a year, then to pay over the latter as well, reserving only a mark (13*s.* 4*d.*) a week for his household expenses. We also learn that it was the habit in the company that, if any member retired with the consent of his fellows, he should receive £70, or if he died before retiring his widow should receive £50: Anthony Jeffes had received the former, Mrs. Pavy and Mrs. Towne the latter sum. There is also an interesting letter to Alleyn from William Birde, the Prince's servant, complaining of the dishonesty of a gatherer that Alleyn had appointed at the Fortune (MS. I. 104). Robert Browne, again, writes to Alleyn, 11 Apr. 1612, on behalf of one Rose, who had joined the Prince's men, and for whose wife he is solicitous for a 'gathering place' (MS. I. 66).

and with Daborne.

The great bulk, however, of this correspondence is from Robert Daborne, the dramatist, to Henslowe, for whom he was writing. Of this it may be worth while giving a brief summary, since it contains indications that some change had come over Henslowe's relation with authors since the days of the Diary, while at the same time it supplies a most illuminating commentary on the dry accounts contained in that volume. We begin with an agreement between Daborne and Henslowe on 17 Apr. 1613 for the composition of a play called *Machiavel and the Devil* to be delivered by the end of May in consideration of a payment of £20 (MS. I. 70). Of this £6 was paid upon the signing of the bond in £20 accompanying the agreement (MS. I. 71), £4 was to be paid on the delivery of three acts, and £10 on completion. Daborne, it need hardly be said, was always in arrear with his work and always seeking further advances in earnest of it. Before he has delivered three acts he suggests that Henslowe should let him have perusal of some other book, by which he no doubt means either an old play for revision—the one he was at work on being possibly a recasting of an old piece acted long before by Strange's men—or else some story on which a new one might be founded (*id.* 73). By 8 May he has not yet finished the three acts, though he has received £9, and now only sends 'some papers.' He promises that even if he prove unable to deliver the play by the end of the month, it shall yet 'come vpon y^e neck of this new play they ar now studijnge,' and offers to read what he has written to Alleyn, who would therefore appear to have been concerned in the management of the company, Lady Elizabeth's men, for whom Daborne was writing (*id.* 74). He is, however, unwilling to read it to the company in general until it is finished (*id.* 75). On 19 May he signs an acquittance to Henslowe showing that he had received £16 out of the £20 which were to be paid for the play (*id.* 77). On 5 June he is nearing the completion of his own play and has given Cyril Tourneur one act to write of a new piece called the *Arraignment of London* (*id.* 78). By 18 June the last sheet of *Machiavel* was not yet delivered, though Daborne had probably had the full payment, for he begs for an advance in earnest of the *Arraignment*, which he does not get (*id.* 80). The letter of 25 June is interesting (*id.* 81). *Machiavel* is still unfinished and Henslowe had evidently been complaining of the delay. Daborne answers that he has taken extraordinary pains with the end and also altered a scene in the third act. This 'they have now in parts,' which would seem to imply that it had already been given to the actors according to the various *rôles* they were to fill, no doubt in such a MS. as that which survives of Alleyn's part in *Orlando Furioso* (Apx. III). As for the *Arraignment* the company shall have it if Henslowe likes to be paymaster as for the former piece, or else they can try *Machiavel* and decide according as that proves a success or not; he can get £25 for it elsewhere. His assertions are perhaps corroborated in an undated letter of Field's, which, however, more likely refers to another play (MS. I. 100). The actors have been in conference about the plot and have high hopes of the piece 'wᶜh will make as beneficiall a play as hath Come these seauen yeares.' Only £10 in hand are asked, for which the play shall be delivered by 1 Aug. Lady Elizabeth's men would be loath to lose it and Daborne 'may haue his request of another Companie.' Field and some of his companions were in difficulties of a serious nature about this time and required £5 as bail (*id.* 68).[1] A play, which Fleay thinks was the *Honest Man's Fortune*, which was certainly acted by the Lady Elizabeth's men, was in preparation by Field, Daborne, Massinger and Fletcher. It was still the excuse for advances on 16 July (*id.* 82), and may have been the subject of the further letter of 30 July (*id.* 83). The matter is finally disposed of in an undated letter (*id.* 76). On 23 Aug. we hear of a new piece by Daborne, the *Bellman of London*, which, however, is pretty certainly only a different title for the *Arraignment*, suggested by Dekker's tract of the name dealing with the tricks of London swindlers (*id.* 84). Daborne begs Henslowe to 'goe forward wᵗʰ that reasonable bargayn' by which 'we'—that is, he and Tourneur—ask but £12 and 'the overplus of the second day.' He has had 10*s.* and wants only 20*s.* more till three sheets have been delivered. His 'occation' is 'infinit great,' and he reminds Henslowe that for his sake he has come down from £20 to £12 a play. Henslowe grants the advance and dockets the letter 'Players private debts.' From the next letter, written on 14 Oct., we learn that the agreement as to the new play was to be kept secret from the players so that Henslowe could make his own terms with them (*id.* 85). If they failed to agree Daborne promises to repay Henslowe his advances, having assurance that the King's men will take his work. A fortnight later he is anxious to know whether the company are to have the play or not, since they are angry with him on account of the King's men boasting that they would secure the piece (*id.* 86). Again, a week later, he asks for the loan of another book, no doubt with a view to further composition (*id.* 87). On 13 Nov. the *Bellman* is almost finished (*id.* 88). If Henslowe does not want it at once, a play of Jonson's being on hand, he will repay Henslowe's advances together with 20*s.* use, and sell it to the King's men who have been importuning him. Henslowe, however, sticks to the play, and Daborne writes again the same day promising the fair copy of the last scene at once (*id.* 89). By 9 Dec., the *Bellman* having at last been delivered, there is again a new play on hand, which will be suited to Henslowe's public house (*id.* 91). This was, of course, the Hope, now in course of construction, and it implies the existence of a private house which was presumably that at Whitefriars. It appears that £10 was the price to be paid for the play, which was doubtless the *Owl*, for the delivery of which by 10 Feb. 1614 Daborne signed a bond next day (*id.* 92). By 24 Dec. he has already received £7 (*id.* 93). On 31 Dec. he appoints the following Monday, i. e. 3 Jan., for reading the *Bellman*, and will at the same time bring in the new play, in part presumably (*id.* 94). Further sums of 20*s.* were advanced on the *Owl* on three occasions (*id.* 94, 95, 96) and a final payment of 10*s.* on 29 Mar. (*id.* 97), making £9 in all, so that one advance of 20*s.* is unrecorded. A new play for which Daborne asked £12 was begun, and on 2 Apr. 8*s.* were advanced in earnest of the *She Saint*, of which, however, nothing more is heard (*id.* 97). Two further letters refer to personal matters and throw no light on dramatic affairs (*id.* 98, 99). Throughout the nature of Daborne's difficulties is only too clearly evident. During the whole of the time covered by the letters, i. e. Apr. 1613 to July 1614, he was engaged in continuous litigation. We have seen elsewhere that at the time of Henslowe's last illness he was in the possession of various papers and a bond of Daborne's, and that he surrendered them to the dramatist's wife upon his death-bed (p. 20).

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[1] An acquittance for the £5 is appended, signed by Robert Davison, who, according to Rendle (*Henslowe*, p. 151), was the keeper of the Clink. If this is correct it is significant of the nature of the difficulties in which the writers found themselves.

Henslowe's personal relation to players and playwrights.

The documents and letters we have been passing in review throw a vivid and not altogether pleasing light upon Henslowe's relations with the actors and authors who depended on him towards the end of his life. That his methods of business were harsh and often involved injustice can hardly be disputed, but it is possible to exaggerate their imperfections. The charges brought against Henslowe by the Lady Elizabeth's men are serious, but it should in fairness be remembered that we have the statements of one side only, and there are, moreover, various points at which a careful investigation throws doubt on the players' contentions. It is common experience that the process of borrowing is not only a much easier but also a much pleasanter one than that of repayment. The very person against whom the execration as a usurer is directed, has often previously been fawned on as a friend in need. If Henslowe was hard in his dealings, posterity has also dealt hardly with his memory. There is something rather pathetic to find, in the absent-minded scribble with which he covered any piece of blank paper that lay handy, the gnomic jingle: 'A man with owte mercye of mersey shall myse & he shall haue mersey y^t mersey full ys,' and bitter experience, no doubt, prompted the sentence: 'when J lent J wasse A frend & when J asked J was a foe' (**1**). With those of his intimate circle Henslowe seems to have lived in charity and goodwill; and in the manner in which his professional acquaintances address him, it seems possible to discern, together with much disingenuous flattery, something at least of genuine affection and respect.

Plague-returns and dramatic chronology.

One or two points remain upon which it may reasonably be expected that I should say a few words, although they bear rather upon stage history in general than upon the particular enterprises in which Henslowe was engaged. The first of these is the importance of the plague returns for dramatic chronology. The first to recognize this was Fleay, who based his arrangement of the plays of the early seventeenth century largely upon an elaborate sequence of hypothetical restraints evolved by him from the published bills of mortality. Unfortunately there is reason to suppose that his hypothesis does not wholly conform with the facts. In a note on the subject he writes: 'in the reigns of James and Charles the plagues were so frequent that the theatres were often closed in consequence. This took place whenever the deaths from plague amounted to forty per week. Allusions to this regulation are numerous, and its exactness can be shown by comparing "Henslowe's Diary" with the plague-table for 1593. From the "Diary" it appears (p. 5 [**2**^{v} 30]) that acting ceased on May 3, and (p. 31 [**8** 18]) that it recommenced 27th December. From the mortality table I find that the number of forty was reached on April 28, and maintained till December 15; it fell to thirty-nine on December 22.'[1] Elsewhere he questions the authenticity of an acting licence on the ground that 'It provides that the deaths from Plague should be under thirty per week, whereas forty is well known to be the correct number' (*Stage*, pp. 162, 191). Now the whole of this is incorrect, and it is not easy to forgive the writer for attempting by confidence of assertion to supply the lack of authoritative reference. In the first place, the entry of 8 May 1593

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[1] The figures of the mortality tables printed in 1665, which form the basis of Fleay's argument, are, however, of no historical authority (see p. 74, note).

('3 of maye' being Collier's error) only shows that about that date the Queen's men 'broke & went into the contrey to playe,' and consequently supplies but very indirect evidence of the date of the restraint. Moreover, as I have shown elsewhere (p. 277), we have very good reason to suppose that when he wrote 1593 Henslowe really meant 1594, and that the entry therefore does not belong to the plague year at all. To clinch the matter we do know that the Lords of the Council on 28 Jan. instructed the justices to prohibit all plays and that the Rose was shut after 1 Feb. (p. 74), twelve weeks before the plague deaths reached the specified number. It is, indeed, evident that at this period restraints were only made by special warrant of the Privy Council, and that the method of automatic closure, so to say, had not been invented. This is not found till the following reign, and the limiting number was then thirty. Not only is this so in the draft patent to the Queen's men printed by Collier (*Annals*, ed. 1879, i. p. 336), the genuineness of which Fleay challenges, but also in the warrant of the Privy Council for the three authorized companies, 9 Apr. 1604 (MS. I. 39), a fact which Fleay ignores in discussing the document in question (*Stage*, p. 206). Confirmation of the fact that at this period thirty and not forty was the limiting number, may be found in a passage in Middleton's play, *Your Five Gallants*, licensed 22 Mar. 1608: ''tis e'en as uncertain as playing, now up and now down; for if the bill down [*sic*] rise to above thirty, here's no place for players' (IV. ii. 28, ed. Bullen, p. 199), and also, as referring to other things besides acting, in a letter in Winwood's *Memorials*: 'The sudden riseing of the Sickness to Thirty a Week, and the infesting of nineteen Parishes, made us think the Terme or Parliament or both might be prolonged and put off, but the abateing of some few this Week makes all hold on' (ii. p. 140). These two references I owe to Thorndike, who in his useful study of the *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakspere* (Worcester, Mass. 1901, p. 14), has some very judicious remarks on the absurdities into which Fleay's theory leads, and shows, I think conclusively, that whatever may have been the strict letter of the regulations, it is impossible to suppose that it was ever rigidly enforced. The earliest mention of forty in place of thirty as the limiting number is in the Privy Seal to the King's men, dated 27 Mar. 1619 (Collier, *Annals*, i. p. 416, where it is misdated 1619/20).[1]

Misconceptions on the subject.

Number of plays—lost and extant.

Another point of interest is the number of plays which may be supposed to have perished. What was the total output of the English drama say from 1576, when the first theatre was opened, or 1584, when the recently appointed Queen's company became an important force, to the closing of the houses in 1642? Fleay has some interesting remarks bearing on this question. In his *Shakespeare* (p. 356), speaking of the period of 1576 to 1642, he gives the number of extant plays at under 500 and the total output at 2000. The exaggerated estimates often given he ascribes, no doubt correctly, to the erroneous supposition that as many as fifteen companies were sometimes performing at one time, and also to the failure to realize the extent to which old plays were vamped up new. The Admiral's men, it is true, sometimes 'brought out a new play once a fortnight, but this was undoubtedly an exceptional instance. The best companies, such as the King's, and after them the Queen's, produced one in about two months.' In his work on the *Stage* (p. 414) he gives the number of extant plays as 556, from 1584 to 1642, and suggests that our most trustworthy basis for calculation is supplied by the licences of the Master of the Revels for some eighteen months in 1623-4, which show a loss of about 18 plays a year. This would give, for the fifty-nine years in question, a loss of 1062 and a total output 1618 plays, which, as he says, agrees 'closely enough' with his estimate of 2000 for the period of sixty-six years beginning with 1576. The discrepancy in the number of extant plays in the two lists is apparently due to the earlier having been based on the entries in the Stationers' Register. It may, however, be suggested that, but for the accident of the preservation of Henslowe's Diary, the number of plays which we should be in a position to assign to the Admiral's men would hardly be greater than that which we actually can assign to the King's men. In any case, the Diary, though possibly not to be taken as representative, at any rate proves that production was sometimes very much brisker than it was when Herbert was licensing, and this must appreciably affect the total. There are some 282 plays mentioned in the Diary, and of these, according to Fleay (*Stage*, p. 414), 217 are not otherwise known, so that 65 may be taken as the number that survive. The same authority gives 556 as the total number extant, from 1584 to 1642. We shall not be far wrong if we add a hundred more for the period 1558 to 1584 and give 650 as the total extant from Elizabeth's accession to the outbreak of the Civil War. Of these just one tenth are mentioned in the Diary. Supposing the lost plays to bear the same proportion we should arrive at a total of 2820. In this we may see some support of Fleay's contention that the majority of Henslowe's plays were below the average quality and so less likely to be preserved than others, but we may, I think, conclude with some confidence that the total output of the 'Elizabethan Age' was between 2000 and 3000 and probably not very far removed from the mean. This is, of course, exclusive of masques.

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[1] With regard to the statement that 'forty is well known to be the correct number' I applied for further information to Mr. Fleay, who most obligingly made search among his notes, unhappily without success.

Identification of plays.

These calculations have some bearing upon the question of the identification of plays in the Diary, though I do not myself think it of much importance. Suppose, what is by no means impossible, that a list should be found of all the plays witnessed by some enthusiastic playgoer during the last ten years of Elizabeth's reign and the first ten of her successor's. Such a list might easily run to five hundred items. Now we should *a priori* be justified in expecting that whatever the titles might be, not less than one hundred would represent pieces now extant. There is a limit to the proportion which we are at liberty to suppose lost. This consideration may make us incline now and again to accept as plausible an otherwise doubtful identification, but it must be admitted that its logical weight in individual cases is very small indeed. Fleay in one place speaks of 'the imbecile recourse of supposing a lost play' (*Drama*, ii. p. 31), but it must be remembered that *caeteris paribus* there is a very considerable chance in favour of any recorded play, not obviously identical with any extant piece, having perished, and the student may well be pardoned for wondering whether some of the identifications which have from time to time been suggested argue any unusual degree of sanity in their proposers. If in the following chapter I be thought myself to have erred in this direction, I can only plead that I am by no means prepared to maintain every identification the possibility of which I have suggested, but that I was anxious not to neglect any clue, however little promising in appearance.

CHAPTER III

THE PLAYS OF HENSLOWE'S DIARY.

THE mutual light which neighbouring plays often throw on one another's history or identity has made it desirable to preserve in the following catalogue the order of the Diary itself, instead of arranging the entries in the alphabetical order, which would otherwise have offered considerable advantages. The plays have therefore been arranged chronologically in twelve sections, these sections being in their turn, so far as possible, placed in historical order. A general view of the arrangement may be obtained from the tables in Chap. V, § VI.

One interesting question falls to be discussed here, but it is unfortunately one to which I am unable to give any definite answer. What is the meaning of the mysterious letters 'ne,' which Henslowe attached in his accounts to certain entries of performances? Two interpretations are current. Malone conjectured that the letters stood for 'new enterlude,' and Fleay came independently to the same conclusion. Collier, on the other hand, supposed them to be the first two letters of the word 'new'. Against the former may be urged the objection that 'enterlude,' though a not uncommon equivalent of 'play' at the end of the sixteenth century, is nowhere, I believe, used by Henslowe. But it is almost equally impossible to suppose that Henslowe should have deliberately and consistently written 'ne' for 'new'. Yet what else the letters can stand for it seems impossible to guess. Happily their exact significance is a matter of no practical importance. We can treat them as we should a conventional sign, and infer their significance from their observed use. As to this there is neither difficulty nor doubt. The letters are used, with few exceptions, to mark the first occurrence of a play, and the exceptions themselves are easily explained by the supposition that the play so designated was new to the particular company, though not to the stage in general, or that it was new in the sense that it was a revival with alterations. The one or two cases not thus covered are apparently slips on Henslowe's part. The occurrence of the letters against a performance may therefore indicate one of three things: (i) that the play was new to the stage and had never before been acted; (ii) that it was new to the company, but had been previously represented by some other body; (iii) that it was new in its particular form, having received alterations since it was last acted. From this it is a legitimate inference that where a title occurs for the first time in the Diary, and is not marked with the letters 'ne,' the play was an old stock piece which had been previously acted by the same company.

Section I.

Plays performed by Lord Strange's men at the Rose, 19 *Feb.* 1592 *to* 1 *Feb.* 1593.

1. FRIAR BACON.

[(*a*) **7–8**^{v}; (*b*) **9**; (*c*) **108**^{v} 12. (*a* & *b*) 'fryer bacvne (bacon(e)'; (*c*) 'bacon'. (*a*) Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 19 Feb. 1591/2, and thence till 30 (29) Jan. 1592/3. (*b*) Performed by the Queen's and Sussex' men, 1 and 5 Apr. 159[3/]4. In all 9 performances. (*c*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Middleton, 14 Dec. 1602, for a prologue and epilogue 'for the corte', 5*s*.]

Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, entered S. R. 14 May 1594, and printed the same year as written by Greene and played by the Queen's men. These were presumably the original owners and may have sent the play to press. Greene may have written it in 1589 when St. James' Day fell on a Friday (ed. Collins, l. 137), but it certainly seems a maturer work than *Orlando* (3). It is clearly later than *Faustus* (1588). From the Queen's men it probably passed in 1591 to Alleyn, and through him to Henslowe, who lent it to Strange's men in 1592, back to the Queen's in 1594, and to the Admiral's in 1602. With these it probably remained, since, according to the 1630 title-page, it was later acted by the Palsgrave's men, and not by the Lady Elizabeth's, the last company with which Henslowe was connected.

2. MULY MOLLOCCO.

[**7–8**. 'mvlomvrco (mvlomvlco, mvlomulluco, mvlomvlucko, mvllomvloco, mulamvlluco, mvlemvloco)' 'mvl(l)o mvl(l)oc(c)o (mulocko, mvlluco)'. Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 20 (21) Feb. 1591/2, and thence till 20 Jan. 1592/3, 14 performances.]

Usually identified with the *Battle of Alcazar*, written by Peele some time before April 1589, and printed without entry in 1594 as acted by the Admiral's men. Since there is no trace of it in the Admiral's lists of 1594–7 this must refer to the original performance. It was revived by the Admiral's men c. 1598, to which occasion the extant Plot belongs (Apx. II. 4). If the identification is correct, the Admiral's men must, therefore, have lent it to Strange's while they themselves were travelling (cf. *Jeronimo*, 16). The identification is, however, uncertain. The name Muly Mollocco does, indeed, appear once or twice in the quarto for Abdelmelec, just as Muly Mahomett Xeque appears in sc. i. and in the Plot for Muly Mahomet Seth, both being evident signs of revision, but it is difficult to see how it could become the title of the play as we have it. Probably either the quarto represents the altered version as performed in the provinces by the Admiral's men, while Strange's men were acting the full version (later revived by the Admiral's) in London (but in this case we ought to find the name Muly Mollocco in the Plot); or else what Strange's men acted was an earlier piece which has left certain fossilized remains in Peele's Play. A minute comparison of the quarto text and the Plot might throw some light on the question, but in the fragmentary condition of the latter it is not very easy to make.

3. ORLANDO.

[7 7. Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 21 (22) Feb. 1591/2.]

Entered S. R. 7 Dec. 1593 and printed the following year as played before the Queen. There is an allusion to the Armada (ed. Collins, ll. 82–8), and two passages (ll. 66–9 and Alleyn MS. 847[1]) also appear in Peele's *Old Wives Tale* (ed. Bullen, ll. 885–8 and 678–9) which must belong to 1590. That Peele copied from Greene is shown by the name Sacripant (Sacrapant), which is common to the two plays and which Greene took from Ariosto. The date must therefore be c. 1589. Greene's authorship is asserted by the writer of the *Defence of Cony-Catching* (1592), who accuses him of selling the piece to the Queen's men for twenty nobles, and when these were in the country, to the Admiral's men for as much more. Thus the original owners were the Queen's men, and if the second part of the statement is true it supplies a further link between the two companies with which Alleyn was connected. It is, indeed, very doubtful whether between 1589 and 1594 the Admiral's and Strange's men had any separate existence. The Dulwich MS. (Apx. III), which most likely represents the play in its original form, contains corrections and insertions in Alleyn's hand, and must therefore have belonged to one of his companies. It need not necessarily have been made for the revival recorded in the Diary, which was unsuccessful. Had Strange's men sent the play to press we should probably have had the full text. The printed version, however, is much cut down—for presentation at court, according to Fleay, but this is doubtful. It most likely represents a shortened version used by the Queen's men for provincial acting, and sent by them to press when they were in low water in 1593. It was, no doubt, they who had performed the play at court some time before the end of 1591.

4. DON HORATIO, or THE COMEDY OF JERONIMO.

[7–8. 'spanes comodye donne oracoe' 'doneoracio' 'the comodey of Jeronymo'. Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 23 Feb. 1591/2, and thence till 20 June, 7 performances, with change of title 10 Apr.]

There can be no doubt that the two titles refer to the same play, and that this was a fore-piece to the *Spanish Tragedy*, probably, though not necessarily, by Kyd. I agree with Boas (ed. *Kyd*, p. xxxix) in considering it improbable that it is the extant *First part of Jeronimo*, which is unlike Kyd's work in style, probably belongs to a later date (1600?), and is certainly not a comedy.

5. SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE.

[**7–8**. '(sy^{r} John) mandevell (mandefell)'. Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 24 Feb. 1591/2, and thence till 31 (27) Jan. 1592/3, 8 performances.]

Fleay's suggestion (*Drama*, ii. p. 281) that this may be *Fair Em* rests on a mere misprint of Simpson's: there is no list of personae in the quartos. Nothing is known of the play.

6. HENRY OF CORNWALL.

[**7–7^{v}**. 'harey of cornwell' 'harey' (**7** 26). Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 25 Feb. 1591/2, and thence till 18 (20) May, 5 performances. (From its position one would expect the 'harey' of **7** 26 to refer to *Henry VI* (11), but the takings were too small, 31*s*. 6*d*.)]

Unless we assume that *Richard of Cornwall* is meant, in which case the play would be *Alphonsus of Germany* (printed in 1654 as by Chapman, but more likely Peele's), nothing is known of this piece.

7. THE JEW OF MALTA.

[(*a*) **7–10^{v}, 14–15^{v}, 21^{v}**; (*b*) **87**. 'the Jewe of malltuse (mal(l)ta)' 'the Jewe'. (*a*) Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 26 Feb. 1591/2, and thence till 1 Feb. 1593; again by Sussex' men 4 Feb. 1593/4; again by the Queen's and Sussex' men 3 and 7 (8) Apr. 159[3/]4; again by the Admiral's men, 14 May; again by the Admiral's and Chamberlain's men, 4 (6) and 13 (15) June; again by the Admiral's men, 23 (25) June, and thence till 9 (10) Dec., also, after an interval, 9 Jan. 1595/6 to 21 (23) June; in all 36 performances. (*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 19 May 1601, for properties, £5. 10.]

Entered S. R. 16 May 1594, but not printed till 1633. The allusion in the prologue to the death of the Guise implies a date of composition soon after 23 Dec. 1588. The fact that the play was acted by every company which played at the Rose shows that it must have belonged to Henslowe, so Alleyn may have obtained it from the Queen's men in 1591. (Cf. *Friar Bacon*, 1.) The publication of the piece was due to its revival at court and at the Cock Pit; it is ascribed to Marlowe and edited by Heywood. There are two hands in the play, and the second may have been Heywood's. At what date the additions or alterations were made is, however, doubtful. Fleay thinks they are late, and points out that the Bellamira portion contains the same plot as Heywood's *Captives* (friars' part) licensed 3 Sept. 1624, also for the Cock Pit. It is evident, however, that Heywood's play was not written that year (cf. ed. Bullen, p. 206, not leap-year, and p. 182, Mirabel born in 1600); 1617 would be a more likely date. Moreover the underplot of the *Captives* has the appearance of a brilliant amplification of the crude episode in the *Jew*. There is most likely an Italian source for this story. According to Heywood's prologue for the Cock Pit, the part of the Jew had been (originally?) played by Alleyn and at the revival by Perkins.

8. CLORIS AND ERGASTO.

[7 12. 'clorys & orgasto'. Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 28 Feb. 1591/2.]

Presumably a pastoral. 'Orgasto' hardly seems a possible name.

9. POPE JOAN.

[7 14. 'poope Jone'. Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 1 Mar. 1591/2.]

A tract by I. M. called 'The Anatomie of Pope Ioane' was printed in 1624, and may, as Collier says, be a reprint of an earlier edition.

10. MACHIAVEL.

[7–7^{v}. 'matchavell (matchevell)'. Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 2 Mar., 3 Apr., and 29 May (1 June), 1591/2.]

Possibly, as Fleay suggests, the foundation of Daborne's tragedy *Machiavel and the Devil* (see MS. I. 70).

11. HENRY VI.

[7–8^{v}. 'har(e)y the vj (6)'. Performed by Strange's men, as a new play, 3 Mar. 1591/2, and thence till 31 Jan. 1593, 16 performances. The 'harey' of 16 Mar. 1591/2 is probably *Henry of Cornwall* (6).]

Printed as 1 *Henry VI* in the 1623 folio of Shakespeare's plays, after being erroneously entered as the third part, S. R. 8 Nov. It is possible, or probable, that there was an earlier version of this play which may have belonged to the Queen's men, and that it was only 'new' owing to the addition of the Talbot scenes by Shakespeare. There may also have been a later revision. The whole question is well treated by Fleay (*Shakespeare*, pp. 255–63).

12. BINDO AND RICHARDO.

[7–8. 'bendo (byndo) & Richardo'. Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 4 Mar., 12 Apr. and 5 June, 1591/2.]

This play, of which nothing further is known, was evidently founded on Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, tom. i. novel 48. 'Bindo a notable Architect, and his sonne Ricchiardo, with all his familie, from Florence went to dwell at Venice, where being made Citizens for diuers monuments by them done there, throughe inordinate expences were forced to robbe the Treasure house. Bindo being slaine by a pollicie deuised by the Duke and state, Richiardo by fine subtelties deliuereth himselfe from foure daungers. Afterwards the Duke (by his owne confession) vnderstandinge the sleightes, giueth him his pardon and his daughter in mariage' (ed. Jacobs, ii. p. 8). The source of the story is *Il Pecorone* (ix. i), cf. also Bandello (i. 25). See Mary Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, paper 1, p. 259.

13. FOUR PLAYS IN ONE.

[**7** 18. 'iiij playes in one'. Performed by Strange's men as an old play, 6 Mar. 1521/2.]

The identification of this piece is due to Fleay (*Stage*, p. 83). Both Harvey and Nashe (ed. McKerrow, i. p. 304) attribute a play of the *Seven Deadly Sins* to Tarlton, who was one of the principal members of the Queen's company. Now this company prepared two plays for court in 1585, namely *Five Plays in One* (i. e. Induction and four sin-plays) and *Three Plays in One* (i. e. the other three sin-plays). Among the extant Plots (Apx. II. 1) is one of 2 *Seven Deadly Sins* belonging to Strange's men and consisting of the Induction and three sin-plays, i. e. *Four Plays in One*. The Queen's men left London in Dec. 1591 when several of their plays seem to have passed to Strange's men (cf. *Friar Bacon*, 1), and the following March these latter acted *Four Plays in One*. There can, therefore, be no question as to the identity of the piece. The performance, however, does not appear to have been repeated.

14. THE LOOKING-GLASS.

[**7–8**. 'the lookinglasse'. Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 8 Mar. 1591/2, and thence till 7 June, 4 performances.]

A Looking-Glass for London and England, entered S. R. 5 Mar. 1594, as by Lodge and Greene, and published the same year with both names. The division of parts is difficult. Fleay gives sc. i–v, vi*b*, and xii (the division of scenes is rather doubtful) to Greene and the rest to Lodge. This does not seem to me satisfactory; some of the early scenes are surely by Lodge. The date is uncertain, but 1590 is the latest that can reasonably be maintained. There is no indication of the company to which it originally belonged. The Clown, however, is occasionally called Adam (e. g. ed. Collins, l. 1589 s. d.), and Adam, evidently an actor, is mentioned in *James IV* (ed. Collins, l. 2268 s. d.), which probably belongs to about the same date. The two plays were, therefore, acted by the same company, probably the Queen's men.

15. ZENOBIA.

[**7** 21. 'senobia'. Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 9 Mar. 1591/2.]

Nothing is known of this piece.

16. JERONIMO.

[(*a*) **7–8**; (*b*) **23** 32, **25**^{v}–**27**^{v}; (*c*) **94** 3, **106**^{v} 12. 'Jeronymo (Joronymo, Joranymo, Jorenymo, Jeronemo, Joroneymo, geronymo)'. (*a*) Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 14 Mar. 1591/2, and thence till 22 Jan. 1592/3, 16 performances. (*b*) Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 7 Jan. 1596/7, and thence till 19 July; also by the Admiral's and Pembroke's men, 11 Oct; 13 performances. (*c*) Paid, on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Jonson, 25 Sept. 1601, for additions, £2; also 22 June 1602, in earnest of *Richard Crookback* and for new additions, £10.]

The *Spanish Tragedy*, entered S. R. 6 Oct. 1592, and probably published the same year, the earliest extant edition (undated) being 'corrected and amended,' and the next being dated 1594. The date of composition is unknown, but various indications point to c. 1586. The original ownership is also doubtful. Strange's men were not yet in existence, though of course Leicester's were. There is, however, no evidence of any plays passing from Strange's to the Admiral's men, except old Queen's plays which no doubt belonged to Alleyn, and there is nothing to connect Kyd or the *Spanish Tragedy* with the Queen's company. Fleay asserts that the play originally belonged to the Admiral's men, and that no other company ever acted it. The entries in Strange's lists he takes to refer to the 'comedy.' This, however, cannot be allowed, for Henslowe is most careful to distinguish the two titles, and they were on several occasions performed on consecutive evenings, which was frequently the case with a first and second part, though there is hardly any instance of a play being repeated twice running. The most plausible theory is that the play belonged indeed to the Admiral's men from the beginning, but that, being a popular piece, Strange's men obtained temporary possession of it at a time when the two companies were more or less merged. When the Admiral's men revived the piece in 1597 it was performed as a new play. It had, therefore, no doubt, been revised and probably added to. But the editions show no change till 1602. The additions then printed have always been supposed to be those for which Jonson was paid in 1601-2. This is not impossible, though it has often been remarked that they are quite unlike any authenticated work of his. They may, however, equally well be the additions of 1597. Pavier, who printed the edition of 1602, did not enjoy a good reputation, and was more likely to pass off old work as new, than to get hold of the latest novelty. That Jonson had himself played the part of Jeronimo in the *Spanish Tragedy* in a children's company appears from Dekker's *Satiromastix* (1873, p. 202). It seems likely that the company in question was the Chapel Children, and that they stole the play some time between the restraint of the Admiral's men in July 1597, and 1600, when Jonson, in the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, also performed by the Chapel Children, sneered at 'the old Hieronimo (as it was first acted).' It is possible that they also stole the comedy of *Jeronimo* which had presumably passed from Strange's to the Chamberlain's and so to the King's men, for these retaliated by appropriating the *Malcontent*. All this, however, is highly conjectural.

17. CONSTANTINE.

[7 30. Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 21 Mar. 1591/2.]

Probably on the story of Constantine, King of Britain, father of Uther (cf. *Valteger*, 95, and *Uther Pendragon*, 105).

18. JERUSALEM.

[7–7^{v}. 'Jerusal(l)em'. Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 22 Mar. and 25 Apr. 1591/2.]

There was a play on the *Destruction of Jerusalem* by Thomas Legge dating from c. 1577, which was evidently printed since it appears in Archer's catalogue of 1656. The present, however, is much more likely to have been a 'Conquest of Jerusalem,' and may possibly be connected with Heywood's *Four Prentices* (see *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, 47).

19. BRANDIMER.

[7 43, 7^{v} 25. 'brandymer (brandimer)'. Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 6 Apr. and 8 May 159[1/]2.]

Brandimer might stand for Brandimart, a character in Greene's *Orlando* (3). He could not, indeed, give his name to the piece as we have it, but as King of the Isles he typifies England (cf. ed. Collins, ll. 82, &c.), and it is conceivable that there may have been another play in which he bore a more prominent part, or even that he may have done so in the unabridged version.

20. TITUS AND VESPASIAN.

[7^{v}–8. 'tit(t)us & vespacia' 'tit(t)us'. Performed by Strange's men, as a new play, 11 Apr. 159[1/]2, and thence till 25 Jan. 1593, 10 performances.]

It is customary to assume that this was an earlier version of *Titus Andronicus* (37), but the identification is open to doubt. It is difficult to believe that the title could have been given to any play not connected with the siege of Jerusalem. If, however, we reject the identification we have to face the fact that, in the German play of the 1620 collection, Titus' son bears the name of Vespasianus. It should, however, be remarked that the German play is never called *Titus and Vespasian*, that the part of Vespasianus (Lucius) is quite subordinate, and that the first speech which gives the name prominence should almost certainly be assigned to Victoriades (Titus' brother, Marcus). The occurrence of Titus and Vespasian in the same play need not be a coincidence, for if a *Titus Andronicus* and a *Titus and Vespasian* were both current pieces, a popular reporter, writing from memory, might easily confuse, or even deliberately combine, the character-names of both.

21 & 90. TAMAR CAM.

[(*a*) 7^{v}–8; (*b*) 15^{v}, 21^{v}, 25; (*c*) 108 6 (116^{v} 13 cancelled). 'tambercam(e' 'tamber came'. (*a*) Pt. II. Performed by Strange's men, as a new play, 28 Apr. 1592, and thence till 19 Jan. 1593, 6 performances (of which only the first two, however, are specifically designated as Pt. II). (*b*) Pt. I. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 6 (7) May 1596, and thence till 13 Nov., 10 performances. Pt. II. Performed, as a new play, 11 June 1596, and thence till 8 July, 4 performances. (*c*) Paid, on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Alleyn, 2 Oct. 1602, 'for his Boocke' (of Pt. I), £2.]

Pt. I must have already been an old play in 1592, but it is curious it should not have been thought worth reviving, if it was worth writing a second part. It had probably been originally written as a rival to *Tamberlaine* (52), which was an Admiral's play. Belonging to Alleyn, it passed to the Admiral's men in 1594, and both parts were revived by them, after revision, as new, two years later. The Plot of Pt. I is extant (see Apx. II. 7) but the cast is too late for 1596, and it must, therefore, belong to a subsequent revival, no doubt that for which the company bought the book in 1602. The price paid to Alleyn would only cover one part, and this must consequently have been Pt. I.

22. THE TANNER OF DENMARK.

[7ᵛ 41. Performed by Strange's men, as a new play, 23 (26) May 1592.]

The only tanner known to dramatic history is, I believe, the tanner of Tamworth in *Edward IV* (see 65).

23. A KNACK TO KNOW A KNAVE.

[8. 'a knacke to know a knave' 'the knacke (cnacke)'. Performed by Strange's men, as a new play, 10 June 1592, and thence till 24 Jan. 1593, 7 performances.]

Entered S. R. 7 Jan. 1594, and printed the same year as acted by Alleyn's company, i. e. Strange's men, 'With Kemps applauded Merriments of the men of Goteham.' Kemp's portion, if the mention implies authorship and not merely performance, is the scene with a Miller, Cobbler and Smith (ed. Hazlitt-Dodsley, p. 565). Fleay conjectures that the Edgar and Alfrida plot may be Peele's and the 'moral' portion Wilson's, which seems possible. Cf. *Osric* (101).

The entries cease on 22 (23) *June. On* 11 *June there had been riots in Southwark and on* 23 *June the Privy Council issued letters forbidding all plays till Michaelmas. Strange's men obtained a warrant, undated, to open again at the Rose, but before they could do so the plague became serious, about the beginning of Sept., and the houses were closed till the end of the year. The entries begin again* 29 *Dec.*

24. THE JEALOUS COMEDY (?)

[8 25. 'the gelyous comodey'. Performed by Strange's men, as a new play, 5 Jan. 1592/3.]

Fleay thinks that this may be the original piece underlying the *Merry Wives*, but the conjecture rests upon a rather slender basis. Why was the performance not repeated? It seems highly probable that the piece was the same as the 'comody of cosmo' (25), acted for the first time a few days later but not marked as new.

25. COSMO.

[**8**. 'cos(s)mo', comedy. Performed by Strange's men, as an old play, 12 (11) and 23 Jan. 1593.]

Most probably the same as 'the gelyous comodey' acted as a new piece a few days before but not repeated. The name should perhaps be *Cosimo.* See *Jealous Comedy* (24).

26. THE GUISE, OR THE MASSACRE OF FRANCE.

(*a*) **8** 43; (*b*) **9–10**; (*c*) **41**$^{\text{v}}$ 32, **38**$^{\text{v}}$ 31–2; (*d*) **94–96**. 'the gvyes (Gwies, gwisse, guesse)' tragedy, 'the masacer (mas(s)aker, mesacar) (of france)'. (*a*) Performed by Strange's men, as a new play, 30 (26) Jan. 1593. (*b*) Performed by the Admiral's men 19 (21) June 1594, and thence till 25 (27) Sept., 10 performances. (*c*) Lent to Birde 19 and 27 Nov. 1598 and again undated, for properties, in all £2. 12 (cf. however the *Civil Wars of France*, 152). (*d*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 3–26 Nov. 1601, for properties, £7. 14. 6. Paid to Alleyn, 18 Jan. 1601/2, for this and two other plays, £6.]

The *Massacre at Paris*, not entered and printed without date (c. 1595?) as written by Marlowe and acted by the Admiral's men. Alleyn evidently brought it with him from Strange's company. The printed text is probably, as Fleay says, an abridged acting version. The MS. of a fuller version of part of sc. xix, printed by Collier (*Annals*, iii. p. 134), is, however, of doubtful authenticity. (In any case it is not an actor's part, like the Orlando MS., as Fleay maintains.)

The letter of the Privy Council recommending the closing of the playhouses on account of the sickness is dated 28 *Jan.* 1593. *The entries cease after* 1 *Feb. The plague was raging nearly the whole year and the companies travelled. The Rose was not opened again till Dec. The only performance by Strange's men of which we have record is* Henry of Cornwall, *acted at Bristol,* 1 *Aug.* (MS. I. 11).

SECTION II.

Plays performed by the Earl of Sussex' men at the Rose, 27 (26) *Dec.* 1593 *to* 6 *Feb.* 1594.

27. GOD SPEED THE PLOUGH.

[**8**$^{\text{v}}$. 'good spede the plowghe' 'god —'. Performed by Sussex' men, as an old play, 27 (26) Dec. 1593, and 5 Jan. 1593/4.]

Entered S. R. 1 Mar. 1600/1, but not printed so far as is known. The phrase was proverbial.

28. HUON OF BORDEAUX.

[8^{v}. 'hewen (of burdoche, of burdockes)'. Performed by Sussex' men, as an old play, 28 (27) Dec. 1593, and 3 and 11 Jan. 1593/4.]

The only known edition of the romance, translated from the French by Lord Berners, which appeared in Elizabeth's reign, is dated 1601, but many editions have probably perished.

29. GEORGE A GREENE, THE PINNER OF WAKEFIELD.

[8^{v}. 'gorge a gren(e' 'the piner of wiackefield'. Performed by Sussex' men, as an old play, 29 (28) Dec. 1593, and thence till 22 (23) Jan. 1593/4, 5 performances.]

Entered S. R. 1 Apr. 1595, and printed 1595 as acted by Sussex' men. The evidence in favour of Greene's authorship is highly suspicious and may be neglected. Fleay supposes two hands, but this seems unnecessary. The play has, however, been cut down, presumably for country acting. With the theory of Greene's authorship all reason to suppose that the play ever belonged to the Queen's men, of course, disappears.

30. BUCKINGHAM.

[8^{v}. 'buckingam' 'buckengam'. Performed by Sussex' men, as an old play, 30 (29) Dec. 1593, and thence till 27 (28) Jan. 1593/4, 4 performances.]

Presumably Richard III's Buckingham. He appears in the *True Tragedy of Richard III*, printed in 1594 and acted by the Queen's men probably in 1591.

31. RICHARD THE CONFESSOR.

[8^{v} 10, 24. Performed by Sussex' men, as an old play, 31 Dec. and 16 Jan. 1593/4.]

Nothing whatever is known of this play. I can only explain Fleay's remarks, connecting it with *Alphonsus of Germany*, by supposing that he misread the title as *Richard the Conqueror* (*William the Conqueror* occurs just below). Hazlitt is confident that the title is an error of Henslowe's for *Edward the Confessor*.

32. WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

[8^{v} 14. 'william the conkerer'. Performed by Sussex' men, as an old play, 4 Jan. 1593/4.]

Possibly the same as *Fair Em* 'With the loue of William the Conqueror,' printed without entry and undated as acted by Strange's men, of which a second edition appeared in 1631. It was performed c. 1590, and the parallels adduced by Fleay in support of Wilson's authorship appear significant. That the play may have passed to Sussex' men is possible, though the case of the *Jew of Malta* (7) is hardly parallel.

33. FRIAR FRANCES.

[8^{v}. 'f)frier f)frances'. Performed by Sussex' men, as an old play, 7, 14 and 20 (21) Jan. 1593/4.]

We learn from Heywood's *Apology for Actors* (1612) that this play apparently ('the old History of Feyer Francis' he calls it) was acted by Sussex' men at 'Lin' (King's Lynn) in Norfolk, and also that it contained the story of a woman who, for the sake of a lover, murdered her husband, and was haunted by his ghost (ed. Shakespeare Soc. p. 57).

34. ABRAHAM AND LOT.

[8^{v}. 'abram(e & lotte'. Performed by Sussex' men, as an old play, 9, 17 and 31 Jan. 1593/4.]

Nothing is known of this piece.

35. THE FAIR MAID OF ITALY.

[8^{v}–9. 'the fayer mayd of ytale (ytaly, Jtaley)'. Performed by Sussex' men, as an old play 12 and 21 (22) Jan. 1593/4. Performed by the Queen's and Sussex' men, 4 Apr.]

Nothing is known of this piece.

36. KING LUD.

[8^{v} 26. 'kinge lude'. Performed by Sussex' men, as an old play, 18 Jan. 1593/4.]

According to Holinshed Lud came to the throne of Britain in 72 B.C., and was chifley noted for his reform of the laws and the building of Ludgate. He even derives the name London from the same source.

37. TITUS ANDRONICUS.

[8^{v}–9. 'tit(t)us & ondronic(o)us' 'andronicous'. Performed by Sussex' men, as a new play, 23 (24) Jan. 1593/4, and again 28 (29) Jan. and 6 Feb. Performed by the Admiral's and Chamberlain's men, 5 (7) and 12 (14) June 1594.]

Entered S. R. 6 Feb. 1594, and printed the same year as acted by Derby's (i. e. late Strange's), Pembroke's and Sussex' men. This edition, recently recovered, contains the same text as the previously known edition of 1600, on the title-page of which the name of the Chamberlain's men is added to the other three. The history of the other plays in the Admiral's-Chamberlain's list suggests that Pembroke's men were the original owners. Two main problems are connected with this piece: its relation to the Dutch and German versions, and its alleged Shakespearian authorship. The former of these has been discussed in an able and important article by H. De W. Fuller (Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 1901, ix. p. 1). The German version (G) is preserved in the collection of 1620. The extant Dutch version by Vos (D^2) was not printed till 1642, but was almost certainly preceded by an earlier one in the same language (D^1). There is also extant a programme (P) of a German version performed at Linz in 1699. This agrees in the main with D^2 and must represent either the original of, or a translation of, D^1. Both G and D^2 differ considerably from the English play (E). Now, with regard to G it must be remembered that the stage-versions current among the English actors in Germany were undoubtedly much altered from their originals, and moreover G is just the sort of clumsy parody that an uneducated person might write if he tried to reproduce a play after seeing it two or three times. In the case of D^2, the close agreement with P shows that it must have reproduced D^1 very accurately in the matter of action but leaves room for almost any amount of alteration in the language. D^1, moreover, may have differed from the original as widely as G. I cannot therefore agree with Fuller when he finds a difficulty in supposing E to be the original of either G or D^1 taken independently. There are, however, obstacles in the way of supposing E to be the original of both G and D^1. In the first place, there are a certain number of points found both in G and D^2 but not in E. Secondly, there is the striking fact that while there is no incident of any importance in E which cannot be traced in either G or D^2, there are a number of important points common to E and either G only or D^2 only. These considerations lead Fuller to suppose that G and D^1 go back to different English versions, and that these versions formed the joint originals of E. The suggestion is undoubtedly ingenious, but the facts appear to me susceptible of a different explanation. The points in which G and D^2 agree against E may be due to alterations made by the English actors in their stage version. The fact that practically the whole of the action of E is found in either G or D^2 may be accounted for by supposing that the compiler of D^1, who probably based his version on a more complete performance than that which underlay G, was also familiar with G as printed in 1620, and deliberately omitted certain portions there preserved in order to avoid too close a similarity, while carefully retaining whatever had not been used in the earlier version. Thus I cannot regard the existence of any English version of the play previous to the extant text as definitely established, though it is by no means inherently improbable (see also *Titus and Vespasian*, 20). I should add that I can see no reason to suppose that any distinction was intended between 'titus & ondronicus' and 'andronicus' in the Diary, or between 'Tytus Andronicus' and 'Titus and Andronicus' in S. R. The second problem of the play, that of authorship, has been frequently treated. The most thorough discussion is to be found in J. M. Robertson's book on the subject (1905), with which I am in general agreement. I need only say here that I fail to discover any clear internal evidence of Shakespeare having touched the play at all, though there are a few lines whose Shakespearian authorship I do not think impossible. I am glad to find myself on this point in agreement with no less experienced a critic than W. Aldis Wright, though forced to differ from J. W. Craig, who told me, shortly before his death, that he thought that certain passages had actually come from Shakespeare's pen. But I should like briefly to sketch out what I believe may have happened and leave others to take my theory for what it is worth. The outline of events would be as follows. In the autumn of 1593 when the plague was raging in London, we know that Pembroke's men were in low water. Henslowe wrote to Alleyn on 28 Sept. to the effect that, being unable to meet the expenses of travel, they had returned to town and had been driven to pawn their wardrobe (MS. I. 14). They also parted with several of their plays which were printed the following year. Alleyn's answer is not preserved, but he most likely commissioned Henslowe to buy up such pieces as should seem worth while on behalf of Strange's men with whom he was then travelling. Some old Pembroke's plays, including *Titus*, are certainly found later in the hands of the Chamberlain's men. We might suppose that, pending Alleyn's return, Henslowe lent the piece to Sussex' men, but I do not think this was so for two reasons. One is that Henslowe did not, as a rule, mark as new, plays which he lent to companies; the other is that the mention of Derby's men proves that the piece must have been performed by the company with which Alleyn was travelling between Sept. 1593 and Apr. 1594, and therefore almost certainly in the provinces. It is probable, then, that Henslowe sent down the plays at once to their purchaser. We must, therefore, suppose two copies, one in the possession first of Pembroke's and later of the Chamberlain's men, that performed by the latter company in June, and another which came into the possession of Sussex' men and was acted by them for the first time in Jan.; and we may further suppose that the two versions differed even to the inclusion of wholly different scenes. Sussex' men performed the play for the last time on 6 Feb., and the same day the play, presumably handed over by them to the press, was entered in S. R. The company soon afterwards broke, and some of the members may not improbably have found their way on to the continent. Here we may suppose that they vamped up the stage version underlying the German and Dutch texts. Meanwhile the Chamberlain's men, following their practice in the case of the other Pembroke's plays, *Hamlet* and the *Taming of a Shrew*, caused *Titus* to be worked over by a young member of their company named William Shakespeare. Thus revised the piece achieved sufficient success to call for notice by Francis Meres in 1598, and thenceforth passed as one of the 'works' of the favourite playwright-actor. This MS. perished in the fire at the Globe in 1613. Wishing to replace their prompt copy, the King's men procured a copy of the printed edition (1611), a device to which they certainly resorted in other cases too. In this they made certain alterations in the stage directions, and in doing so noticed the absence of one scene at least (III. ii) which they were in the habit of acting and which had proved popular. This the actors were able to reconstruct from memory, and a manuscript insertion of some 85 lines was made in the quarto. Ten years later this doctored prompt copy was sent to press for the text of the collected folio.

37*a*. THE JEW OF MALTA.

See above, 7.

SECTION III.

Plays performed by the Queen's and the Earl of Sussex' men at the Rose, 1 *to* 8 (9) *Apr.* 1594. *The* Ranger's Comedy *and* Lear, *not being new, and not appearing in Sussex' list* (§ II), *may be ascribed to the Queen's men. The* Jew of Malta *and the* Fair Maid of Italy *have already appeared as Sussex'.* Friar Bacon, *like the* Jew of Malta, *belonged to Henslowe, but not having previously been lent to Sussex' men, was probably now lent to the Queen's. This arrangement gives three plays and five performances to the Queen's men, and two plays and three performances to Sussex'.*

37*b*. FRIAR BACON.

See above, 1.

38. THE RANGER'S COMEDY.

[**9–11**. 'the Rangers comodey'. Performed by the Queen's and Sussex' men, as an old play, 2 Apr. 159[3]4. Performed by the Admiral's men, 15 May, and thence till 19 (18) Jan. 1594/5, 10 performances.]

The play must clearly have belonged to Henslowe. It may, however, have been an old Queen's piece which the company sold to him when they were in low water (cf. *Henry V*, 82).

38*a*. THE JEW OF MALTA.

See above, 7.

38*b*. THE FAIR MAID OF ITALY.

See above, 35.

39. KING LEAR.

[**9** 8, 10. 'kinge leare . Performed, as an old play, by the Queen's and Sussex' men, 6 and 8 (9) Apr. 1594.]

King Leir and his three Daughters, entered S. R. 14 May 1594, but not printed till 1605. Since the play does not occur in the Sussex list of 1593–4 it must be assigned to the Queen's men. The authorship is doubtful. Fleay assigns it to Lodge and Kyd, but the Queen's men did not act any of the undoubted plays by either of these authors.

SECTION IV.

Plays performed by the Lord Admiral's men at the Rose, 14 *to* 16 *May* 1594. *This small section really belongs to Section VI, from which it is separated by the Admiral's brief co-tenancy of Newington with the Chamberlain's men.*

39*a*. THE JEW OF MALTA.

See above, 7.

39*b*. THE RANGER'S COMEDY.

See above, 38.

40. CUTLACK.

[**9–10.** 'cut(t)lacke'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as an old play, 16 May 1594. Performed by the Admiral's and Chamberlain's men 6 (8) June. Performed by the Admiral's men 17 (18) June and thence till 26 (28) Sept., 10 performances.]

E. Guilpin in his *Skialetheia* (1598, Epigr. 43) has the lines: 'Clodius me thinks lookes passing big of late, With Dunstons browes, and Allens Cutlacks gate.' Dunston may be a reminiscence of the *Knack to Know a Knave* (24).

SECTION V.

Plays performed by the Lord Admiral's and the Lord Chamberlain's men at Newington Butts, 3 (5) *to* 13 (15) *June* 1594. *Four plays in this list* (Hester, Titus, Hamlet, *and the* Taming of a Shrew) *do not occur in the later Admiral's lists and may therefore be assigned to the Chamberlain's men. They are not, however, new, and they do not appear in the earlier Strange's lists* (§ I). *They must, therefore, have been acquired between Jan.* 1593 *and June* 1594. *Two out of the four* (Titus *and the* Taming of a Shrew) *are known to have been acted by Pembroke's men, and there is therefore a strong presumption that they all originally belonged to that company. To the Chamberlain's men are thus assignable four plays and six performances; to the Admiral's three plays and four performances.*

41. HESTER AND ASSUERUS.

[**9** 19, 25. 'heaster (& ashewеros)'. Performed by the Admiral's and Chamberlain's men, as an old play, 3 (5) and 10 (12) June 1594.]

There is no reason to connect this play of *Hester* with the interlude of the *Godly Queen* printed in 1561, or with the dramatic trifle included in 1673 in Kirkman's

Wits. It may be more plausibly identified with the hypothetical English original of the German play printed in the collection of 1620 (Herz, p. 111).

41*a*. THE JEW OF MALTA.

See above, 7.

41*b*. TITUS ANDRONICUS.

See above, 37.

41*c*. CUTLACK.

See above, 40.

42. BELLENDON.

[**9-27**. 'bel l endon'. Performed by the Admiral's and Chamberlain's men, as a new play, 8 (10) June 1594. Performed by the Admiral's men, 15 (17) June, and thence till 25 June 1597, 24 performances.]

Identified, plausibly enough, by Fleay, as *Belin Dun*, i. e. 'The true tragicall historie of kinge Rufus the first with the life and deathe of Belyn Dun the first thief that ever was hanged in England,' entered S. R. 24 Nov. 1595. Another entry of a 'Chronicle,' probably of a chap-book, occurs S. R. 17 May 1594, and gives the king more plausibly as Henry I. 'Belendon stable' occurs in the Admiral's inventories in 1598 (Apx. I. 1. l. 75).

43. HAMLET.

[**9-24**. Performed by the Admiral's and Chamberlain's men, as an old play, 9 (11) June 1594.]

This piece, the basis of Shakespeare's work (1601?), is commonly and plausibly assigned to Kyd. It was certainly produced before Aug. 1589, being mentioned in Nashe's preface to *Menaphon* (entered S. R. 23 Aug.), but the upward limit of 29 Mar. 1588 (the date of entry of *Perimines*), suggested by Fleay, is less sure.

44. THE TAMING OF A SHREW.

[**9-26**. 'the tamynge of A shrowe'. Performed by the Admiral's and Chamberlain's men, as an old play, 11 (13) June 1594.]

Entered S. R. 2 May 1594, and printed the same year as acted by Pembroke's men. The play, like *Titus Andronicus* (37), &c., seems to have belonged to the Chamberlain's men and have come to them from Pembroke's. It was this piece that Shakespeare altered, but an intermediate revision, as suggested by Fleay, is not improbable. The authorship of the original play is doubtful. It seems too

Marlowan to be Marlowe's; and if we reject Fleay's suggestion of Kyd, which is not unlikely but wants confirmation, we must fall back on Malone's 'George Peele or Robert Greene.' Ward's suggestion of a revision of an older play by an imitator of Marlowe is interesting and not unplausible. Courthope's resuscitation of the theory of Shakespearian authorship need not be seriously entertained. The whole question is ably discussed by Bond (ed. *Taming of the Shrew*, pp. xxix–xliv).

SECTION VI.

Plays performed by the Lord Admiral's men at the Rose, 15 (17) *June* 1594 *to* 28 *July* 1597. *This section is only separated from Section V by a line drawn across the page but the company and theatre are ascertainable from internal evidence. The Admiral's men do not appear to have begun acting in* 1594 *before* 14 *May, and it is also improbable that they were in London in the spring of* 1593. *This would throw back their last appearance to June* 1592. *But some of the company went abroad in Feb. that year, and it is probable that Alleyn was already acting with Strange's men. It follows that the Admiral's men had made no regular appearance since* 1591. *This is important, since it implies that the plays which were old in* 1594 *had belonged to the company since* 1591 *at least. It should, however, be observed that owing to the uncertainty as to the whereabouts of the company in the springs of* 1592–4, *though we san say that the great bulk of plays not marked as new in* 1594 *must be as old as* 1591, *it is illegitimate to assert this in any particular instance.*

44*a*. THE GUISE, OR THE MASSACRE OF FRANCE.

See above, 26.

45. GALIASO.

[**9–10ᵛ**. 'gal(l)iaso' 'galleaso'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 26 (28) June 1594, and thence till 25 (26) Oct., 9 performances.]

Nothing is known of this play.

46. PHILIPO AND HIPPOLITO.

[**9ᵛ–10**. '(the) phillipo & hewpolyto'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 9 July 1594, and thence till 7 (8) Oct., 12 performances.]

This may have been, as Collier suggested, the original of the *Philenzo and Hypollita*, entered S. R. 29 June 1660 (not 9 Sept. 1653, as Fleay says), as Massinger's, which is in Warburton's list. If so it may possibly have been by Dekker, though Fleay's parallel with the *Virgin Martyr* largely breaks down if, as seems probable, that play does not appear in the Diary (see *Dioclesian*, 60). It is possible that the present piece was the original of *Julio and Hyppolita* in the German collection of 1620.

47. GODFREY OF BULLOIGNE.

[9^{v}–13. 'godfr(e)y (of bullen)' 'bullen'. (In the first and third entries it is called the second part, but one play only appears to be meant.) Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 19 July 1594, and thence till 16 Sept. 1595, 12 performances.]

The subject, of course, was the conquest of Jerusalem. The only extant play dealing with this is Heywood's *Four Prentices of London*, printed, without entry, in 1615 as acted by the Queen's men at the Red Bull. The allusion in the epistle to practice of arms in the Artillery Garden, and the reference to the printed play in the *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, IV. i, prove that an earlier edition c. 1610 has been lost. The epistle, moreover, states that it was written fifteen or sixteen years before, i.e. c. 1594–5. Now just one month before the first performance of the Admiral's play, there was entered S. R. 19 June 1594, 'an enterlude entitled Godfrey of Bulloigne with the Conquest of Jerusalem.' This can hardly have been the unacted play, so we are driven to suppose that it was Pt. I, and possibly, therefore, the same as the *Jerusalem* (18) acted by Strange's men 22 Mar. 1592. An examination of Heywood's play shows that it cannot have had a first part also called *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, unless Godfrey was also the name of the Old Duke, for which there is no evidence (it was, as a matter of fact, Eustace), and that in no case could a first part have contained the conquest of Jerusalem. It might, however, have had a sequel. But the *Jerusalem* which was already an old play in 1592 can hardly be Heywood's piece. On the whole, seeing that there is good reason to suppose that Heywood was writing for the Admiral's men about this date, it is perhaps probable that the present play was that later published as the *Four Prentices*, but in this case we must suppose that it was called the second part merely to distinguish it from the Strange's and S. R. play, and not to imply a sequel. The *Four Prentices* bears no signs of any extensive alterations, but one or two points suggest that there may have been some revision (cf. 264*b*).

48. THE MERCHANT OF EMDEN.

[9^{v} 26. 'the marchant of eamden'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as an old play, 30 July 1594.]

The same story no doubt, as Collier suggested, appears in a Pepysian broadside ballad entitled 'A most sweet Song of an English Merchant born in Chichester,' printed in T. Evans' collection (1810, i. p. 28). It is just possible that there may be an allusion to this play in *Faustus* (1604): 'the signiory of Emden shall be mine' (sc. v, ed. Ward, p. 14).

49. TASSO'S MELANCHOLY.

[(*a*) **9**$^{\mathrm{v}}$–**11**$^{\mathrm{v}}$; (*b*) **96** 23, **108** 17, **108**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 5. 'tassoes mellencoly (mal—)'. (*a*) Performed by the Admiral's men as a new play, 11 (13) Aug. 1594, and thence till 14 May, 1595, 12 performances. (*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker, for alterations, 16 Jan. 1601/2, 3 Nov., 4 Dec., in all, £4.]

There is nothing whatever to show who the original author was. Tasso, it should be observed, did not die till 25 Apr. 1595. 'Tasso picter' and 'Tasoes robe' occur in the Admiral's inventories in 1598 (Apx. I. 1. ll. 80 and 155). The difficulty in supposing the 'picter' of 14 July 1598 (**47**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 8) to refer to this play is that there is no evidence of a revival between May 1595 and 1602.

50. MAHOMET.

[(*a*) **9**$^{\mathrm{v}}$–**11**; (*b*) **92–93**. 'mahomett (mahemet, mahewmet)'. (*a*) Performed by the Admiral's men, as an old play, 14 (16) Aug. 1594, and thence till 5 Feb. 1594/5, in all 8 performances. (*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men 2–4 Aug. 1601 for properties including crowns, in all £3. 12. 4. Paid to Alleyn, 22 Aug., 'for the Boocke', £2.]

The receipts from the first performance were as large as from a new play, but they soon fell off. Collier and Fleay identify the piece with Peele's *Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek* (founded on Painter, tome i, nov. 40), but we do not know whether that was ever acted by the Admiral's men. It would seem equally possible, since it was an old play, to identify it with the *Mahomet's Pow* mentioned by Peele in 1589 (*A Farewell*, ed. Bullen, ii. p. 238), and plausibly identified by Fleay with Greene's *Alphonsus, King of Aragon*. (This identification was the one originally suggested by Fleay in his Apx. to Ward's *Faustus*, p. cxli.) Since the 'Boocke' belonged to Alleyn, it may have come from Strange's men, for whom Alleyn apparently acted in Greene's *Orlando* (3). Both plays may originally have belonged to the Queen's men. (Cf. *Friar Bacon*, 1.)

51. THE VENETIAN COMEDY.

[**10–11**$^{\mathrm{v}}$. '(the) venesyon comodey' 'the venesyan' (**11** 40) 'venesyon & the love of & Jngleshe lady' (**10** 28). Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 25 (27) Aug. 1594, and thence till 8 May 1595, in all 12 performances.]

On one occasion it apparently formed part of a double performance together with the new *Love of an English Lady* (54). For its relation to the *Jew of Venice* see under the *French Doctor* (57).

52 & 64. TAMBERLAINE.

[**10–14**. 'tamb(e)rlen'. Pt. I. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play ('j'), 28 (30) Aug. 1594, and thence till 12 Nov. 1595, 15 performances. Pt. II. Performed as an old play, 19 Dec. 1594, and thence till 13 Nov. 1595, 7 performances.]

Entered S. R. 14 Aug. 1590, and published the same year, as performed by the Admiral's men. The external evidence of Marlowe's authorship is curiously inconclusive. The first part at least was almost certainly acted in 1587. The 1590 text continued to be reprinted without alteration, so that any additions which caused the first part to appear as new in 1594 have perished. (It is just possible that the 'j' prefixed in the Diary, which has always been taken as equivalent to 'ne', may have been added later to indicate that it was the first part. But cf. **11** 44.)

53. PALAMON AND ARCYTE.

[**10–10**^{v}. 'palamon (pal(l)aman) (& h)arset(t)'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 17 (18) Sept. 1594, and again 16 (27), 27 (28) Oct., and 9 Nov.]

No doubt founded, like the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, on the 'Knight's Tale.' An earlier play on the subject, by Edwardes, was performed before Elizabeth at Christ Church, Oxford, 3 Sept. 1566.

54. THE LOVE OF AN ENGLISH LADY.

[**10** 28, **10**^{v} 5. 'venesyon & the love of & Jngleshe lady' 'love of & Jngleshe ladey'. Performed by the Admiral's men as a new play, 24 (26) Sept. 1594, and again 24 (25) Oct.]

It would seem probable that the first performance was a double one, consisting of the *Venetian Comedy* (51) and the new piece. For the possible identity with the *Grecian Comedy* (56), see under the *French Doctor* (57).

55. DOCTOR FAUSTUS.

[(*a*) **10–27**^{v} ; (*b*) **108**^{v}. '(doctor) fostose (fostus, fostes, foster, fastes)'. (*a*) Performed by the Admiral's men as an old play, 30 Sept. (2 Oct.) 1594, and thence till 5 Jan. 1596/7. By the Admiral's and Pembroke's men, 13 (?) Oct. 1597. In all 25 performances. (*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Birde and Rowley, 22 Nov. 1602, for additions, £4.]

Entered S. R. 7 Jan. 1601, printed 1604 as by Ch. Marl[owe]., and again with additions 1616. Fleay (Apx. A, in Ward's edition) is probably right in supposing the edition of 1604 to be a reprint, for the company is styled Nottingham's servants on the title-page. It is, therefore, probable that the text of 1604 represents the play as acted before the additions of 1602. (This, however, is not certain; for Fleay's argument from the transfer wants cogency.) In that case the additions printed in 1616 are presumably those written in 1602, though it is conceivable that the MS. on which the revisers worked may have contained a few lines of the play as originally written which do not appear in the text of 1604. That text, however, is probably not entirely by Marlowe, and if not, then possibly in part by Dekker. When we consider that some of the allusions will hardly fit a date earlier than 1595–6 (iv. 36; cf. Ward, p. cvii, note 1), and further that it is difficult to suppose that a single author, however low he might sink in the pursuit of 'comic relief,' could have produced the incongruous botching of the extant text, the duplicate authorship may be considered as reasonably certain. The assumption that Dekker was the second author concerned, though, of course, far less certain, is also reasonable enough. Fleay holds that his additions belong to different dates; some to the original production in 1588 (?), others being supplied from time to time up to 1597. The considerations of style upon which this theory is based are, however, hardly conclusive. It is true that while some passages appear to be later, others presumably formed part of the representation of 1594, but whether any are as early as 1588 appears doubtful. Two points should be remembered: namely, that Marlowe's portion, though obviously incomplete, is, thanks to the absence of any complication of plot, perfectly intelligible, and could quite well be acted as a short play by itself; and, further, that although the piece performed in 1594 is not marked as a new play, the receipts from the first recorded performance were particularly large, which would suggest that it had at least been newly revised at that date. There is, therefore, no necessity to suppose that the additions ascribed to Dekker are earlier than 1594. There being no trace of the play in the repertory of Strange's men, it is reasonable to suppose that the original draft, whether acted or not, belonged to the Admiral's men before 1591. Fleay separates Marlowe's portion, I think successfully, allowing him one prose scene (xiv *a*). (If the lines common to *Faustus* (sc. iv. 1) and the *Taming of A Shrew* (Shak. Soc. ed. p. 22) are thought to contain anything more than a stock play-house jest, and the latter play to belong to so early a date as 1590, then we must suppose that the lines in question formed part of a scene, by Marlowe or another, later refashioned by Dekker. Neither assumption, however, appears altogether necessary. The alleged parallel between the *Taming of A Shrew* and the 1616 text (ed. Ward, p. lxiv) I cannot regard as significant.) Having cited Ward's edition, I ought to warn readers that the play has been shamelessly bowdlerised, a fact, however, which does not prevent the editor from representing his text as 'reprinted in full' from the first quarto.

56. THE GRECIAN COMEDY.

[**10-13**. 'the love of a gresyan lady' (**10** 36) 'the gresyan ladye' (**10**^{v} 21) 'the greasyon comody' 'the greasyan' (**11** 27). Performed by the Admiral's men, as an old play, 4 (5) Oct. 1594, and thence till 9 (10) Oct. 1595, in all 12 performances.]

For its possible identity with the *Love of an English Lady* (54) and its relation to the German *Tugend- und Liebesstreit* see under the *French Doctor* (57). It was identified by Malone and Hazlitt, and also originally by Fleay (Ward, *Faustus*, p. cxli), with Peele's *Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek*, which would make it the same possibly as *Mahomet* (50), which was running at the same time.

This view, supported by Bullen, is just possible, though the sequence of the entries does not bear it out very well.

57. THE FRENCH DOCTOR.

[(*a*) **10-25**; (*b*) **96** 26. '(the) frenshe docter (doctor, dacter)'. (*a*) Performed by the Admiral's men, as an old play, 18 (19) Oct. 1594, and thence till 9 Nov. 1596, in all 14 performances. (*b*) Bought on behalf of the Admiral's men, of Alleyn, 18 Jan. 1601/2, together with two other plays, for £6.]

We shall have to consider this (FD) in connection with four other pieces, the *Venetian Comedy* (51, VC), the *Love of an English Lady* (54, LEL), the *Love of a Grecian Lady* (LGL), and the *Grecian Comedy* (56, GC), of which Fleay takes no account beyond rightly identifying the last two. FD, however, he identifies with the *Jew of Venice* (JV), entered S. R. 9 Sept. 1653 as by Dekker, and with *Josephus, Jude von Venedig* (JJ), a German MS. of the Imperial Library in Vienna (ed. Meissner, 1884), and regards as the basis of the *Merchant of Venice* (MV). (The obvious identification of JJ is with VC, and it is this which Furness (ed. MV, p. 324) assumed Fleay (*Shakespeare*, pp. 30 and 197) to have intended, whereas in fact he had not specified. This false assumption of Furness' may have influenced Fleay to identify JJ rather with FD, but his main reason for doing so seems to have been to connect Dekker's name with yet another play which, being old in 1594, could be assigned to a date before 1591.) There are certain points in the entries of this group of plays which should be noticed. VC first appears 25 (27) Aug. 1594 and is marked as new. On 24 (26) Sept. following we have the entry 'venesyon & the love of & Jngleshe lady,' also marked as new. Since VC is elsewhere simply called 'the venesyan,' and in the only other entry of LEL there is no mention of 'venesyon,' it seems fair to conclude that the performance of 24 (26) Sept. consisted of two pieces, of which only the second was new. On 4 (5) Oct. we have the first mention of LGL (=GC); it is not marked as new and the receipts are small. It ran, however, for 12 performances, which is quite up to the average of a new play. Lastly, on 18 (19) Oct. we have FD, not marked as new and with low receipts, but running to 14 performances. Thus we find a new play, LEL, of which only two performances are recorded, in conjunction with a play, frequently performed, but not marked as new, which sometimes bears a curiously similar title, LGL. The inference is tempting that LEL=LGL (=GC). Again, the fact that LEL appears to have been first acted together with VC, while the first performance of LGL immediately follows one of VC, serves yet further to connect the pieces, and also to suggest that they may have had some relation to VC. There is the further possibility of the identity of VC and FD. But we know from JJ that there must have been an English play, presumably anterior to MV (1598), to which both these titles would be appropriate. If then VC and FD were identical, they must have contained the story of the Jew of Venice, and were presumably the same as Dekker's JV. The German play, however, can hardly have been a direct translation of JV. It is improbable that Dekker would have introduced into his play, from the *Jew of Malta* (JM), then running at the same house, such elements as are found in JJ. The early scenes appear, moreover, to be imitated from the *Tugend- und Liebesstreit* (TLS) of the 1620 collection; while the pound of flesh suggests a knowledge of MV. Perhaps the most plausible conjecture is that the compiler of JJ, taking Dekker's play, VC–FD–JV, combined with it the previous history of TLS, worked some recollections of JM into the first scene and some of MV into the last, and replaced Dekker's obscenity by German filth of his own. But TLS, founded upon the Apolonius and Silla story (Rich's *Farewell*, no. 2), with the princess of Cyprus for its heroine, may have been based on LGL (=GC). (The word 'Cypris' or 'Cyprian' may have originated the confusion between 'English' and 'Grecian.') In this case the blending of JV and LGL was most likely due to the English travelling companies, and may even be traced back to the performance of 24 (26) Sept. 1594 at the Rose.

58. A KNACK TO KNOW AN HONEST MAN.

[**10^{v}–25.** 'the (a) knack(e to know(e a nonest(e (man) (& onest(e man)' 'the cnacke to knowe' 'the knacke'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 22 (23) Oct. 1594, and thence till 3 Nov. 1596, 21 performances.]

Entered S. R. 26 Nov. 1595, and printed the following year as having been acted 'about the Citie of London.' Clearly intended as a companion or rival to the *Knack to Know a Knave*, but quite different in plot.

59 & 74. CAESAR AND POMPEY.

[**10^{v}–12^{v}.** 'seser & pompie' 'seser (sesor(e, seaser)'. Pt. I. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 8 Nov. 1594, and thence till 25 June 1595, 8 performances. Pt. II. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 18 June 1595, and again 26 June.]

Fleay suggests that fragments of Pt. I may survive in Chapman's play (entered S. R. 18 May 1631, and printed the same year), namely the prose parts, and even that Chapman may have been the original author, but the evidence is very slight. There is no reason whatever to connect Pt. II with the academic *Caesar and Pompey or Caesar's Revenge* (entered S. R. 5 June 1606, and printed the following year as acted at Trinity College, Oxford). An earlier play on the subject is mentioned by Gosson in *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, 1582.

60. DIOCLESIAN.

[**10^{v}.** 'deoclesyan'. Performed by the Admiral's men as a new play, 16 Nov. 1594, and again, 22 Nov.]

Identified by Fleay with the *Virgin Martyr*, entered S. R. 7 Dec. 1621 and printed the next year as by Massinger and Dekker, parts of which, presumably Dekker's, are undoubtedly early. *Dorothea* was a stock piece in Germany (Herz, p. 103); but so was *Dioclesian*. Thus on 5 Dec. 1652 the English players at Dresden acted 'a comedy of the Emperor Diocletian and Maximinus with the shoemaker' (Cohn, p. CXVIII), while in a Güstrow repertory of c. 1660 we find 'The persecution of the Christians under the Emperor Dioclesian' (Herz, p. 68). This same repertory includes *Dorothea* which must therefore have been a different play, as is also shown by the character of the shoemaker in the Dresden play, who is unknown to the *Virgin Martyr*. (Fleay, indeed, makes Hirtius a shoemaker (Ward, *Faustus*, p. cxl, note 1), but this is not so. He says in one passage (Act III, 1873, p. 52) that he is the son of 'A low minded Cobler,' but the allusion is merely introduced for the sake of an incidental jest.) The Admiral's play was probably on the same subject as Beaumont and Fletcher's *Prophetess*, with the addition of the persecution theme more fully developed in *Dorothea*.

61. WARLAMCHESTER.

[**10**^{v}–**12**^{v}. 'warlamchester' 'warlam chester'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as an old play, 28 Nov. 1594, and thence till 16 June 1595, 7 performances.]

According to Hazlitt the title should be *Wars of Lancaster*, 'doubtless the *Contention*.' But that play certainly never belonged to the Admiral's men. Moreover, such a miswriting is impossible.

62. THE WISE MAN OF WEST CHESTER.

[(*a*) **10**^{v}–**27**^{v}; (*b*) **93**^{v} 22. '(the) wise man of chester (we(a)sche(a)ster)' '(the) wise man' 'weschester'. (*a*) Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 2 (3) Dec. 1594, and thence till 18 July 1597, 32 performances. (*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Alleyn, 19 Sept. 1601, for the play, £2.]

Fleay is almost certainly right in identifying this with *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, a MS. of which, signed by Munday and dated Dec. 1595, is extant. This MS. was, therefore, written about a year later than the first performance and cannot, of course, be the original; but it may possibly represent a revision. This supposition is borne out by the mention in the Admiral's inventories of Kent's wooden leg, which, if it belonged to this play, appeared in some episode not found in the extant version (Apx. I. 1. l. 69).

63. THE SET AT MAW.

[**10**^{v}–**11**. 'the mawe' 'the seat at mawe'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 14 (15) Dec. 1594, and again 7, 17 (16), 28 Jan. 1594/5.]

Identified by Fleay with *Match me in London*, entered S. R. 8 Nov. 1630, and published in 1631 as by Dekker. This contains a number of allusions to cards and one specific reference to the game of maw: 'play out our set at Maw,' II. i.

(1873, p. 158). They appear, however, to be merely incidental. The play may have been revised, though the traces of alteration are not very marked. (The following might be cited. A stage direction in III. ii (p. 176) mentions a character, Fuentes, of whom nothing further is known. In IV. ii (p. 192) we have 'Enter Clowne, and Coxecombe.' Neither of these appear in the list of personae, and after the first speech the prefix *Clo.* is replaced by *Bil.* i. e. Bilbo, though there is nothing to identify him with that character, except that he also belongs to the city. Lastly, no explanation is ever given as to how Tormiella was inveigled away from home.) Thus the identification with the *Set at Maw* rests upon a slender basis, but a better case can be made out for connecting the *Mack* (69) with the *Wonder of a Kingdom*, and that identity, if established, would help to make this of the *Set at Maw* and *Match me in London* more plausible. Little is known for certain as to the proprietary rights in plays as early as this, and the fact that the present piece was performed by the Admiral's men, whereas *Match me in London* belonged, when we first hear of it, to Queen Anne's men, is no serious objection to their identity.

64. TAMBERLAINE, PART II.

See above, 52.

65. THE SIEGE OF LONDON.

[**11–21**$^{\text{v}}$. '(the) sege of london'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as an old play, 26 (27) Dec. 1594, and thence till 6 July 1596, 12 performances.]

This play may very likely underlie those scenes (i–x and xv) which deal with 'the besieging of London, by the Bastard Falconbridge' in 1 *Edward IV*, entered S. R. 28 Aug. 1599, and printed the following year as acted by Derby's men. Since, however, the printed piece is a well-constructed play showing no signs of botching, whatever was taken from the earlier work must have been practically re-written. There are few traces of alteration visible, though it is true that sec. xvi, the first of the Jane Shore part, was certainly not originally intended to follow the Siege, for the Lord Mayor would not introduce himself in an elaborate speech to an audience who already knew all about him. Unlike Fleay, I regard *Edward IV*, on internal evidence, as unquestionably Heywood's. (The fact that Heywood bound himself to Henslowe, 25 Mar. 1598, for two years, and that this play was acted by Derby's men in 1599, is not to the point, since the agreement (**231** 13) refers to acting only, not writing.) See the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. l. 86.)

66. ANTONY AND VALIA.

[**11** 12 (?), **12**$^{\text{v}}$**–13**. 'valy a for' (?) 'antony & vallea' 'valia & antony'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as an old play, 4 Jan. 1594/5, and again 20 June, 6 Sept., and 26 (28) Oct.]

The difference in the form of the title and the distance of date, make it a little doubtful whether the first entry given above refers to the same play. The presumption, however, seems in favour of identity. The old piece, as first revived, was the reverse of a success, and it may have received some revision before being again put on the stage. The title is obviously corrupt. (Fleay's suggestion of ‘“for”, being the commencement of “for[ty shillings],” afterwards written xl*s*’ (Ward, *Faustus*, p. cxli), cannot be entertained, since the sum is not xl*s*. but xj*s*.) A play called *Antonio and Vallia* was entered S. R. 29 June 1660, and also appears in Warburton's list. It was presumably a revision by Massinger of the present play which may have been partly at least by Dekker, though this is doubtful (cf. *Philipo and Hippolito*, 46).

67. THE FRENCH COMEDY.

[(*a*) **11–12^{v}**. ‘(the) frenshe Comodey’. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play (‘j’), 11 Feb. 1594/5, and thence till 24 June, 6 performances. (*b*) **26^{v}–27^{v}**. ‘(a) frenshe comodey’. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 18 Apr. 1597, and thence till 16 July, 11 performances.]

Whether we have to do with two pieces, or with a play revived with alterations, it is impossible to say, since nothing further is known about it.

68. LONG MEG OF WESTMINSTER.

[**11–26**. ‘long(e me(a)ge (of westmester)’. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play (‘j’), 14 Feb. 1594/5, and thence till 28 Jan. 1597, 16 performances.]

The play must have held the stage for a long time, for one of the characters in Field's *Amends for Ladies* (acted c. 1611; printed, without entry, 1618) speaks of going in the afternoon ‘to see Long Meg and the Ship at the Fortune’ (ed. Hazlitt-Dodsley, p. 115). ‘The life of longe megg of Westminster’ was entered S. R. 18 Aug. 1590, but the earliest known edition of the chapbook is dated 1620. A ballad on the subject was entered S. R. 27 Aug. 1590.

69. THE MACK.

[**11^{v}** 5. ‘the macke’. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 21 Feb. 1594/5.]

Identified by Fleay with the piece licensed by Herbert 18 Sept. 1623, as *Come See a Wonder* by Day, and entered S. R. 16 May 1631 and again 24 Feb. 1636, and published the latter year as the *Wonder of a Kingdom* by Dekker. The printed play is evidently a composite work, the Gentili-Torrenti parts being additions absolutely unconnected with the original piece. There are also passages inserted in the other portions as connecting links: I. i (1873, pp. 223–4) ‘We heare there is a gallant . . . Meane time we'le hence’; V. i (p. 280) ‘Wee dine to day with Lord Iacomo, Thither let's hasten’ (which has displaced something in the original text); V. ii (pp. 280–1) ‘No more of complement. . . . 'Tis nobly spoke.’ The greater part of the additional scenes reappears in Day's *Parliament of Bees*, and may therefore be ascribed to him. The original play, then, was Dekker's. There is no indication of the date, but from the last lines it would appear to have been what Fleay calls a 'Card play,' and so, possibly, the *Mack*.

70. SELIO AND OLIMPO (?)

[**11^v–14^v**. 'seleo (selyo) & olempo (olempa, olympo)' 'olimp(i)o (olemp(e)o)' 'olempeo & hengenyo' (**12^v** 43). Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 5 Mar. 1594/5, and thence till 18 (19) Feb. 1595/6, 10 performances.]

Fleay treats the entry **12^v** 43 as a different piece, but if so those of 'olimpo' are ambiguous. What the title there given can mean (unless 'Olympus in genese'!) I cannot guess. Fleay interprets the original title as 'Coelo et Olympo' and identifies the piece with Heywood's *Golden Age*, entered S. R. 14 Oct. 1611, and printed the same year as acted by the Queen's men at the Red Bull. It should be said that in his address to the reader, Heywood tells us that the *Golden Age* was 'the eldest brother of three Ages, that have aduentured the Stage,' by which he probably means, by a not uncommon Elizabethan licence, that all three younger brothers, the *Silver, Brazen*, and *Iron Ages* (printed 1613 and 1632), had been already acted. It is clear that all these mythological pieces must have belonged to a date much earlier than that of publication, and since it is pretty certain that the others appear in the Diary, we should expect to find this one too. The present play seems the only one which offers a possibility of identification, and Fleay may, therefore, be right, though I hesitate over what appears a rather fantastic title. To this play probably belong the properties for Neptune in the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. ll. 17 and 68).

71 & 72. HERCULES.

[(*a*) **11^v–14**; (*b*) **45^v** 30, **47^v** 11, **95** 22, 26. 'herculous (—los, —las, hercol(l)as)'. (*a*) Pt. I. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 7 May 1595, and thence till 6 Jan. 1595/6, 11 performances. Pt. II. Performed as a new play, 23 May 1595, and thence till 25 Nov. 1595, 8 performances. (*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Slaughter, 16 May 1598, for the two parts, together with three other plays, £7. Paid 16 July, for properties, £2; again 14 and 18 Dec. 1601, 25*s*.]

There can be little doubt that the two parts of this play are respectively Heywood's *Silver* and *Brazen Ages* (printed, without entry, 1613), which between them contain the whole of the story of Hercules. See the properties in the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. ll. 25, 63, 70, 73, 74, 80, 83, 122), and the plays themselves in the appended list (ll. 188–9*b*).

73 & 86. THE SEVEN DAYS OF THE WEEK.

[**12^v–25^v**. Pt. I. 'the vij dayes of the we(a)ck(e' 'the wecke (weake)' '(the) vij dayes'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 3 June 1595, and thence till 31 Dec. 1596, 22 performances. Pt. II. 'the 2 wecke (weake)'. Performed, as a new play, 22 (23) Jan. 1595/6, and again 26 (27) Jan.]

A piece of this name forms part of the *Christmas Prince*, a series of Oxford entertainments of 1607 printed in the *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana* (1816). It is a stanzaic composition in seven acts, burlesque and topical, introducing the Clerk of St. Giles', said to have been cut down for performance, but not said to be old. It probably had nothing but the title in common with the Admiral's play.

74. CAESAR AND POMPEY, PART II.

See above, 59.

75. LONGSHANKS.

[(*a*) **12^{v}–15^{v}, 21^{v}**; (*b*) **107** 28. 'long(e shan(c)ke' '(prynce) longs(c)han(c)ke(s'. (*a*) Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 29 Aug. 1595, and thence till 9 (14) July 1596, 14 performances. (*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Alleyn, 8 Aug. 1602, for this play and another, £4.]

The only known play on the subject is Peele's *Edward I surnamed Longshanks*, entered S. R. 8 Oct. 1593 and printed the same year. Fleay, on the ground of a supposed allusion to Shakespeare, which would imply that he filled the title rôle (ed. Bullen, iii. 72), assigns the play to Strange's men, and, on account of resemblances with *Polyhymnia* (after 17 Nov. 1590), to c. 1590–1. The allusion is rather doubtful, and some latitude must be allowed for the date; the inferences, however, are not unreasonable. The present play belonged to Alleyn and may very likely, therefore, have come from Strange's men, being marked as new on account of revision. The edition of 1599 appears to be a mere reprint of that of 1593, so that any additions made in 1595 have perished. The printed text is mutilated, and may have been cut down for country performance during the plague of 1592–3.

76. CRACK ME THIS NUT.

[(*a*) **12^{v}–21^{v}**; (*b*) **95–96.** (*a*) 'crack(e me this nutt(e', (*b*) 'the nvtte'. (*a*) Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 5 Sept. 1595, and thence till 23 (26) June 1596, 16 performances. (*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 4 Dec. 1601, for properties, 5*s*; 18 Jan. 1601/2, to Alleyn, for this and two other plays, £6.]

The phrase was proverbial. It was the sub-title of *Pap with a Hatchet*, one of the anti-Martinist tracts. It is no doubt the tract and not the play that is alluded to in *Old Fortunatus* (ed. Scherer, l. 59).

77. THE NEW WORLD'S TRAGEDY.

[**13–15^{v}**. 'the (new(e) worldes tragedy' 'the newes wordles tragedy'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 17 Sept. 1595, and thence till 27 Apr. 1596, 11 performances.

Nothing is known of this play.

78. THE DISGUISES.

[**13–14**. '(the) desgys(s)es'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 2 Oct. 1595, and thence till 10 Nov., 6 performances.]

Fleay suggests that this may be an earlier version of Chapman's *May Day* (probably written c. 1601, and printed without entry in 1611 as acted at Blackfriars). The present title would certainly be appropriate, but since there is no trace of revision in the play as printed, the identification can hardly be regarded as certain.

79. THE WONDER OF A WOMAN.

[**13–15**v. '(the) wonder of a womon'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 15 (16) Oct. 1595, and thence till 1 May 1596, 9 performances.]

Marston borrowed the title—*The Wonder of Women*—for his play on Sophonisba (entered S. R. 17 Mar. 1606, and printed the same year, but probably acted some time before). The subject may possibly have been the same, but there is no trace of old work in the extant play. Another play of a similar title is *A New Wonder, or a Woman never Vexed* (entered S. R. 24 Nov. 1631, and printed the following year as by W. Rowley, 'one of his Maiesties Servants'). This, according to Fleay, was altered from an old play in rime, possibly by Heywood. If this is so, the present may have been the original version.

80. BARNARDO AND FIAMMETTA.

[**13–15**v. 'barnardo (& phvlameta (phiameta, fiameta))'. Performed by the Admiral's men as a new play, 28 (30) Oct. 1595, and thence till 12 Apr. 1596, 7 performances.]

Nothing is known of this play.

81. A TOY TO PLEASE CHASTE LADIES.

[**14–25**v. 'a toye to please my ladey' 'a (the) toye to please chaste ladey(e)s' 'the chaste ladye' 'the toye'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 14 Nov. 1595, and thence till 27 Nov. 1596, 9 performances.]

Shirley wrote a prologue to the *Toy* when he was at Dublin 1636–40. It is unlikely that the two plays were connected.

82. HENRY V.

[**14–21**v. 'har(e)y(e the v (5)'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 28 Nov. 1595, and thence till 15 (20) July 1596, 13 performances.]

Shakespeare's play for the Chamberlain's men was later than this, even if we suppose the extant text to represent a revision. The older play, known as the *Famous Victories of Henry V*, was entered S. R. 14 May 1594, and printed in 1598 as acted by the Queen's men. (The later edition, 1617, has King's men, but this is obviously an attempt to pass it off as Shakespeare's play.) Probably the

Queen's men sold the MS. of this to the printer, Creede, when they were in London in 1594, but the Admiral's men appropriated and revised the play and stayed the publication till 1598 when Creede printed it from the original MS. The play appears several times in the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. ll. 10, 11, 48, 172, 177).

83. THE WELSHMAN.

[**14** 17. 'the welche man'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as an old play, 29 Nov. 1595.]
A play called the *Welshman's Prize* (?) appears in the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. l. 186*b*), but from the plays among which it occurs, it is clear that it must be *Henry I and the Prince of Wales* (130), written in March 1598. According to Fleay the present piece was 'doubtless' the *Valiant Welshman* (entered S. R. 21 Feb. 1615, and printed the same year as by R. A[rmin?].), which, however, he confesses to not having read. All the allusions in that play point to a date c. 1610, and there is no trace of the survival of older work; it is true, however, that the plot is distinctly old fashioned. The occurrence of a single performance of an old play is strange. It is just possible that *Longshanks* (75) is meant, a play which contains 'the life of Lleuellen rebell in Wales.'

84. CHINON OF ENGLAND.

[**14–25**. 'chinon(e (chynon(e) (of Jngland)'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 3 Jan. 1595/6, and thence till 10 Nov., 14 performances.]
'The ffirste parte of the famous historye of Chinan of England' was entered S. R. 20 Jan. 1595/6, but Fleay is wrong in saying that it is not extant, for the entry refers to the romance by C. Middleton published in 1597. The play, of which nothing further is known, seems to have been based upon the romance while still in MS. The title of the latter shows the nature of the story: 'The Famous Historie of Chinon of England, with his strange aduentures for the loue of Celestina daughter to Lewis King of Fraunce. With the worthy Atchiuement of Sir Lancelot du Lake, and Sir Tristram du Lions for faire Laura, daughter to Cador Earle of Cornewall, beeing all Knights of King Arthurs round Table.'

85. PYTHAGORAS.

[(*a*) **14–21^{v}** (**21^{v}** 27 'peth' altered to 'paradox'); (*b*) **45^{v}** 31. 'pethageros (—gorus, —goros, —gores)'. (*a*) Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 16 Jan. 1595/6, and thence till 14 (19) July, 12 performances. (*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Slaughter, for this and four other books, 16 May 1598, £7.]
Nothing is known of this play.

86. THE SEVEN DAYS OF THE WEEK, PART II.

See above, 73.

87. FORTUNATUS.

[I. **14^{v}–15^{v}**. 'the 1 p of forteunatus' 'fortunatus'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as an old play, 3 Feb. 1595/6, and thence till 24 (26) May, 6 performances.
II. **65^{v}–66^{v}**. 'the hole (whollе) history of ffortunatus (fortewnatus)' 'fortunatus (fortewnatus)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker, 9–30 Nov. 1599, in full £6; and again 31 Nov. (1 Dec.), for altering, £1; 12 Dec. for the end of F. for the court, £2. Paid 6/12 Dec., for properties, £10.]

The original play, which is of uncertain authorship, was presumably written about 1590 (cf. sc. i, ed. H. Scherer, 1901, ll. 59–60). The large receipts from the first performance, and the fact of its being particularly designated 'the first part,' show that it was not a mere revival. It had doubtless been revised for the occasion, and a second part had been planned. This, however, was for some reason delayed and in the confusion following on the inhibition of July 1597 the project was for the time abandoned. It was not till Nov. 1599 that Dekker, who had most likely already had charge of the earlier revision, was entrusted with the recasting of the whole. His work on it must have been extensive, for he received as much as was often paid for a new play, and doubtless consisted of a thorough revision of the old work and the addition of new scenes completing the story as found in the *Volksbuch*. The play was no sooner ready (it was, possibly, one of the two plays licensed 19/26 Dec.) than it was selected for performance at court, and Dekker was charged with yet further alterations, for which he received another £3. In this form it was entered S. R. 20 Feb. 1600 ('old fortunatus in his newe lyuerie'), and published the same year. Fleay is, no doubt, right in thinking that scs. i–vi (ll. 1–1314) represent the original play, and scs. vii–xii (ll. 1315–2846) the additional part mentioned in sc. vi (see ll. 1253–4: 'See, heres a Storie of all his trauels; this booke shall come out with a new Addition: Ile treade after my Fathers steps' &c., which must belong to the revision of 1596). But the earlier portion was largely rewritten and shows many traces of Dekker's hand. The alterations for court representation consisted, doubtless, of the addition of the Prologue and Epilogue for Court, and of the Virtue and Vice scenes, i.e. sc. iii (ll. 590–692), sc. ix (ll. 2012–2128), and sc. xii *b* (ll. 2675–2846), and such modifications as were necessary to make these fit into the general scheme. (See Herford, *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, p. 210.) The *Fortunatus* play in the German collection of 1620 evidently owes something to Dekker's play in its final form as printed in 1600.

88. THE BLIND BEGGAR OF ALEXANDRIA.

[(*a*) **14^{v}–26**; (*b*) **86^{v}–87^{v}**. 'the (blind) beger (of elexandrea (-ia))'. (*a*) Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 12 Feb. 1595/6, and thence till 1 Apr. 1597, 22 performances.
(*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 2, 5, 8 May and 22 May/4 June, 1601, for properties, £9. 3. 4.]

Entered S. R. 15 Aug. 1598, and printed the same year, as written by Chapman and acted by the Admiral's men. Printed, according to Fleay, from a stage copy, and possibly, considering that it only runs to about 1600 lines, representing a shortened version.

89. JULIAN THE APOSTATA.

[**15**^{v}. 'Julian (Julyan) (the) apostata'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 29 Apr. 1596, and again 10 and 20 (21) May.]

Hazlitt states that a play of this title was acted in the seventeenth century at Quarry, near Shrewsbury, but does not give his authority.

90. TAMAR CAM, PART I.

See above, 21.

91. PHOCAS.

[(*a*) **15**^{v}, **21**^{v}; (*b*) **45**^{v} 31. 'f)focas(s(e', tragedy. (*a*) Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 19 (20) May 1596, and thence till 17 (22) July, 7 performances. (*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men to Slaughter, 16 May 1598, for this and four other plays, £7.]

Phocas, a centurion, was elected Emperor of Constantinople in 606, and was deposed and killed by Heraclius in 610. Nothing is known of the play.

91*a*. TAMAR CAM, PART II.

See above, 21.

92. TROY.

[**21**^{v}. 'troye'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 22 (25) June 1596, and again 2, 7 (12), and 16 (21) July.]

This may have been the first part of Heywood's *Iron Age*, or more likely perhaps an earlier and shorter version later expanded into the two-part play (printed, without entry, 1632). I cannot agree with Fleay in thinking that the 'two companies upon one stage' mentioned by Heywood in his address to the reader, were the Admiral's and Pembroke's in Oct.–Nov. 1597, for Pt. II must have been new and would have required fresh properties, the accounts for which begin at this point, but contain nothing relevant.

93. THE PARADOX.

[**21**^{v} 28. 'paradox' (altered from 'peth[agoras]'). Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 1 July 1596.]

Nothing is known of this play.

94. THE TINKER OF TOTNESS.

[**21**^{v} 46. 'the tyncker of totnes'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 18 (23) July 1596.]

Nothing is known of this play.

95. VALTEGER.

[(*a*) **25**^{v}–**26**; (*b*) **22**^{v}, **95** 9. 'valteger' 'vortiger' (**95**, altered from 'mortimer'). (*a*) Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 4 Dec. 1596, and thence till 2 Apr. 1597, 12 performances. (*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, for properties, 28(?)–29 Nov. 1596. Paid to Alleyn, 20 Nov. 1601, for the play, £2.]

This is almost certainly the same as the 'henges,' i. e. *Hengist* (109), acted as an old play, 22 June 1597. *Hengist King of Kent* is the title of a MS. of Middleton's *Mayor of Queenborough* (see *Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*, Shak. Soc. p. 85), a play in which the characters Vortiger, Vortimer, and Hengist all appear. There is nothing in Middleton's play, as printed (1661), to suggest early work, but the combined looseness and complexity of the plot may be due to the author having worked over old materials. Cf. *Uther Pendragon* (105). The present play is mentioned in the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. ll. 51, 106, 121).

96. STUKELEY.

[(*a*) **25**^{v}–**27**; (*b*) **22**^{v} 26. 'stewtley'. (*a*) Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 11 (10) Dec. 1596, and thence till 27 June 1597, 10 performances. (*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 8 Dec. 1596, for properties, £3.]

'The Famous Historye of the life and death of Captaine Thomas Stukeley' was entered S. R. 11 Aug. 1600, and printed in 1605. The printed version, however, has probably been cut down and altered. The allusion in *Satiromastix* to cutting 'an Innocent Moore i'th middle to serue him in twice' (ed. 1873, p. 212), if it refers to this play, is obscure (see Fleay, s.v. Dekker, 40).

97. NABUCHODONOZOR.

[**25**^{v}–**26**. 'nabucadonizer (-nyzer, -nazer, nabyncadnazer)'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 19 (18) Dec. 1596, and thence till 21 (23) Mar. 1597, 8 performances.]

Nothing is known of this play.

98. THAT WILL BE SHALL BE.

[**25**^{v}–**27**, **23** 30. 'that (what) wilbe shalbe'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 30 Dec. 1596, and thence till 5 July 1597, 12 performances. The date in **23** 31 is wrong, the second performance was on 3 Jan.]

The phrase was proverbial. So *Faustus* (1604, sc. i): 'What doctrine call you this, *Che sera, sera*, What wil be, shall be?' Nothing is known of the play.

98*a*. JERONIMO.

See above, 16.

99. ALEXANDER AND LODOVICK.

[(*a*) **25**^{v}–**27**^{v}, **23** 34; (*b*) **45**^{v} 31, **47**^{v} 17, **54**^{v} 2. 'elexsander (elyxander) & ladwicke (lodwick(e, lodovicke)' 'lodwicke' 'lodwicke & elexsand'. (*a*) Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 14 Jan. 1597. Again as a new play 11 Feb., and thence till 15 July. In all 15 performances. (*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Slaughter, 16 May 1598, for this and four other pieces, £7, but this play not delivered. Paid more to Slaughter, 18 July, £1. Paid 31 Mar. 159[8/]9, for properties, £5.]

This was the Elizabethan form of the *Amis and Amil* story. A broadside ballad, printed by H. Gosson, is in the Pepysian collection (vol. i. pp. 82–3), with the title: 'The two ſaithfull Friends. The pleasant History of Alexander and Lodwicke, who were so like one another, that none could know them asunder: wherein is declared how Lodwicke married the Princesse of Hungaria in Alexanders name, and how each night he layd a naked sword betweene him and the Princesse, because he would not wrong his friend.' So Webster: 'Like the old tale, in Alexander and Lodowicke, Lay a naked sword betweene us, keepe us chast' (*Duchess of Malfi*, I. ii. 204). Hazlitt reports a 'Treue-bly-eynde-spel van Alexander' (Amsterdam, 1618), which he supposes to be a Dutch adaptation of the present play. This I have not seen, but an 'Alexander en Artemisia. Blyeindend treuerspel,' printed at Utrecht in 1734, seems to be on a different story and does not suggest adaptation from an English original.

100. WOMAN HARD TO PLEASE.

[**26**–**26**^{v}, **23** 36. '(a) womane (womon(es) hard to ple(a)s(s)e'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 27 Jan. 1597, and thence till 27 May, 11 performances.]

Nothing is known of this play. ('Compare Heywood, *Chalenge for Beauty*,' says Fleay, but gives no hint as to what the implied connection may be.) The title of Fletcher's *Woman Pleased* (printed 1647) may contain an allusion.

101. OSRIC.

[**26** 10, 13. 'oserycke'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as an old play, 3 and 7 Feb. 1597.]

Osric is, as Fleay remarks, an important character in the *Knack to Know a Knave*, but that play can hardly be meant here. There was, indeed, another play on the same story, of which a fragment survives in MS. (B. M. Egerton 2623, fol. 37; see *Modern Language Quarterly*, vii. p. 148), but in this Osric is called Oswald. There may be some connection; but cf. *Marshal Osric* (265).

101*a*. ALEXANDER AND LODOVICK.

See above, 99.

102. GUIDO.

[(*a*) **26–26ᵛ**; (*b*) **22ᵛ** 23. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 19 (21) Mar. 1597, and thence till 23 April, 5 performances. (*b*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 14 Mar. 1597, for properties including sickles, £4. 9.]

A tomb and a cloak are mentioned as belonging to this play in the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. ll. 57, 126). Nothing further is known of it.

103. FIVE PLAYS IN ONE.

[**26–27**. 'v playes in one'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 7 Apr. 1597 and thence till 28 June, 10 performances.]

The old play of the *Seven Deadly Sins* belonged to Strange's men and was revived by them in part as *Four Plays in One*, in 1592. The Plot, however, belonged to Alleyn, and he may therefore have brought the play with him to the Admiral's men, and the present may be a revival of the Induction and four sin-plays, mended as new. There is, however, a good deal to be said for Fleay's view of its being a Heywood play. The title is clearly suggested by the title-page to the *Brazen Age* (1613), and might also apply to the *Silver Age*. These, however, are probably 1 and 2 *Hercules*. But, as Fleay points out, the Argus' head, mentioned in the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. l. 67), is required for no known play except the short piece of *Jupiter and Io*, printed in Heywood's *Dialogues and Dramas* in 1637. Many of the pieces in that collection are undoubtedly early. Now this piece cannot have been acted as an independent play, but may very well have formed with four other similar pieces, such a play as the present title implies. The identification of the other pieces is necessarily highly conjectural and also presents difficulties. Fleay suggests: 1. *Deorum Judicium* (the judgement of Paris, 888 ll.), 2. *Jupiter and Io* (743 ll.), 3. *Apollo and Daphne* (470 ll.), 4. *Amphrisa the Forsaken Shepherdess* (344 ll.), and 5. either *Timon* (1455 ll.) or else an original and much shorter form of *Love's Mistress* (printed 1635). It will be noticed that the first four occur in this order in the 1637 volume (ed. Bang, 1903, pp. 140–202). The first of these is, indeed, in various ways unsuited to representation, but cannot be pronounced impossible; the rest are likely enough. It is, however, inconceivable that any audience should have tolerated the fourteen hundred odd lines of unrelieved tediousness that constitute the *Timon*. It is, moreover, too long, making a total of 3900 lines for the play, whereas the average of the *Ages* is only 3200. An original version of *Love's Mistress* (i. e. *Cupid and Psyche*, if it existed) in about 800 lines, would suit very well, and the fact of its having been refashioned into a regular play would account for its not appearing in its proper place along with the other pieces in the *Dialogues and Dramas*.

104. TIME'S TRIUMPH (?)

[**26ᵛ** 3. 'times triumpe & fortus'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as an old play, 13 Apr. 1597.]

Fleay interprets the entry to mean *Time's Triumph* and *Faustus* (55). That such double performances were occasionally given is probable, cf. *Love of an English Lady* (54) and *Long Meg* (68). I do not think, however, that 'fortus' is a likely error for 'fostus,' i. e. *Faustus*. It is just possible that 'fortūs' was meant, and that the title of the play was the *Triumph of Time and Fortune*, but nothing is known of such a piece. Fleay's further identification of *Time's Triumph* with Heywood's *Timon* (see *Five Plays in One*, 103) can hardly be accepted. His argument appears to be that because Fletcher's *Triumph of Time* (in *Four Plays in One*, 1647) is based on Lucian's *Timon*, therefore Heywood's translation of that dialogue must be the Admiral's *Time's Triumph*. There is, however, nothing whatever in Heywood's work to suggest the title, and whatever justified its adoption by Fletcher was an importation of his own.

105*a*. THE FRENCH COMEDY.

See above, 67.

105. UTHER PENDRAGON.

[**26^{v}–27.** 'vterpend(r)agon' 'pendragon'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 29 Apr. 1597, and thence till 13 June, 7 performances.]

This may possibly underlie the *Birth of Merlin*, printed in 1662 as by Shakespeare and Rowley, a play which in looseness and complexity of structure resembles the *Mayor of Queensborough* (see *Valteger*, 95), and may possibly be, in part at least, by the same hand, though the latter, in the form in which we have it, is a much more polished piece of work. The two stories are connected but not quite consistent. (Hazlitt's suggestion that the present piece may be connected with the *Misfortunes of Arthur* is inadmissible; Uther does not even appear in that play.) No doubt it was this play that required the gown for Merlin mentioned in the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. I. l. 29).

106. THE COMEDY OF HUMOURS.

25^{v}–27^{v}. '(the) comod(e)y of vmers' '(the) vmers'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 11 May 1597, and thence till 13 July; by the Admiral's and Pembroke's men, (12) Oct. and 4 Nov., 13 performances.]

The title occurs in the list of Admiral's plays in the inventories. Among the properties mentioned we find Verone's son's hose and 'Labesyas' (i. e. Labesha's) cloak, these being characters in Chapman's *Humorous Day's Mirth* (Apx. I. I. ll. 186*a*, 38, 119). Fleay's identification is therefore fully substantiated. Printed, without entry, in 1599, as written by G. C. and acted by the Admiral's men.

107. THE LIFE AND DEATH OF HENRY I.

[**26^v–27**. 'harey the firste (life & deth)'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 26 May 1597, and thence till 1 July, 6 performances.]

Nothing is known of this play, but see *Henry I and the Prince of Wales* (130).

108. FREDERICK AND BASILIA.

[**27**. 'frederycke (fredericke) & basel(l)ia (basilia)'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 3 June 1597, and again 9, 18 June and 4 July.]

The Plot of the play drawn up for the original performance is preserved (Apx. II. 3).

109. HENGIST (?)

[**27** 21. 'henges'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as an old play, 22 June 1597.]

Very probably the same as *Valteger* (95).

110. THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MARTIN SWART.

[**27**. 'liffe & death of martin (—en) swarte'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as a new play, 30 June 1597, and again 6 and 9 July.

Collier notes that Martin Swart was sent over in 1486 by Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, to assist the insurrection headed by Lord Lovell. 'Martyn Swart and all hys mery men' are mentioned by Skelton in his poem *Against a Comely Coystrowne*, and also in W. Wager's *The Longer thou Livest, the more Fool thou art*. There were early ballads on his adventures. Nothing is known concerning the play.

111. THE WITCH OF ISLINGTON.

[**27^v**. 'the wiche of Js(e)lyngton'. Performed by the Admiral's men, as an old play, 14 and 28 July 1597.]

Nothing is known of this play.

112. THE ISLE OF DOGS.

[**232** 12. 'w^{ch} Restraynt is by the means of playinge the Jeylle of dooges'. Performed by the Admiral's men, at some date between 19 July and 10 Aug. 1597.]

It is possible that the date of the performance which caused the inhibition was 20 July, which date appears in the Diary (**27^v** 9) but without entry of play or receipts. It may, however, have been any day between 19 and 27 exclusive or immediately after the 28. Martin Slaughter left the company on 18 July, and his withdrawal may have been due to their resolve to perform the objectionable play. The restraint lasted till 11 Oct. Nashe, who was supposed to be the author, was imprisoned and his papers seized. He asserts that he only wrote the Induction and Act I and that the players added the rest (*Lenten Stuff*, ed. McKerrow, iii. p. 153), and this is borne out by the records of the Privy Council (*Acts P. C.*, 15 Aug. 1597), from which we learn that one of the actors arrested was also part author. This was presumably either Sam Rowley or Heywood.

SECTION VII.

Plays performed by the Lord Admiral's and Lord Pembroke's men at the Rose, 11 *Oct. to* 5 *Nov.* 1597. *The restraint consequent upon the performance of the* Isle of Dogs *lasted from* 29 *July to* 10 *Oct. In the mean while Pembroke's men had joined the Admiral's, and when the theatre was re-opened the two companies occupied it jointly. It is very doubtful how far they remained distinct, but since Pembroke's men brought with them a certain number of old plays it is convenient to form a short section distinct from the preceding. Each company may have begun by performing its own pieces, possibly with some assistance from the other in subordinate parts, and the two have gradually coalesced as we find them a few months later; or, on the other hand, the period of restraint may have been employed in working up a common repertory out of the two stocks.* Jeronimo, *the* Humours *and* Faustus *were Admiral's plays;* Hardicanute *and* Bourbon *Pembroke's;* Friar Spendleton *was new and probably common.*

112*a*. JERONIMO.

See above, 16.

112*b*. THE COMEDY OF HUMOURS.

See above, 106.

112*c*. DOCTOR FAUSTUS.

See above, 55.

113. HARDICANUTE.

[27ᵛ 20, 23. 'hardwute' 'knewtvs'. Performed by the Admiral's and Pembroke's men, as an old play, 20/30 Oct. 1597 and again 3 Nov.]

No doubt an old play of Pembroke's men. It appears as 'Hardicanewtes' in the list in the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. l. 187*a*), but nothing further is known of it.

114. FRIAR SPENDELTON.

[**27**^{v} 21, 25. 'fryer spendelton'. Performed by the Admiral's and Pembroke's men, as a new play, 31 Oct. 1597, and again 5 Nov.]

Collier notes: 'This new play is mentioned in a Medley Ballad of the time of Queen Elizabeth, but the subject of it is not known: the words of the ballad (pr. by E. Allde without date) are—"Friar Spendleton, the play, Carried it away;" which serves to show that it was popular.' I have not been able to trace this ballad. The play appears as *Friar Pendelton* in the list in the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. I. l. 192*a*.)

115. BOURBON.

[**27**^{v} 22. 'burbon'. Performed by the Admiral's and Pembroke's men, as an old play, 2 Nov. 1597.]

No doubt an old play of Pembroke's men. It appears in the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. I. ll. 188*a*). As Fleay remarks (*Drama*, ii. p. 306), this is not the same play as 'berowne' (*Biron*, 267), and consequently his attempt (p. 318) to treat it as such is unsatisfactory. The Duke of Bourbon is one of the chief characters in the *Trial of Chivalry* (entered S. R. 4 Dec. 1604, and printed the following year as acted by Derby's men), and it is perhaps worth noting that the Earl of Pembroke is another. The play as printed shows, as Fleay says, two hands, and the name Sarlabois (ed. Bullen, p. 350; cf. Sarlebois in the *Captives*) serves to connect the play with Heywood. For the connection between Heywood and Derby's men see the *Siege of London* (65). (In this case, can *Bourbon* possibly be the same as 2 *Fortune's Tennis*? (211), the fragmentary plot of which contains some remarkable similarities to the *Trial of Chivalry*? See Apx. II. 6.)

SECTION VIII.

Plays belonging to the Admiral's (Nottingham's) men acting at the Rose, 11 *Oct.* 1597 *to* 10 *July* 1600. *These accounts include the period covered by Section VII, and some of the plays mentioned are traceable to Pembroke's men, but their name nowhere occurs later than* 5 *Nov. and the accounts evidently treat the two companies as one. The plays for which properties were purchased before the end of the year, but for the writing of which no payments were made, I take to have been old plays brought in by Pembroke's men. These are* Branhowlte (118) *and* Alice Pierce (120). *To these may also be added* Black Joan *and* Stark Flattery *mentioned in the list in the Admiral's inventories* (Apx. I. I. ll. 185a and 189a) *but of which nothing further is known.* Dido and Aeneas (123) *may belong to the same group.*

116. THE COBLER (OF QUEENHITHE).

[**37** 4, **43**^{v} 8. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's (and Pembroke's) men, 21 (or 23) Oct. 1597 'to by a boocke,' £2.]

Evidently the same as the 'Cobler quen hive' of the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. l. 191*a*). Probably an old play, but nothing further is known of it. For the spelling compare Peele's *Edward I* (ed. Bullen, sc. xxii, p. 195).

117. [A BOOK BY HAUGHTON.]

[**37** 7, **43**^{v} 9. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's (and Pembroke's) men, 5 Nov. 1597, 'to by a boocke of yonge harton,' 10*s*.]

No title is given, but, though the form of the entry suggests the purchase of an old play, the sum paid is so small that it seems likely that it was really in earnest of his *Woman will have her Will* (126).

118. BRANHOLT.

[**43**^{v} 13, cf. **37** 11. 'branhowlte'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 26 Nov. 1597, for properties, £4.]

This play, on the historical character Brunhalt or Brunhaud, must have contained much the same story as *Thierry and Theodoret*, printed in 1621. There is nothing in that piece to suggest a substratum of earlier work except a mention of the Isle of Dogs (*Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. Dyce, i. p. 154), but this need not refer to Nashe's play. *Branholt* appears both in the property and play lists in the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. ll. 29, 190*a*).

119. [JONSON'S PLOT.]

[**37**^{v} 12, **43**^{v} 23. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Jonson, 3 Dec. 1597, 'vpon a boocke w^{ch} he showed the plotte vnto the company w^{ch} he promysed to dd vnto the company at crysmas,' £1.]

There is no evidence that the play was delivered at Christmas; indeed Jonson, notoriously slow at composition, was not the man to write a play in three weeks. Probably the plan was abandoned, the company retaining the plot, for in the following autumn we find Chapman writing a tragedy on 'bengemens plotte' (see 157*a*). Fleay is of opinion that the play in question was the *Fall of Mortimer* 'of which the plot, Dram. Pers., and a bit of I. i. are extant' in the 1640 folio. The slight argument there printed cannot possibly, however, be the 'plot' for which Jonson received 20*s*. The supposition, moreover, that *Mortimer* was 'the last draught of Jonson's quill' does not rest on Gifford's authority, but on that of the editor of the 1640 volume, i. e. Sir Kenelm Digby, who appended to the fragment the note 'Hee dy'd, and left it unfinished.' Lastly it is inconceivable that a play on English history designed on the severely classical lines proposed by

Jonson should have been intended for the Rose in 1597. (Cf. *Mortimer*, 245, also *Dido and Aeneas*, 123.)

120. ALICE PIERCE.

[**37**^{v}, **43**^{v}. 'all(e)ce (all(e)s) perce'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 8–10 Dec. 1597, for properties, £2. 2. 7.]

The piece appears in the property and play lists in the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. ll. 53, 193*a*), but nothing further is known of it.

121. [TWO JIGS ?]

[**37**^{v} 22, **43**^{v} 30. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 12 Dec. 1597, 'for ij gyges . . . to ij yonge men', 6*s*. 8*d*.]

Jigs were short comic songs or dialogues in verse performed at the end of regular plays or perhaps sometimes between the acts. The names of several have been preserved, such as *Garlic* and the *Punk's Delight*, but no undoubtedly genuine specimen is extant, that printed by Halliwell in his introduction to *Tarlton's Jests* (Shak. Soc. 1844, p. xx) being taken from a 'very curious MS.' in the possession of Mr. Collier. Something of their nature can, however, be gathered from 'The Gig betweene a Paritor and the Foole' appended to the tract 'A new Play Called Canterburie His Change of Diot,' printed in 1641. The name was also not unfrequently applied in old broadsides to ballads in dialogue, a particularly interesting specimen of which has been recently published (*Sherburn Ballads*, ed. Clark, p. 244). It is called 'Mr. Attowel's Jigge,' but whether it was ever actually performed, it is, of course, impossible to tell.

122. MOTHER REDCAP.

[**37**^{v} 25, **43**^{v}–**44**. 'mother Readcape (Read cape)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Drayton and Munday, 22 Dec. 1597 to 5 Jan. 1597/8, including 'the laste payment of the Boocke,' in all £6.]

The play appears in the property and play lists of the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. ll. 79, 194*a*). 'Mother redd cappe her laste will and Testament,' presumably a chapbook, was entered S. R. 10 Mar. 1595.

123. DIDO AND AENEAS.

[**44**. 'dido & enevs' 'dido'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 3 (? 5) Jan. 1597/8, for properties, 29*s*. 'Lent vnto the company when they fyrst played dido at nyght,' 8 Jan., 30*s*.]

Fleay's theory that this may have been the piece promised by Jonson for Christmas (119), and also that mentioned in *Hamlet* as 'caviare to the general,' is exceedingly ingenious, and one would like to think it true. I am afraid, however, that it must be rejected. I do not believe Jonson, if he only had the plot to show on 3 Dec., could possibly have finished the play in time for it to be performed on 8 Jan. Again, had he been the author of the unsuccessful play quoted by Hamlet, he would certainly have insisted on publication. Lastly, we must, I think, agree with Fleay's other hypothesis that Jonson's plot was that on which Chapman was later engaged. The present piece was, therefore, most likely an old play brought in by Pembroke's men. Whether it had any relation to that by Marlowe and Nashe is doubtful: the properties mentioned in the Admiral's inventories do not bear out the identification (Apx. I. 1. ll. 57, 72, 162).

124. PHAETON.

[(*a*) **44**; (*b*) **70$^{\text{v}}$–71**. 'fay(e)ton' 'phayeton'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker, 8 Jan. 1597/8, 'to by a boockes' unnamed, £1 (cancelled); 15 Jan. 'to bye,' £4. Paid 26–28 Jan., for properties, £5. (*b*) Paid to Dekker, 14–22 Dec. 1600, for alterations for the court, £2. Paid 2 Jan. 1600/1, for properties for the court, £1.]

The form of the first entry (cancelled), where the play is not named, seems to imply an old piece, but the same phrase appears in the following entry, in which the sum can only refer to a new piece. No reliance can be placed in the wording of these early entries; Henslowe had not yet adopted a regular style. This play was no doubt the original form of the *Sun's Darling*, licensed for the Cockpit 3 May 1624 as by Dekker and Ford, and printed in 1656.

125 & 127. ROBIN HOOD.

[(*a*) **44–45**; (*b*) **52**. 'Robyne (Robart(e, Roben) hood(e' 'the downfall of Roben hoode' 'the downefall of earlle huntyngton surnamed Roben hoode'. Pt. I. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Munday, 15 Feb. 1597/8, 'for a playe booke,' £5. Pt. II. Paid to Munday and Chettle, 20 Feb.–8 Mar. 1598, in full, £5. Paid 28 Mar. for licensing both parts, 14*s*. (*b*) Paid to Chettle, 18 Nov. for mending Pt. I, 10*s*; 25 Nov. for mending (Pt. II ?) 'for the corte' (instead of in earnest of '*Tis no Deceit*?), 10*s*.]

The *Downfall* and *Death of Robert Earl of Huntington*, entered S. R. 1 Dec. 1600, and printed in 1601 as acted by the Admiral's men. The piece appears in the property and play lists of the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. ll. 20, 41, 142, 165, 195*a*, 196*a*). Fleay thinks that 'the play was founded on *The Pastoral Comedy of Robin Hood and Little John*, S. R. 1594, May 14, and that the allusion, [1, IV. ii, ed. Hazlitt-Dodsley, p. 185] to the "merry jests" of a previous play refers to this "pleasant comedy".' The latter part of this conjecture is no doubt correct, but since the 'merry jests' are enumerated and do not appear in the extant play, this cannot be founded upon the earlier piece. At the end of the *Downfall* a second part is promised to include 'The manner of his [Richard's] royal funeral.' This does not appear in the *Death*. Either it was entirely omitted, or more probably the short passage in the original second part was removed and expanded into the *Funeral of Richard Cœur-de-Lion* (137) of June 1598. I have no doubt that Pt. II was revised for court by Chettle like Pt. I, and it seems likely that the two parts were the plays at court for which the Admiral's men were paid on 3 Dec. Pt. II was certainly not 'the comedy revised by [Munday] for the Court' on 9 Aug. (see 146), as Fleay maintains. The latter portion of Pt. II was appropriated later on by Davenport who expanded it into his play of *King John and Matilda*, closely following the original construction and transferring bodily any lines that took his fancy.

126. A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL.

[**44ᵛ** 3, **45ᵛ** 19. 'a womon will have her wille', comedy. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Haughton, 18 Feb.– 2/9 May 1598, in part, £2. (Note that possibly the 10*s*. paid on 5 Nov. 1597 should be added.)]

Entered S. R. 3 Aug. 1601, and printed in 1616 with *Englishmen for my Money* as the first title, which was dropt again later.

127. ROBIN HOOD, PART II.

See above, 125.

128. THE MILLER.

[**44ᵛ** 9. 'the myller'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Robert Lee, 22 Feb. 1598, 'for a boocke,' £1.]

Lee was probably still with the Chamberlain's men at this date (see Apx. II. 2). The play must have been an old piece which had somehow come into his hands: there is no reason to suppose he was the author. Even so the payment was small.

129. THE TRIPLICITY (OR TRIANGLE) OF CUCKOLDS.

[**44ᵛ** 17. 'the treplesetie of cockowlles'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker, 1 Mar. 1598, 'to bye a boocke,' £5.]

The piece appears as 'Treangell cockowlls' in the play list of the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. l. 198*a*). The words *triplicity* and *triangle* seem to have been more or less synonymous; cf. Davenant's *King John and Matilda*, V. iii. (ed. Bullen, p. 82): ''tis a dangerous triplicity, So that our Forces were they three times trebl'd (Distracted with a division thus triangular) Cannot promise safety.'

130. THE FAMOUS WARS OF HENRY I AND THE PRINCE OF WALES.

[**45**. 'a boocke wher in is a pte of a weallche man written' 'the famos wares of henry the fyrste & the prynce of walles'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, Dekker, and Drayton, 13 and 13/20 (?) Mar. 1598, in full, £6. 5; also lent to the company at the reading of the same at the Sun in New Fishstreet, 5*s*.]

It is curious that the wars of Henry II were much more famous, especially in connection with Wales and the struggle with Rhys ap Gruffydd. There were, however, also struggles between Henry I and Gruffydd ab Rhys, Prince of South Wales, and Gruffydd ab Cynan, Prince of North Wales, the latter of whom is most likely the Prince concerned. I think Fleay is right in identifying this piece with the *Welshman's Prize* (?) mentioned in the play list of the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. l. 186*b*). The sum paid argues a new play, but it is difficult not to suppose that it had some connection either with the *Welshman* (83), which was old 29 Nov. 1595, or with the *Life and Death of Henry I* (107), which was new 26 May 1597. There was a play *Henry I*, said to have been licensed to the King's men, 10 Apr. 1624, as by Davenport, a MS. of which was in the Warburton collection, and which was no doubt the same as the *Henry I and Henry II* entered S. R. 9 Sept. 1653 as by Shakespeare and Davenport. Possibly Davenport treated the present play the same as 2 *Robin Hood* (125).

131 & 135. EARL GOODWIN AND HIS THREE SONS.

[**45–47**. 'goodwine & (his) iij son(n)es' 'earlle goodwine' 'goodwin(e'. Pt. I. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, Dekker, Drayton, and Wilson, 25 and 30 Mar. 1598, in full, £6. Paid 11 Apr., for properties, 'a rochet for the bishop,' 24*s*. Pt. II. Paid to the same, 6 Apr. (May) to 10 June, in full, £4. (N.B. Possibly the £2 paid 30 Mar./7 Apr. for *Pierce of Exton* (132) should be added.) Paid 26 and 27 June, for properties, £6. 10.]

Goodwin or Goodwine was appointed Earl of the West Saxons by Cnut, supported Harthacnut, was outlawed under Edward the Confessor together with his sons, Swegen, Harold and Tostig, but was later restored to favour and died in 1053. The play, of which nothing is known, may have had some connection with the old *Hardicanute* (113). Both parts are in the play-list of the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. ll. 199*a*, 195*b*).

132. PIERCE OF EXTON.

[**45** 30. 'perce of exstone'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men to Chettle, Dekker, Drayton, and Wilson, 30 Mar./7 Apr. 1598, in part, £2.]

The position of this entry and the identity of authorship almost force us to suppose that it was the first payment for 2 *Earl Goodwin* (135). If so there must be some strange confusion of titles, for Sir Piers Exton was the supposed murderer of Richard II. Cf. *Pierce of Winchester* (144).

133. KING ARTHUR.

[**46** 3, **45**^{v}. 'the Lyfe of Arthur king of England' 'kynge arthore' 'the lyfe of arthure'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Hathaway, 11 and 12 Apr. 1598, in full, £5. Paid 2 May, for properties, £3.]

Nothing is known of this play.

134 & 139. BLACK BATEMAN OF THE NORTH.

[**45^{v}–47**. 'black(e batmone (bat(t)man(e) (of the north(e).' Pt. I. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, 2/9 May 1598, £1; again to Chettle, Dekker, Drayton, and Wilson, 22 May, to buy 'a boocke,' £6; total £7. (N.B. Probably the sum actually paid for the play was £6, the 20*s*. advanced to Chettle either having been repaid to the company, or deducted from the final payment. It had not, however, been returned to Henslowe, so that the full total remained to the debt of the company in his books. The entry in question may, however, have been intended to refer to 2 Earl Goodwin.) Paid for properties, 13 and 14 June, £8. Pt. II. Paid to Chettle and Wilson, 26 June to 14 July, in full, £6. (N.B. The first advance was made to Chettle on Porter's surety.)]

There is a chapbook (c. 1710) called 'Bateman's Tragedy: Or, the Perjur'd Bride justly Rewarded. Being the History of the Unfortunate Love of German's Wife and Young Bateman,' at the end of which is a ballad possibly reprinted from an earlier broadside. The story, however, can hardly be as old as the play, and relates, moreover, to a James Bateman of Notts. Both parts appear in the play-list of the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. ll. 193*b*, 194*b*).

135. EARL GOODWIN AND HIS THREE SONS, Part II.

See above, 131.

135*a*. HERCULES, Part I. See above, 71.
135*b*. HERCULES, Part II. See above, 72.
135*c*. PHOCAS. See above, 91.
135*d*. PYTHAGORAS. See above, 85.
135*e*. ALEXANDER AND LODOVICK. See above 99.

[**45^{v}** 30–2, **47^{v}** 17. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men to Slaughter, 16 May 1598, 'to bye v boocks' (one not delivered), £7. Paid, 17 July, 'for a boocke called elexander & lodwicke,' £1. Total £8.]

136. LOVE PREVENTED.

[**46** 14. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Porter, 30 May 1598, 'to by a boocke,' £4.]

Fleay suggests that this may be the *Two Angry Women of Abington*, printed, without entry, in 1599 as written by Porter and 'lately playde' by the Admiral's men. Since the extant play is presumably the first and not the second part (162) the identification is likely enough, and the title is not inappropriate. The argument, however, that since it was 'lately playde' by the Admiral's men 'it must be in the *Diary* somewhere' is quite illegitimate (see above, p. 126).

137. THE FUNERAL OF RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION.

[**46–46^{v}**. 'Richard cordelion(es funerall(e' 'the funerall (fenerall) of Richard cvrdelion (cordelion)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, Drayton, Munday, and Wilson, 13 to 26 June 1598, £6. 5. (Wilson alone is said to have been paid in full. Possibly a loan of 10*s*. to Chettle on 24 June should be added. Chettle and Wilson appear to have been in debt 30*s*. and 25*s*. respectively, but how the indebtedness arose is not stated.)]

This piece was evidently connected with the two *Robin Hood* plays (125, 127) and would form the second part of a trilogy.

138. THE IYLLE OF A WOMAN (?)

[**45–46$^{\text{v}}$**. 'the iylle [?] of a woman'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chapman, 16 and 23 May and 15 June 1598 (not 1595), in earnest, £4. (N.B. In the first two entries the play is not named, but evidently the same is meant. Possibly a loan of 10*s*. on 10 June should be added.)]

The title is not, as it has always been quoted, the *Will of a Woman*, but probably the *Isle of Women*. There can be little doubt that it is the same as the *Fount of New Fashions* (153). The title was probably altered not only, as Fleay suggests, on account of a certain similarity with Haughton's *Woman will have her Will*, but also because Chettle was likewise engaged upon a *Play of a Woman* at the same time. (According to Hazlitt a MS. of Chapman's *Gentleman Usher* under the title of the *Will of a Woman* and also a MS. entitled the *Fountain of New Fashions* were sold among Heber's MSS., but I have failed to find any trace of either in the printed catalogue of the sale.)

139. BLACK BATEMAN OF THE NORTH, PART II.

See above, 134.

140. THE MADMAN'S MORRIS.

[**47–48**. 'the mad(e manes mores (moris)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker, Drayton, and Wilson, 31 June (1 July) to 10 July, in full, £6. Paid 25 July, for properties, £4. 13. 4.]

This piece also appears in the play-list of the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. l. 196*b*).

141. THE PLAY OF A WOMAN.

[**47$^{\text{v}}$** 2. 'the playe of a woman Tragedye'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, 14 July 1598, 'vpon a boocke,' £5. N.B. Chettle was either to deliver the play or return the money within a fortnight.]

Nothing is known of this piece.

142 & 151. HANNIBAL AND HERMES, OR WORSE AFEARED THAN HURT.

[**47$^{\text{v}}$–50**. 'haneball & hermes other wisse called worse feared then hurte' 'Haneballe & He(a)rmes' 'worse a fear(e)d then hurte'. (In one case (**40$^{\text{v}}$** 15) 'worse a feared then hurte' has been entered as the second title of *Chance Medley* and subsequently struck out. In another case (**50** 3) it has been altered from 'bad may a mende.') Pt. I. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker, Drayton, and Wilson, 17 to 27 July 1598, in part, £6. (A further payment of 10*s*. in full, 28 July, is cancelled, the previous one having, no doubt, completed the sum agreed upon.) Pt. II (never so styled, but clearly distinct from Pt. I). Paid to Dekker and Drayton, 30 Aug. and 4 Sept. (not Aug.), in full, £5.

Nothing is known of this play.

143. VALENTINE AND ORSON.

[**47**^{v} 23. 'vallentyne & orsen'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Hathway and Munday, 19 July 1598, in full, £5.]

A play called *Valentine and Orson* was entered S. R. 23 May 1595, and again 31 Mar. 1600, both times as acted by the Queen's men. It is possible that Hathway and Munday re-wrote this old piece. The Queen's play may have been acquired by Alleyn in 1591, but the entry of 1595 and the absence of any trace of the play in Strange's lists, are against this assumption. It is more probable that the Queen's men sold the MS. in 1594, and that the case is similar to that of *Henry V* (82).

144. PIERCE OF WINCHESTER.

[**48–51**. 'pe(a)rce of win(s)chester'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker, Drayton, and Wilson, 28 July to 10 Aug. 1598, in full, £5. 10. Paid 23 Sept. to 12 Oct., for properties, £29. 2.]

The title suggests a possible connection with the mysterious *Pierce of Exton* (132), but none such can be established. The piece appears in the play-list of the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. l. 197*b*).

145 & 155. BRUTE.

[**49–51**, **52**^{v} 6, **54** 24. 'the conqueste of brute wth the first fyndinge of the bathe' 'Brut(t)e', 'brute grenshallde'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Day, 30 July 1598, 'to buy a Boocke,' £2; to Chettle, 8 Sept. to 22 Oct., in full, £7. 14; total £9. 14. Paid 12 Dec., for 'cottes of gyantes,' 24*s*.; 22/27 Mar. 1598/9; for licensing, 7*s*.]

According to Fleay this was an old play bought of Day and re-written by Chettle in two parts, and certainly the sum paid seems too large for a single piece. To 'buy a book,' however, did not necessarily mean more than to give in earnest or in part payment thereof (e. g. 1 Oct. 1598, £3 was paid to Chapman 'to by' the *Fount of New Fashions*, and on 12 Oct. £1 more 'in fulle payment' for the same). Probably the payment to Day was for an unfinished piece. After the payment of 16 Sept. occurs the note 'hary cheattell vntell this place owes vs viij^{ll} ix^{s} dew al his boockes & Recknynges paid,' whence one would infer that no further payments would be made on account of work in hand. After this date, namely between 12 and 22 Oct., a further sum of £6 was paid, and since this was the usual price of a new play at this date, we may conclude that it was for a second part. Fleay treats the play for which properties were bought and that licensed as *Brute Greenshield* (?) as distinct from the present; for what reason does not appear. Whether the second title refers to the founding of the Order of the Bath, or to the discovery of the hot springs at Bath, or to both, may be left an open question. Brute was, of course, the first king of Britain, great grandson of Aeneas, and father of Locrine.

146. [MUNDAY'S COURT COMEDY.]

[**49** 10. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Munday, 9 Aug., 'in earneste of a comodey for the corte,' 10*s*; Drayton being surety 'for the boocke to be done w^th^ in one fort night.' The entry is cancelled.]

Fleay argues that this was a revision for court of 2 *Robin Hood*, but it seems clear that the entry refers to a new piece. No performance at court is recorded this autumn, so I suppose the order was countermanded. If the piece is to be identified at all it must be with *Chance Medley* (148), on which both Munday and Drayton were at work later in the month.

147. HOT ANGER SOON COLD.

[**49** 20. 'hoote anger sone cowld'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, Jonson, and Porter, 18 Aug. 1598, in full, £6.]

Nothing is known of this piece.

148. CHANCE MEDLEY.

[**49** 25; **49**^{v} 14. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 19 Aug. 1598, to Chettle, for (or by) Dekker, 30*s*., Munday 25*s*., Wilson 30*s*., and 24 Aug. to Drayton, in full, 35*s*.; total £6.]

Nothing is known of this piece. The title is a legal phrase signifying a casualty not purely accidental, particularly accidental homicide, not without the killer's fault, though without evil intent. It was, however, very early though erroneously used in the sense of random action or fortuitous medley and confusion. Jonson has the phrase in *Every Man Out of his Humour* (acted 1599 by the Chamberlain's men): 'Slid carry him afore a iustice, 'tis *chance medley*, o' my word' (1616, III. viii, p. 132), where it has a (not very strict) legal sense, but possibly also contains an allusion to the present play.

149. CATILINE'S CONSPIRACY.

[**49**^{v}. 'cattelanes consperesey' 'cattelyne'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle and Wilson, 21 to 29 Aug. 1598, in earnest, £1. 5.]

'It is not improbable that Ben Jonson made some use of this piece' is the opinion repeated by Halliwell and Hazlitt from the *Biographia Dramatica*. It is most improbable, especially as we do not even know whether the present play, which preceded Jonson's by some twelve years, was ever finished. There was a much earlier piece on the subject written by Gosson before 1579.

150. VAYVODE.

[**49ᵛ**, **53** 2. 'vayvod(e'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, 29 Aug. 1598, 'ffor his playe,' £1. Paid Alleyn, 21 Jan. 1598/9, 'for the playe,' £2. Paid 21 to 25 Aug. 1598, for properties, £17. 5.]

This was evidently an old play belonging to Alleyn revised by Chettle on the occasion of its revival. 'The Vaivode,' says Hazlitt, 'was possibly founded on the current incidents in the war between Transylvania and Austria.' Vaivode, or Voivode, is a title equivalent to general or governor in certain Slavonic countries. Collier remarks: 'See Painter's "Palace of Pleasure," ii., p. 140, &c., respecting "Vayvode."' The reference is evidently to the edition of 1567, tome ii., novel 21, the story of Anne, Queen of Hungary. Since, however, the hero of this tale is one Philippo dei Nicuoli of Cremona, secretary to the Lord Andrea Borgo, and that no such person as a Vaivode is mentioned therein, this misleading suggestion may be at once dismissed. The piece appears in the play-list of the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. l. 198*b*) apparently before its purchase from Alleyn. Fleay accuses Halliwell of taking his entry 'Vayoode, by Henry Chettle' from Collier's index, adding: 'He did not see that this was a preparation for an "interlineation" in the *Diary*.' The idea of Collier starting to make a forgery by inserting an entry in the index of his edition is sufficiently absurd, but Fleay has, moreover, overlooked the entry of 29 Aug. It may be doubted whether the invention of forgeries is any more desirable than their perpetration.

150*a*. BAD MAY AMEND.

[**50** 2. Title of a play by Dekker and Drayton, altered to *Worse afeared than hurt* (143).]

In such a case as this it is impossible to tell whether the cancelled title was intended to refer to the same or to a different piece.

151. HANNIBAL AND HERMES, PART II.

See above, 142.

152, 158, 159 & 164. THE CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE.

[**50ᵛ–52ᵛ**. Pt. I. 'the first(e syvell (sevelle) war(r)es in france (—of france)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker and Drayton, 29 Sept. 1598, 'to by a boocke,' £6. Paid, 8 and 11 Oct., for properties, £10. Pt. II. 'the second pte of the syvell(e wares of france'. Paid to Dekker and Drayton, 3 Nov., 'for a Boocke,' £6. Paid 19 and 24 Nov. for properties, £20. Pt. III. 'the 3 pte of the syvell wares of france'. Paid to Dekker and Drayton, 18 Nov. and 30 Dec., 'for a Boocke,' £6. Introd. 'the first Jntroducyon of the syvell wares of france'. Paid to Dekker, 20 Jan. 1598/9, in earnest, £3. (N.B. We should perhaps add the £3. 10 paid to Dekker, 30 Jan., to discharge him from the arrest of the Chamberlain's men. This was properly a private loan from Henslowe (see **101** 1) and has no business in the company's accounts, but Henslowe may have transferred it to the company on the security of the unfinished play.)]

Nothing further is known of these pieces. There was plenty of material in the Huguenot struggle and the Wars of the League. It is quite possible that the sums advanced to Birde in Nov. 1598 for properties for 'the gwisse' (cf. 26) were for the present play. Cf. also the mysterious entry: 'Perowes sewt, which W^{m} Sley were,' in the Admiral's inventories (Apx. I. 1. l. 136). What Slye, who never left the Chamberlain's men, is doing here, I cannot imagine, unless the suit had been bought from that company. However, the only play which the name 'Perowe' seems to fit is Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois* (entered S. R. 3 June 1607 and printed the same year as acted at Paul's) which has both a Pero and a Pyrhot. This would seem to suggest that Chapman worked on the basis of these old Dekker-Drayton plays (cf. *Bussy*, ed. Boas, p. xii note). The difficulty is that the date of the *Civil Wars* is rather late for the inventory.

153. THE FOUNT OF NEW FASHIONS.

[**50^{v}–51^{v}**. 'the ffounte (fownte, fowntayne) of new facianes (facion(e)s)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chapman, 31 Sept. (i.e. 1 Oct.) and 12 Oct. 1598, in full, £4. (N.B. The £4, previously paid in earnest of the *Iylle of a Woman*, should no doubt be added, making a total of £8.) Paid 8 to 14 Nov. for properties, £17.]

In all probability the same as the *Iylle of a Woman* (138). Fleay thinks that this piece was later refashioned as *Monsiur d'Olive* (printed, without entry, in 1606 as written by Chapman and acted by the Queen's children at Blackfriars), but the identification rests partly upon the misreading of the earlier title. The personae in *Monsiur d'Olive* have in certain cases been altered, and the text is in some confusion, but I can find no evidence to connect it with the present piece.

154. MULMUTIUS DUNWALLOW.

[**50^{v}** 17. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Rankins, 3 Oct. 1598, 'to by a boocke, £3.]

This may have been an old piece; nothing is known of it. Hazlitt's suggestion (*Mul*) *Mucius* [*Scoevola*] *done by Marlow* is humorous. Dunwallow was, of course, the first King of all Britain, and came to the throne, according to Holinshed, A.U.C. 314.

155. BRUTE, PART II (?)

See above, 145.

156. CONNAN PRINCE OF CORNWALL.

[**51**. 'connan prince of cornwell'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker and Drayton, 16 to 20 Oct. 1598, 'for a Boocke,' £6 (10*s*. or possibly £2 of which was paid to Bradshaw, at the request of the authors).]

Nothing further is known of this play. Fleay suggests Corin as the name. It is just possible that Conn Cead Cathach, king of Ireland, may be meant.

157. [CHAPMAN'S PLAY-BOOK.]

[**51**^{v} 2. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chapman, 23 Oct. 1598, 'one his playe boocke & ij ectes of a tragedy of Bengemens plotte,' £3.]

We do not know of any play of Chapman's on hand at this moment, apart from the tragedy on Jonson's plot. He had been paid in full for the *Fountain of New Fashions* (153) on 12 Oct.; he received a loan of 10*s.* on 1 Dec., and the payments for the *World Runs on Wheels*, which began on 22 Jan., are very ample.

157*a*. [THE TRAGEDY ON JONSON'S PLOT.]

[**51**^{v} 3, **52**^{v} 17, 21. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chapman, 23 Oct. 1598, 'one his playe boocke & ij ectes of a tragedy of bengemens plotte,' £3; 4 Jan. 1598/9, 'vpon iij ackes of a tragedie,' £3; 8 Jan. 'in fulle payment for his tragedie,' £3; total £9 (part of which was for 'his playe boocke.')]

See above, 119. The sum of £1 had already been paid to Jonson for the plot. What the play was is not known. It has been suggested that it was an early draft of *Bussy d'Ambois* (ed. Boas, p. xii note), but see the *Civil Wars of France* (152).

158. THE CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE, PART II.

See above, 152.

158*a*. MARK ANTONY (?).

[**51**^{v} 15. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 10 Nov. 1598, 'to bye a sackebute of marke antoney,' £2.]

It is perhaps more probable that this should be the name of a character in some play than that of a musical instrument maker, though it is true that Marcantonio is not an uncommon Italian name, and such a dealer would very likely be Italian.

159. THE CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE, PART III.

See above, 152.

160. 'TIS NO DECEIT TO DECEIVE THE DECEIVER.

[**52** 15, 26. 'tys (tis) no des(e)ayt to dese(a)ue the desever,' comedy. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, 25 Nov. 1598, in earnest (or for mending *Robin Hood*?), 10*s.*; 28 Nov., in earnest, 20*s.*]

Nothing is known of this piece, which may never have been finished.

161. WAR WITHOUT BLOWS AND LOVE WITHOUT SUIT (STRIFE).

[**52**^{v} 2, **53** 10. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Heywood, 6 Dec. 1598, 'to bye a Boocke,' £3; 26 Jan. 1598/9, in full, £2; total £5.]

Nothing further is known of this play. Fleay proposes to identify it with the *Thracian Wonder* (printed 1661 as by J. Webster and W. Rowley), and thinks that it was revived for the Queen's men c. 1607, which, however, does not prevent him elsewhere stating that the *Thracian Wonder* was founded on William Webster's *Curan and Argentile*, published in 1617, and that it was acted by Prince Charles' men in that year. As a matter of fact the *Thracian Wonder* is a dramatisation of Greene's *Menaphon* printed in 1589 and might therefore be Heywood's play. Fleay has, however, entirely misrepresented the nature of the printed piece in seeking to make his identification plausible. This is one of the cases that convince one that there may be something very much worse than 'the imbecile resource of supposing a lost play.'

162. THE TWO ANGRY WOMEN OF ABINGTON, Part II.

[**52**^{v}–**53**^{v}. 'the (2, ij) angr(e)y wemen of abengton (abington)', in three out of four entries styled 'the 2 pte'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Porter, 22 Dec. 1598, 'to bye a boocke,' £5 ; 12 Feb. 1598/9, in full, £2 ; total £7. Paid for properties, 31 Jan. and 12 Feb. £11.]

The *Two Angry Women of Abington* was printed, without entry, in 1599 as written by Porter and acted by the Admiral's men, but it bears no sign of being a second part. The present piece was therefore a sequel to the printed play, which may have been *Love Prevented* (136).

163. WILLIAM LONGBEARD (?).

[**31** 3, **52**^{v} 29. 'Willm̄ longsword' 'w^{m} longberd'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Drayton, 20 Jan. 1598/9, in earnest, £2 ; Drayton's receipt for the sum, in part payment of £6, is dated 21 Jan., a Sunday.]

Drayton himself calls the play *Longsword*, but his entry is too wild a scribble for its readings to carry much weight, and we are justified in supposing that the play was founded on Lodge's 'Life and Death of william Long beard, the most famous and witty English Traitor, borne in the City of London,' printed in 1593.

164. THE CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE, Introduction.

See above, 152.

165. THE WORLD RUNS ON WHEELS.

[**53** 6, **53**^{v} 20, **63**. 'the world Ron(n)es (Runes) a whelles'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men to Chapman, 22 Jan. to 2 July 1599, in full, £8. 10 (part of which may, however, have been for *All Fools but the Fool*, 175).]

Nothing is known of this piece unless we suppose it to be the same as *All Fools but the Fool* (175). It may be mentioned that John Taylor in 1623 published a tract called 'The World runnes on Wheeles: Or Oddes betwixt Carts and Coaches.' The phrase was, as Collier says, proverbial.

166. JOAN AS GOOD AS MY LADY.

[**53**v. 'Jonne as good as my ladey'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Heywood, 10 and 12 Feb. 1598/9, in full, £5.]

Fleay suggests that this may be an early draft of *A Maidenhead well Lost* (entered S. R. 25 June 1634, and printed the same year as acted by the King's men at the Cockpit). The title does not seem to me especially appropriate to the extant play, which the Epilogue distinctly implies was new, but the identification is nevertheless possible. The phrase was proverbial.

167. FRIAR FOX AND GILLAN OF BRANFORD.

[**53**v 5. 'fryer fox & gyllen of branforde'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 10 Feb. 1598/9, 'to buy a book,' £5. 10.]

'Jyl of Breyntfords testament' was 'newly compiled' by R. Copland and printed by W. Copland twice without date. Of Friar Fox nothing appears to be known.

168. POLYPHEMUS, OR TROY'S REVENGE.

[**53**v 23, 27, **61** 11, **64**v 13. 'polefemos (—me)' 'Troyes Revenge wth the tragedy of polefeme' (**53**v 27). Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, 16 and 27 Feb. 1598/9, in full, £6 (including remission of debt of £2. 10 recorded on **61**). Paid 4 Oct. for properties, 8*s*.]

The title *Troy's Revenge* suggests a play on the fates of the Greek heroes, which would include the story of Odysseus and Polyphemus, though it is a strange incident to select as the central theme of a tragedy.

169. THE TWO MERRY WOMEN OF ABINGTON.

[**54** 3. 'ij mery wemen of abenton'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Porter, 28 Feb. 1598/9, in earnest, £2 (to which should perhaps be added a loan of 20*s*. on 17 Jan. (? Feb.) **53** 26), Porter undertaking to write only for Henslowe.]

Evidently a sequel to the *Two Angry Women* (162), but not known.

170. THE SPENCERS.

[**54–54**v, **61** 12. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle and Porter, 4 and 22 March 1598/9, in full, £6 (whether inclusive or not of Chettle's debt of 10*s*. (**61**) does not appear). Paid 9–16 Apr. for properties, £30.]

No doubt an historical play on the reign of Edward II.

171. THE FOUR KINGS.

[**54** 19. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 18/22 Mar. 1598/9, for licensing, 7*s*.]

Fleay would identify this with *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes* (printed, without entry, 1599 as acted by the Queen's men), on the ground that it is the only extant play with four kings in it. This is a very slender basis, especially as one of the four kings in *Sir Clyomon* is Alexander, who is not at all on a par with the others. Moreover, the fact of its being licensed, a term which Fleay misunderstood, shows that it was new.

172. TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

[**54**^{v} 9, 25, **61**^{v} 1, **63** 8 (altered to *Agamemnon*). 'troy(e)l(l)es' & creasse daye (cres(s)eda, creasseday)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle and Dekker, 7 and 16 Apr. 1599, in part, £4.]

The final payment for this piece, probably £2 or so, may have been recorded on one of the leaves now missing after **54**. Cf. *Agamemnon* (174). Fleay thinks that the composition of this play was the cause of the secession from the Admiral's men of Chapman, whose *Iron Age* (see *Troy*, 92) covered the same ground. Collier suggested that the entry of *Troilus and Cressida*, S. R. 7 Feb. 1603, might apply to this rather than to Shakespeare's play. The fact that the play is there described as acted by the Chamberlain's men puts this out of the question and serves to show how little Collier understood the history of the companies. (The wording of the entry might of course have been fraudulent (cf. *Henry V*, 82), but that would equally prove the existence of Shakespeare's play, which Collier proposed to date 1609.)

173. ORESTES' FURIES (?)

[**62** 15. 'orestes fvres'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men (?) to Dekker, 2 May 1599, in earnest, 5*s*.]

This does not appear in the regular accounts, which, however, are defective at this point (after **54**). It is possible that the sum was really for the play later called *Agamemnon* (174). Fleay interprets: *Orestes Furious*, Hazlitt: *Orestes Furiens*, Halliwell: *Orestes Furies*.

174. AGAMEMNON.

[**63**. Tragedy. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle and Dekker, 26 and 30 May 1599, in full, £4. 15 (to which should perhaps be added 20*s*. lent to Chettle and Dekker on 2 May to discharge the former from the arrest of Ingrome; or else to *Troylus and Cressida*, 172). Paid 3 June, for licensing, 7*s*.]

The first payment for this play may have been recorded in the missing leaves after **54**. The loan of 2 May would, however, bring up the total to £5. 15, and we should perhaps also add the 5*s*. advanced to Dekker in earnest of *Orestes' Furies* (173) on the same date. This would make up £6. Fleay maintains that *Agamemnon* was only another title for *Troylus and Cressida* (172), remarking 'both titles are given in the 26th May entry.' In this he was misled by Collier; in the entry in question *Troylus and Cressida* is cancelled in favour of *Agamemnon*, which by no means implies identity. Henslowe had got into the habit of writing the former title in connection with the names of Chettle and Dekker, and did so once too often. These writers certainly never got £8. 15 for a play, besides casual loans. The popularity of Greek subjects at this date is striking; *Troy's Revenge*, *Troylus*, *Orestes*, *Agamemnon*.

175. ALL FOOLS BUT THE FOOL.

[63 35. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chapman, 2 July 1599, 'in full payment for his Boocke called the world Rones a whelles & now all foolles but the foolle,' 30*s.*]

This can hardly be anything but Chapman's *All Fools*, printed, without entry, in 1605 as performed at the Blackfriars, though it is true that the latter part of the present title is entirely inapplicable to the printed play. It is possible that *All Fools but the Fool* may have been merely another title for the *World runs on Wheels* (165), as Fleay by an ingenious misquotation makes to appear certain. The objection is that there is nothing in the printed play to suggest the earlier title, and that the total of £8. 10 is rather large for a single play even though Chapman does seem to have been able to command better prices than most of the other playwrights. It is therefore possible that the payment of 2 July included the remainder (say 10*s.*) due for the *World*, and a sum (say 20*s.*) in earnest of *All Fools*. We may then suppose that when Chapman ceased writing for the Admiral's men, as he did soon afterwards, he carried with him not only the *Pastoral Tragedy* (177) but also *All Fools*. This unfinished piece was then laid aside and not taken up again till some three years or so later, when it was finished for another company with such alterations as may account for the inapplicability of the latter part of the old title. Collier took *All Fools* and *The Fool* to be different plays, but what sense, if any, he attached to the entry does not appear.

176. THE GENTLE CRAFT.

[63ᵛ 8. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker, 15 July 1599, 'to bye a Boocke,' £3.]

The Shoemakers Holiday or the Gentle Craft was printed (without entry, though transferred S. R. 19 Apr. 1610) in 1600 as acted by the Admiral's men at court. 'Bought by Henslowe for £3. This form of entry is only used in the Diary of old plays, and by no means implies authorship on the part of the seller,' says Fleay. Any one who will look through the entries or through the abstracts given in these notes will see that this statement is entirely untrue (cf. e. g. 161, 162). There is no reason even to suppose that the entry represents the whole payment for the play (cf. moreover 179), nor the least ground, internal or external, for questioning Dekker's authorship. It should be noticed that the action ends on Shrove Tuesday, and did we not know from independent evidence that the piece was bought in July and performed at court on New Year's Day, it would no doubt be argued that it must have been produced at Shrovetide. This instance should be remembered as a warning. The list of actors communicated by 'Dramaticus' to the *Shakespeare Society Papers* (1849, iv. p. 110) is an obvious forgery, and a very clumsy one. The prose 'Historie' of the *Gentle Craft* by T. D., attributed to Deloney, was printed in 1598.

177. [A PASTORAL TRAGEDY.]

[**63** 11, and p. xlix. 'a pastrall tragedie' 'a Pastorall ending in a Tragedye'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chapman, 17 July 1599, in earnest, £2 (acquittance in B. M. fragment).]

Nothing is known of this piece, which was probably never finished. This is the last mention of Chapman in the Diary.

178. THE STEPMOTHER'S TRAGEDY.

[**63^v-65**. '(the) stepmothers tragedy'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle and Dekker, 23 Aug. to 14 Oct. 1599, in full, £6, a first payment of 10*s.* to Dekker on 24 July being cancelled.]

A play called the *Cruelty of a Stepmother* was acted at Richmond on 28 Dec. 1578 by the then Chamberlain's men. There is no reason to suppose any connection with the present piece.

178*a*. BETTER LATE THAN NEVER.

[**63^v** 19. Title of a play by Dekker, cancelled in favour of *Bear a Brain.*]

Whether this was merely an alternative title or referred to a distinct play cannot now be decided.

179. BEAR A BRAIN.

[**63^v** 19. 'beare a braine' (altered from *Better Late than Never*). Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker, 1 Aug. 1599, in full, £2.]

There is no reason to question Dekker's authorship; earlier payments may even have been recorded in the missing leaves after **54**. The phrase 'bear a brain' is equivalent to 'have a care' or 'look about you.' It occurs, as Fleay points out, in the play called *Look about You*, which was printed, without entry, in 1600 as acted by the Admiral's men (ed. Hazlitt-Dodsley, p. 414). This has led him to identify the two pieces. (But there is no evidence that in the instances where 'look about you' occur (e. g. p. 452) the phrase has been altered from 'bear a brain,' for we also find 'have care'; while 'bear a brain' also occurs in *All Fools* (ed. 1873, p. 166).) The identification is indeed possible, and the title *Better late than Never*, if it applies to the same piece may refer to Prince Henry's conversion. I do not, however, think it likely. For one thing, I do not think that *Look about You* can have been written by Dekker. (This rests on internal evidence, but is supported by the fact that, as Fleay points out, Wadeson was paid for the *Earl of Gloster* (222), which must have been a sequel to *Look about You.* Of course he may have written a sequel to a play by Dekker, but taken in conjunction with the internal evidence this is unlikely.) Moreover, Fleay's argument that because *Look about You* was acted by the Admiral's men, 'It must, therefore, have been mentioned in Henslowe's Diary,' is illegitimate. The absence of any mention could easily be accounted for, even were it not for the missing leaves. (With regard to these Fleay observes that they 'have been cut out, a practice not unknown elsewhere among the Shakespeare Society.' The charge is in this instance at least wholly unfounded, and particularly injudicious seeing that the leaves must have been already missing in Malone's day.) Personally I am inclined to believe that *Bear a Brain* may possibly have been another title of the *Gentle Craft* (176). For that piece £3 were paid on 15 July, for the present £2, in full, on 1 Aug. The title *Better late than Never* would suit well the story of Rafe's wife, while the marriage of Lacy and Rose in spite of their guardians may have suggested the title of *Bear a Brain*. It is, however, true that there is no evidence in the play itself that it ever bore another title. Hazlitt's suggestion that the title may have been a mis-writing of *Barabin*, and that this may have been the name of the hero of Dekker's *Jew of Venice*, need not be discussed.

180. PAGE OF PLIMOUTH.

[**63**^{v} 25, **64** 13, 20. '(the lamentable tragedy of) pag(g)e of plemoth'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker and Jonson, 10 Aug. and 2 Sept. 1599, in full, £8. Paid for properties, 12 Sept., £10.]

An account of the murder was published in a tract called 'Sundrye strange and inhumaine Murders lately committed,' 1591. There were also no less than three ballads on the subject, all to the tune of *Fortune my Foe*, and probably all by Deloney. The title of one runs: 'The Lamentation of Master Pages wife of Plimmouth, who being enforced by her Parents to wed him against her will, did most wickedly consent to his murder, for the love of George Strangwidge; for which fact she suffered death at Bar[n]staple in Devonshire. Written with her own hand, a little before her death.'

181. THE POOR MAN'S PARADISE.

[**63**^{v} 28, **64** 6. 'the poore manes paradice'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men to Haughton, 20 and 25 Aug. 1599, 'for his Boocke,' 30*s*.]

Nothing is known of this play.

182. ROBERT II, OR THE SCOT'S TRAGEDY.

[**64–64**^{v}. 'Robart the second kinge of scottes tragedie' 'the scottes tragedi(e'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, Dekker, Jonson, '& other Jentellman,' 3 to 27 Sept. 1599, in earnest, £4. 10.]

Who the fourth dramatist was (if a singular is intended) is not known. Fleay thinks that it was Wadeson, 'whose name Henslowe avoids mentioning to prevent confusion between the two Antonies,' the other being Munday. Since, however, Henslowe was at perfect liberty to call him Wadeson without fear of confusion, and in fact does so more than once, this argument is hardly convincing.

Marston has also been suggested, but it is doubtful whether he appears in the Diary at all. It may have been Porter, the only other writer in Henslowe's pay with whom Jonson is known to have collaborated.

183. [MR. MAXTON'S BOOK.]

[**64**^{v} 6. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to 'm^{r} maxton the new poete,' 28 Sept. 1599, in earnest (blank left for title), £2.]

The correction 'm^{r} mastone' is a forgery, and the identity of the 'new poete' is doubtful, though there is nothing to make Marston's claim unlikely.

184. TRISTRAM OF LYONS.

[**64**^{v} 16. 'Trystram of Lyons'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men (payee unnamed), 13 Oct. 1599, 'for the Booke,' £3.]

Nothing whatever is known of this piece. Lyons is, of course, a corruption of Lionesse.

185 & 186. SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE.

[(*a*) **65** 10, 24, **66**^{v} 22, **68** 12; (*b*) **115–116**. 'S^{r} Jhon (John) Ouldcasstell (oldcastell, ould Casell)' 'ould castell' 'owldcastelle'. (*a*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Drayton, Hathway, Munday, and Wilson, 16 Oct. 1599, for Pt. I, and in earnest of Pt. II, £10; 19/26 Dec. for Pt. II, £4; total for both parts £14. Paid to Munday '& the Reste of the poets' on the occasion of the first performance of Pt. I, 1/8 Nov. 1599, 10*s*. Paid for properties for Pt. II, 12 Mar. 1599/1600, 30*s*. (*b*) Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Dekker, 17 Aug. and 7 Sept. 1602, for additions, £2. 10. Paid 21 and 24 Aug. for properties and in earnest of a play, £15. 10.]

The transference of the play from the Admiral's to Worcester's men, a point not noticed by Fleay, is curious. Whether both parts passed is doubtful. Both parts were entered S. R. 11 Aug. 1600, and Pt. I twice printed with that date as acted by the Admiral's men, and once as written by Shakespeare. This, of course, was before Dekker's additions, supposing these to have been to Pt. I. Fleay gives an elaborate division of parts s. v. Munday. His statement that Drayton wrote three-quarters of Pt. II evidently rests on the fact that the £4 were paid to him alone, and is a very risky inference.

187. PATIENT GRISSEL.

[**29**^{v} 1 (altered to *Damon and Pithias*), **31** 16, **65–68**. '(patient, pacient, pacyent) Gris(s)ell (Gryssell, Grissill, gresell)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, Dekker, and Haughton, 16 Oct./1 Nov. 1599, in earnest, £1; 19 Dec. in earnest, £3 (see acquittance); 26 Dec., £6; 28 Dec. in earnest, 5*s*.; 29 Dec. in earnest, 5*s*.; total £10. 10. Paid 26 Jan. 1599/1600, 'to buy a grey gowne for gryssell,' £1. Paid 18 Mar., 'to staye the printing,' £2.]

The play was entered S. R. 28 Mar. 1600 (i. e. ten days after it was stayed!) to C. Burby, and printed in 1603 for H. Rocket as acted by the Admiral's men. The payments cannot have been as entered; the authors certainly did not get £10. 10 in earnest of the piece, although it is clear that that is what Henslowe disbursed. I think, with Fleay, that £6 was the price paid, though it is clear that the entry of 26 Dec. was not 'inclusive' as far as Henslowe was concerned. The authors may possibly have refunded the advances they had received to the actors, and these been forced to apply to Henslowe for the whole sum due when the time for payment came. The subsequent sums of 5*s.* each to Dekker and Haughton were probably of the nature of a retaining fee for a second part which appears not to have been written. The confusion of these entries shows what caution is necessary in making elaborate inferences from Henslowe's accounts. For Fleay's division of parts see s. v. Haughton.

188. COX OF COLLUMPTON.

[31, 65–65ᵛ. 'John Cox' 'Cox of Collunptō (Collomton, collinsteʳ)', tragedy. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Day and Haughton, 1 to 14 Nov. 1599, in full, £5.]

The play, according to Collier, related to a murder committed at Collumpton in Devonshire. This is very probable, but I am not aware of any record thereof.

189. HENRY RICHMOND, PART II.

[65 27. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Wilson, 8 Nov. 1599, in full, £8.]

No first part is known. The authorisation of payment under Shaa's hand is preserved (MS. I. 26). On the back of this is the outline of five scenes presumably forming the first act. The characters are as follows: Wᵐ Wor (? William Worsley, dean of St. Paul's, 1479–93), Ansell (? Friar Anselem, whose ghost appears in *Edward IV*, in association with Dr. Shaw, prebendary of London and brother of the Lord Mayor: Shaw was employed by Richard Duke of Gloucester to preach at Paul's cross, 22 June 1493, against the legitimacy of the children of Edward IV, and I think he and the dean have probably been confused), ploughmen, Richard [III], Q[ueen] (i. e. Anne Neville, wife of Richard), Eliza (probably Elizabeth, widow of Edward IV; but possibly his daughter, later wife of Henry Duke of Richmond after his attainment to the throne as Henry VII), Rice ap Tho (i. e. Rhys ap Thomas, the supporter of Richmond), Blunt (presumably Sir James Blount, younger son of Walter, first baron Mountjoy); Banester (?); Davye (?); Denys (?); Hen[ry Richmond]; Oxf[ord] (i. e. John de Vere, thirteenth earl, supporter of Richmond); Courtney (probably Edward Courtenay, created Earl of Devonshire on Henry's accession, or else his son William, knighted of the Bath in 1487, a courtier of Henry's, but attainted in 1503, or Peter Courtenay, bishop of Exeter, attainted by Richard III and keeper of the privy seal to Henry VII, translated to Winchester in 1587); Bouʳchier (i. e. presumably Cardinal Thomas Bourchier—great uncle of Henry, second Earl of Essex, of

Henry VII's privy council—who crowned Richard III and married Henry VII); Grace (?); Mitton Ban (?); Catesb (i. e. William Catesby, favourite of Richard III, beheaded after the battle of Bosworth, cf. *Edward IV*); Louell (i. e. Francis Lovell, first Viscount Lovell, another favourite of Richard III, attainted under Henry VII, cf. *Edward IV*); Norf[olk] (i. e. John Howard, first Duke of that family, privy councillor and earl-marshal under Richard III, slain while in command of the vanguard at Bosworth); Northumb[erland] (i. e. Henry Percy, fourth Earl, a follower of Richard III, but after being captured at Bosworth an adherent of Henry VII); Percye (his son, afterwards fifth Earl). There is nothing in this to indicate a second part and something to suggest a first part. Wilson may of course have sold a first part to the company before the entry in the Diary, but it seems more likely that the play was intended as a sequel to *Edward IV*, and that it was called the second part because Henry's early history had been told in that play (cf. Buckingham's last speech) though he does not appear as a character.

189*a*. FORTUNATUS.

See above, 88.

190. THOMAS MERRY, OR BEECH'S TRAGEDY.

[(*a*) **29** 3, 9, **65**^{v}–**66**; (*b*) **67** 16. (*a*) 'mer(e)ie (mer(e)ye)' 'Thomas Merrye', tragedy; (*b*) 'Beches Tragedie'. (*a*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Day and Haughton, 21 Nov. to 6 Dec., in full, £5. Paid 10/18 Jan. 1599/1600, for licensing, 7*s*.]

'A true discourse of a most cruell and barbarous murther commited by one Thomas Merrey, on the persons of Roberte Beeche and Thomas Winchester his servaunt. on the ffridaie night the 23th. of August. beinge Bartholomue Eve. 1594. Together with the order of his arraynement and execucon' was entered S. R. 29 Aug. the same year. There were several ballads on the subject entered 29 Aug., and 3, 7 (two) and 9 Sept. A most curious circumstance connected with this play was first pointed out by Bullen (*Old Plays*, iv. p. 1), who, however, did not grasp its full significance, and was enlarged upon by Fleay. In 1601, namely, there was printed, without entry, a play called *Two Lamentable Tragedies* as by Rob. Yarington. This play consists of alternate scenes from two murder-plots, the first Merry's murder of Beech, the second an Italian version of the Babes in the Wood. Now at the same time that Day and Haughton were being paid for *Thomas Merry*, Chettle was receiving advances for the *Orphans' Tragedy* (191), and Day for a nameless 'Italian tragedy' (193). I have very little doubt that these last two are the same. The obvious inference is that the printed play consists of a combination of the two Admiral's pieces, and Fleay suggests that the belated payment to Chettle in 1601 (see 191) was for effecting the conjunction. In the extant play it is evident that the two plots are the work of different writers, though I cannot trace more than one hand in each as one would expect to from Henslowe's entries. If, however, we are to suppose that each originally formed a separate play much matter must have been omitted. I conjecture that Day contributed a more or less independent underplot to each, and that these were dropt when the main plots were amalgamated. There is certainly no trace of his hand now remaining. The Merry part is written in an extraordinary wooden bombast of grotesque commonplace, which it would be difficult to parallel except from some broadside ballads, and which one may well hesitate to father on any one. I suppose, however, that it must have had an author, and of Haughton's work we know little. The 'Orphans' part, though feeble enough, is much better written, the author having feeling and some notion of poetry. He actually uses rime and classical allusions, both of which are wholly foreign to the style of his collaborator. There is plenty of rant but it is upon more promising subjects than privies and ditches. On the whole it is quite good enough to be by Chettle. There is one difficulty, namely, that the Induction which belongs to the play as it stands, and should, therefore, be by Chettle, rather resembles the Merry part in style. It may, however, have originally belonged to *Thomas Merry*, and have only been altered by Chettle to fit the composite play. The piece as we have it was certainly copied out and to some extent edited by one hand, for the curious direction 'to the people' for 'aside' occurs in both parts, and certain peculiarities of spelling run throughout. These are due, I believe, not to Chettle, but to Yarington, the scribe, as I take it, who placed his name at the end of the MS. whence it found its name on to the title-page. (I should add that my friend Mr. R. A. Law of Texas, who had been studying the play, has arrived at entirely different conclusions, which, however, he has not yet published.)

191. THE ORPHANS' TRAGEDY.

[**29** 6, 16, **65**^{v} 12, 31, **93**^{v} 33. 'the orphanes (orphenes, orfenes) Tragedy (tragedie)' 'the tragedie of orphenes'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, 10 Nov. 1599, in earnest of a book unnamed, 10*s.*; 27 Nov. in earnest, 10*s.* (to which should probably be added the £2 advanced to Day, 10 Jan. 1599/1600, in earnest of the *Italian Tragedy of*——, **67** 9); again to Chettle, 24 Sept. 1601, in part, 10*s.*]

It is evident that we have record of a portion only of the payment that must have been made if the play was finished, and we have good reason to suppose that it was not only finished but also printed (see 190).

192. THE ARCADIAN VIRGIN.

[**66**^{v} 7, 10. 'arke(a)dian virgen'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle and Haughton, 13 and 17 Dec. 1599, in earnest, 15*s.*]

Possibly on the story of Atalanta, but it is not known whether the play was finished.

193. [DAY'S ITALIAN TRAGEDY.]

[**67** 9. 'the etalyan tragedie of ——'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Day, 10 Jan. 1599/1600, in earnest, £2.]

This may be the same as the *Orphans' Tragedy* (191). It can have no connection with Worcester's men's *Italian Tragedy* (279).

194. OWEN TUDOR.

[**67** 14. 'owen teder'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Drayton, Hathway, Munday, and Wilson, 10/18 Jan. 1599/1600, in earnest, £4.]

Owen Tudor, reported to have married Catherine of Valois, widow of Henry V, by whom he had a son Edmund who was created Earl of Richmond by Henry VI and became the father of Henry VII. Owen was captured at the battle of Mortimer's Cross in 1461 and beheaded by Edward IV. Nothing is known of the play.

195. TRUTH'S SUPPLICATION TO CANDLELIGHT.

[**30**^{v} 12, **67**, **68**^{v} 2. 'truths (trewghℓ, trewth) supplycation (suplication) to candle light (candelighte, -ithe)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker, 18 and 30 Jan. 1599/1600, in earnest, £2 (cf. acquittance for the latter ; acquittance for the former payment is preserved among the Egerton-Warburton MSS., Report of Historical MSS. Commission, iii. p. 291*a*). Paid 2 Apr. 'to by a Robe for tyme' (play not specified), £2.]

Identified by Fleay with the *Whore of Babylon*, entered S. R. 20 Apr. 1607, and printed the same year as written by Dekker and acted by the Prince's Men. It was performed in a 'Square' house (see Prologue), i. e. the Fortune. (A passage in sc. iii, (ed. 1873, p. 214) would certainly be held to imply that it was acted at the Cockpit, were it not ten years too early for that house: another warning.) The mention of the robe for Time (a character in the play), together with the extreme appropriateness of the present title make the identification practically certain. The play obviously dates from Elizabeth's reign, and at the time of publication Dekker had quarrelled with the company who acted it, the Fortune players (see the address 'Lectori'). The passage alluding to James (ed. 1873, p. 234) does not fit, and is probably not a mere insertion as Fleay thinks, but a substitution. So with the Essex passage (pp. 246–7), which certainly cannot be reduced to its original shape by altering the *he*'s to *she*'s. (I rather question, indeed, whether the passage ever referred to Mary. It is not likely that Dekker, writing in 1600, should have represented as contemporary events which happened in 1587, while if he intended to treat Mary's death in connection with the whole history of Roman plots, he would have made much more of the incident.) The play appears to be alluded to under its later title in *Satiromastix* (1601).

196. JUGURTHA.

[**67**^{v} 11. 'Jugurth'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Will Boyle, 9 Feb. 1599/1600, 'for a new booke,' 30*s*., to be refunded if the play were not approved.]

Fleay thinks that Boyle was merely a *nom de plume* of Birde, through whom the payment was made, but this, though not impossible, rests on nothing more substantial than the fact that Boyle is not otherwise known. The piece was probably the same as the 'old play' of *Jugurth, King of Numidia*, licensed by Herbert, 3 May 1624.

197. THE SPANISH MOOR'S TRAGEDY.

[**67ᵛ** 18. 'the spaneshe mores tragedie'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Day, Dekker, and Haughton, 13 Feb. 1599/1600, in part, £3.].

Identified by Collier and Fleay with *Lust's Dominion*, printed in 1657 as by Marlowe. This seems not unlikely. I cannot, however, agree with Fleay's division. III. i–iv are certainly by one hand (? Day's) and II. iii–iv by another (? Haughton's), and the rest may be by one hand (? Dekker's), though this is doubtful. Fleay gives III. i–iv and IV to Day; II. ii–v and III. v–vi to Haughton; I, II. i and V to Dekker. (In any case there is very little doubt that Day was the author of the short Oberon scene at the end of III. ii. The shorter metre corresponds with that of the Oberon scenes in the *Parliament of Bees.*) Fleay, who finds 'an undercurrent of pre-Shakespearian work' (in which Ward concurs) and also specific marks of alteration in the shape of clearly alternative readings, thinks that the play is based on an earlier piece in which Marlowe may have had a hand. There is certainly a good deal that is Marlowan and which sorts ill with the date of the *Spanish Moor's Tragedy.* Collier shows, in his edition of Dodsley's *Old Plays* (1825, ii. p. 311), that some passages are founded on a *Brief Declaration of the . . . Death . . . of . . . Philip II* printed in 1599 (*Harleian Miscellany*, 1744, vol. ii). (Malone interpreted Henslowe's title as the 'Spanish Morris, tragedy' for which he was quite unreasonably ridiculed by Collier.)

198. DAMON AND PYTHIAS.

[**29ᵛ** 1, **67ᵛ–69.** 'Damon & Pythias (pethyus, pethias, Pithias)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, 16 Feb. to 27 Apr./6 May, 1599/1600, in full, £6. Paid 16 May, for licensing, 7*s*.]

Halliwell and Hazlitt follow Collier in suggesting that this may have been an alteration of the play of the same title entered S. R. 1567–8 (first entry), and printed in 1571 as by R. Edwards, but it is unlikely that there was any connection.

199. THE SEVEN WISE MASTERS.

[**67ᵛ–68.** 'the 7 (vij) wis(s)e mʳˢ (ma(i)sters)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men to Chettle, Day, Dekker and Haughton, 1 to 8/10 Mar. 1599/1600, in full, £6. Paid for properties 25 Mar./2 Apr., £38.]

Nothing is known of this play.

200. FERREX AND PORREX.

[**68–69**. 'fer(r)ex & por(r)ex(e'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Haughton, 18 Mar. to 3/13 Apr. 1599/1600 (3 Mar. is a mistake for 3 Apr.), in full, £4. 15. Paid 6/10 May, for licensing, 7*s.*]

Halliwell and Hazlitt, as well as Ward, follow Collier in supposing this to be an alteration of *Gorboduc*, entered S. R. 1565–6, and published the same year as by Norton and Sackville. This is unnecessary. The story was also used for one of the sin-plays in 2 *Seven Deadly Sins* (see *Four Plays in One*, 13).

201. THE ENGLISH FUGITIVES.

[**68^{v}**. 'the Ingleshe fegetives' 'y^{e} englishe fugitiues'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Haughton, 16 and 24 Apr. 1600, in earnest, 30*s.*]

Nothing definite is known of this play. Haughton at this time seems to have been drawing odd sums of money for a variety of plays of which nothing further is heard. On 6 May he received 5*s.* on the *Devil and his Dame* (204), which seems to have been repaid, on 27 May 10*s.* in earnest of *Judas* (207), which was afterwards finished by Bird and Rowley, and in the following Dec.–Jan. as much as £4 for *Robin Hood's Pen'orths* (211), which may conceivably have been the same as the present piece. Either, which is quite possible, he received many payments not recorded in the Diary, or else he was obtaining money by a series of unfulfilled projects. On the present piece Collier remarks: 'We may guess that the play was on the story of the Duchess of Suffolk, afterwards dramatised by Drue [licensed by Herbert, 2 Jan. 1624, for the Palgrave's men, entered S. R. 13 Nov. 1629], and printed in 1631: it was also the subject of a well-known ballad.' If so Drue, whose play relates to Marian times, may have been working on an old stock piece of the company. It is however more likely that the Admiral's play was connected with two tracts, 'The Estate of English Fugitiues vnder the king of Spaine and his ministers,' and 'A Discourse of the Vsage of the English Fugitiues by the Spaniard,' both printed in 1595. (The mutual relation of these tracts, the former of which is attributed to Sir L. Lewkenor, is curious and might repay investigation.)

202. THE GOLDEN ASS AND CUPID AND PSYCHE.

[**68^{v}–69^{v}**. 'The go(w)lden Ass(e (&) Cupid (cuped) & (P)siches' 'cvped & siches'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, Day, and Dekker, 27 Apr./6 May to 14 May 1600, in full, £6. Paid 5 June, for properties, £2.]

The subject was treated by Heywood in one of his mythological plays, *Love's Mistress*, entered S. R. 30 Sept. 1635, and printed the following year, as acted by the Queen's men. This may possibly have been expanded from one of the *Five Plays in One* (103), but there is nothing to suggest any connection with the piece by Chettle and the rest. Gosson in his *Plays Confuted* (c. 1581) had long before remarked that the *Golden Ass* was among the books which had furnished materials for the English stage.

203. THE WOOING OF DEATH.

[**69** 2. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, 27 Apr./6 May 1600, in earnest, £1, to which should perhaps be added a loan of 5*s*. to Chettle, 6 May (**69** 7).]

Nothing is known of this play.

204. THE DEVIL AND HIS DAME.

[**69** 9. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Haughton, 6 May 1600, 'in earneste of a Boocke w^{ch} he wold calle the devell & his dame,' 5*s*. Cancelled.]

In 1662 a play with the title 'Grim the Collier of Croydon, or the Devil and his Dame; with the Devil and St. Dunstan: a Comedy, by I. T.' was included in a volume called *Gratiae Theatrales.* This piece, according to Ward (i. p. 263, note 1) 'is stated to have been printed under the name of *The Devil and his Dame* in 1600.' This assertion is unsupported by evidence. The piece was stated by Jacob (*Poetical Register*, 1719) to have been printed in 1606, and by Chetwood (*British Theatre*, 1751) in 1599; both quoting the title as in the 1662 volume The former is evidently a slip in reprinting from Langbaine or Gildon, who have the date 1662; the latter probably a fabrication. It is, however, perfectly clear from internal evidence that the play belongs to the sixteenth century. Grim is mentioned in Edwards' *Damon and Pythias* (entered S. R. 1567–8, and printed 1571), and is a character, together with the devil, in Fulwel's *Like will to Like quod the Devil to the Collier* (entered S. R. 1568–9, and printed the former year), which may have been the same as the 'historie of the Collyer' performed, according to the Revels' Accounts, by Leicester's men at Hampton Court, 30 Dec. 1576. Haughton's solitary advance of 5*s*., which seems to have been repaid, is not much evidence for his authorship of the extant play, though of course he may quite well have written it for the company even though the record of payment is not found. Cf. *The English Fugitives* (201). Who the initials I. T. were intended to suggest is not known. There may have been some indirect connection between Haughton's play and Pembroke's men's *Like unto Like* (261).

205. STRANGE NEWS OUT OF POLAND.

[**69–69**^{v}. 'stra(u)nge newes out (owt) of po(w)land'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Haughton and 'm^{r} Pett,' 17 May 1600, in full, £6. Paid for properties, 25 May, £3.]

'But Pett is not heard of elsewhere. Should it not be Chett., i. e. Chettle?'—Fleay. Henslowe often has Cett for Chettle, which is even nearer, but only where he is crowded for room and he never applies to him the title of Mr. Nothing is known of this piece. ('A "shrew" play' is the comment added by Fleay—rather puzzling till one realizes that the note has dropped out of its proper place in the *Devil and his Dame* entry.)

206, 214 & 220. THE BLIND BEGGAR OF BEDNALL GREEN, OR TOM STROWD.

[(*a*) **69** 33; (*b*) **82** 15, **85^{v}–86^{v}**; (*c*) **87, 91^{v}–93^{v}**. 'the blynd begger of bednall (bednowle) greene' 't)t(h)ome strow(d)(e' 'strowde'. (*a*) Pt. I. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle and Day, 26 May 1600, in full, £5. 10 (to which should most likely be added 10*s*. paid to Chettle and Day, 19 June; in earnest of a book not named, being a bonus similar to that paid on Pt. II). (*b*) Pt. II. Paid to Day and Haughton, 29 Jan. to 5 May 1600/1, in full, £6 (including 10*s*. paid to Day, 27 Apr. / 2 May, 'after the playinge,' i. e. presumably a bonus on the first performance). Paid for properties 27 Apr., £1. 10. (*c*) Pt. III. Paid to Day and Haughton, 21 May to 30 July, in full; £6. 10. Paid for properties including 'a sewte for a fyer drack,' 27 Aug. to 23 Sept., £6. 6. 10. Paid for licensing, together with 'the Remaynder of carnowlle wollsey,' 3 Sept., 10*s*.]

The first part was printed in 1659 under the title of 'The Blind-Beggar of Bednal-Green, with The merry humor of Tom Strowd the Norfolk Yeoman,' as written by Day and acted by the Prince's men. This suggests that the MS. had belonged to a later revision. Fleay divides the play between Chettle and Day. Nothing is known of the later parts.

207. JUDAS.

[(*a*) **69^{v}** 2; (*b*) **95–95^{v}**. (*a*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Haughton, 27 May 1600, in earnest, 10*s*. (*b*) Paid to Bird and Rowley, 20–24 Dec. 1601, in full, £6. Paid 3 Jan. 1601/2, for properties, 30*s*.]

It is, of course, impossible to be certain that the two sets of entries refer to the same piece, but this would seem probable. Possibly a rough sketch of the play on which Haughton received his advance remained in Henslowe's hands. Cf. *The English Fugitives* (201).

208 & 209. FAIR CONSTANCE OF ROME.

[**69^{v}**. '(the fayre) constance of Rome (Roome)'. Pt. I. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men to Dekker, Drayton, Hathway and Munday, 3 and 14 June, in full, £5. 9. Pt. II. Paid to Hathway, &c. ('to lend them'), 20 June, in earnest, £1.]

There is a most important document extant (MS. I. 31), which shows that Henslowe's entries can never be relied on to give the complete payments for any play. It will be noticed that Henslowe enters £5. 9 as the 'full' sum paid. The document is a note to him from Shaa asking him to make up the 'full' payment of £6, reserving, however, Wilson's share, namely 11*s*., which had been already delivered to him by the writer; thus leaving £5. 9. Shaa indeed says 'reserue for me,' but since there is no entry of Henslowe having paid him the money, he must have got it from the company some other way. Fleay noting the fact remarks: 'Hence we learn that absence of authors' names in Henslowe is not absolute proof of absence of co-operation.' It is, of course, no proof at all, since Henslowe was only interested in who received the money, not who wrote the play. Nothing is known of the piece, which was, no doubt, on the story treated by Chaucer's Man of Law.

SECTION IX

Plays belonging to the Admiral's men, acting at the Fortune, 14 *Aug.* 1600 *to* 12 *Mar.* 1603. *The exact date at which the Fortune was opened is not known, but the company appear to have left the Rose by* 13 *July, the date of the last payment of weekly dues, and a payment was made to Alleyn 'for the firste weckes playe,' presumably at the Fortune, between* 11 *Nov. and* 14 *Dec. The Rose was occupied by Pembroke's men late in Oct.*

210. FORTUNE'S TENNIS (?)

[70ʳ 14. 'the fortewn tenes'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker, 6 Sept. 1600, 'for his boocke,' £1.]

Collier read the title as 'forteion tenes,' which Fleay equally interprets as *Fortune's Tennis.* He rightly rejects Collier's suggestion of *Fortunatus*, but his own suggestion of 'Hortenzo's Tennis,' based on a casual remark, not by Hortenzo, in *Lust's Dominion* (cf. 197), seems fantastic. Similes from tennis were, of course, common. The use of the article before the title is curious unless we suppose Henslowe to have intended to write the *Fortune of Tennis.* It should perhaps be remarked that this is one of the first new plays taken in hand after the company left the Rose, and that there may quite possibly be some allusion to the name of their new house, the Fortune. One of the fragmentary Plots that have survived may perhaps belong to the present piece, though this is very doubtful (see Apx. II. 6).

210*a*. PHAETON.

See above, 124.

211. ROBIN HOOD'S PEN'ORTHS.

[70ᵛ–71. 'Roben hoodes penerth(e(s'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Haughton, 20 Dec. to 13 Jan. 1600/1, 'for his playe,' £4.]

Nothing is known of this piece. Cf. *English Fugitives* (201).

212. HANNIBAL AND SCIPIO.

[**31^{v}** 20, **71**. ‘Hanniball (hanyball, haneball) & Scipio (sepius, sepies)’. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Hathway and Rankins, 3 to 12 Jan. 1600/1, in full, £6.]

A play of *Hannibal and Scipio* was entered S. R. 6 Aug. 1636, and published the following year as written by Nabbes and acted by the Queen's men in 1635. This may possibly have been based on the earlier piece.

213. SCOGAN AND SKELTON.

[**71** 32, **85^{v}–86^{v}**. ‘skogen & scelton (skelton)’ ‘skelton & skogan’. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Hathway and Rankins, 23 Jan. to 8 Mar. 1600/1, in full, £5. 18 (to which must, no doubt, be added the 2*s.* paid to Rankins, 8 Feb., in earnest of an unnamed piece).]

The collection of ‘Scogan’ jests, that is the biography of John Scogan, reputed jester to Edward IV, is commonly, but on insufficient evidence, ascribed to A. Boorde. It was entered S. R. 1565–6 to Thomas Colwell, and in 1567 the same printer issued the *Merry Tales* attributed to Skelton. John Scogan, who is very likely a mythical character, must be distinguished from Henry Scoggin, the follower of Chaucer. The jests were later reprinted as those of Will Summer. Nothing is known of the play.

214. THE BLIND BEGGAR OF BEDNAL GREEN OR TOM STROWD, PART II.

See above, 206.

215. THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY JOHN OF GAUNT.

[**86-86^{v}**. ‘conquest(e of spayne (by John a gant)’. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Hathway and Rankins, 24 Mar. to 16 Apr. 1600/1, in part, £1. 19.]

Another case in which important light is thrown on the nature of Henslowe's entries by an independent document (MS. I. 33). From this, a note from Rowley to Henslowe, we learn first that the advances had been made on receipt of a portion of the MS., and secondly that the piece was never finished for the company, for the papers were returned to the author, who gave his bond for the payment of the debt. Rowley adds that either Henslowe can cross the loan out of his book and keep the bond, ‘or else wele stande so muche indetted to yow & kepe the byll o^{r} selues,’ which supplies definite proof that the accounts in the Diary are the company's accounts and that to regard them as concerning Henslowe personally, as is usually done, is entirely to misunderstand the transactions. The play no doubt has some connection with the entry, S. R. 14 May 1594, of ‘the famous historye of John of Gaunte sonne to Kinge Edward the Third with his Conquest of Spaine and marriage of his Twoo daughters to the Kinges of Castile and Portugale &c.’ This is more likely, however, to have been a chapbook than a play.

216. ALL IS NOT GOLD THAT GLISTERS.

[**86**. 'al is not gowld y^{t} (that) glesters (glysters)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, 31 Mar. and 6 Apr. 1601, in full, £6.]

Nothing is known of this piece.

217. THE CONQUEST OF THE WEST INDIES.

[**86–87, 92–94, 104** 2. 'the conquest(e of the west(e enges' 'west(e (weast(e) enges' 'Jndies'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Day, Haughton, and Smith, 4 Apr. to 21 May and 5 Aug. to 1 Sept. 1601, in part, £6. 15 (no final payment entered). Paid for properties, 1 and 10 Oct., and 21 Jan. 1601/2, £14. 7. 9.]

Rowley's authorisation to Henslowe for payment on account of this play is preserved (MS. I. 32). We also learn from another document (I. 35) that on 4 June Day was still busied with the plot of this play. Nothing is known of it.

218. KING SEBASTIAN OF PORTINGALE.

[**86**^{v}**–87**. 'kinge (kynge) sebastian(e (—tion) of portingall(e (portyngall)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men to Chettle and Dekker, 18 Apr. to 22 May 1601, in full, £6.]

A tract, translated by Munday from J. Teixeira, entitled 'The strangest adventure that ever happened. . . . Containing a discourse concerning the successe of the King of Portugall Dom Sebastian from the time of his voyage into Affricke, . . . in the year 1578. unto the sixt of January this present 1601,' was entered S. R. 30 Mar. 1601, and printed the same year. No doubt it was upon this that the play was founded. The discourse may well have been strange, for Sebastian fell at Alcazar in 1578. There appear, however, to have been claimants who impersonated him.

218*a*. THE BLIND BEGGAR OF ALEXANDRIA.

See above, 88.

218*b*. THE JEW OF MALTA.

See above, 7.

219. THE SIX YEOMEN OF THE WEST.

[**87–87**^{v}, **91–91**^{v}. 'the vj yemon (yemen) (of the we(a)st(e)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Day and Haughton, 20 May to 8 June 1601, in full, £5. Paid 1 to 6 July for properties, including H. Jeffe's suit, £6. 1.]

Rowley's authorisations for the payments of 4 to 8 June are extant (MS. I. 35, 34). The play was, no doubt, founded on Deloney's chapbook, 'Thomas of Reading, or the sixe worthy yeomen of the West,' of which the earliest known edition, the fourth, was printed in 1612, but which was transferred from Millington to Pavier, S. R. 19 Apr. 1602. For a possible sequel see *Tom Dough* (224).

220. THE BLIND BEGGAR OF BEDNAL GREEN OR TOM STROWD, PART III.

See above, 206.

221 & 225. CARDINAL WOLSEY (LIFE AND RISING, PARTS II and I).

[(*a*) **87**^{v} 17, **91-93**^{v} ; (*b*) **93-94**^{v}, **105**^{v} 7 ; (*c*) **105**^{v}**-106**. 'carna(w)l(l)(e (carno(w)(e)l(l)(e(s) wol(l)sey(e' 'wollsey(e'. (*a*) '—— life' **87**^{v}. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, 5 June 1601, 'for writting the Boocke,' £1 ; 28 June, 'for the altrynge of the booke,' £1 ; 4 July, in full, 'for the Boocke,' £2 ; 17 July, 'for the Boock . . . to paye vnto m^{r} Bromffelld,' £1 ; 18 Aug., 'for his Boocke,' £1 ; total £6. Paid 3 Sept., for licensing 'the Remaynder,' (10*s* – 7*s* =) 3*s*. Paid 7 to 21 Aug. for properties, £38. 12. 2. (*b*) 'the j (firste, fyrste) pt(e of ——' 'the Rissenge (—ynge) of ——'. Paid to Chettle, Drayton, Munday, and Smith, 24 Aug. to 12 Nov., in full, £7. Paid to Chettle, 15 May 1602, 'for the mendynge,' £1. (The *Life* now apparently became Pt. II, though written before the *Rising*.) (*c*) 'the 2 pt(e of ——'. Paid for properties for the *Life*, 18 May to 2 June 1602, £11. 6.]

The payments to Chettle for the *Life* are very complicated, and cannot now be fully explained. Broomfield was a mercer apparently, and Chettle had for some reason probably pawned part of his MS. to him instead of bringing it to Henslowe, as he certainly did on another occasion also (**109**^{v} 6). The play of 'the Cardinall,' for which the licence money was owing 4 Aug. 1602, must have been the *Rising* (MS. I. 37).

222. THE HONOURABLE LIFE OF THE HUMOROUS EARL OF GLOSTER WITH HIS CONQUEST OF PORTUGAL.

[**85** 15, **87**^{v} 32, **91**^{v} 34. 'the (honorable, onarable) lyfe (life) of the Humorous (humeros, hewmerus) Earle (earlle) of Gloster (wth his conquest(e of Portugall (portingale))'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Wadeson, 13 June and 23/25 July 1601, 30*s*.]

This piece, as Fleay has pointed out, was probably a sequel to *Look about You* (printed, without entry, 1600 as played by the Admiral's men ; cf. *Bear a Brain*, 179), at the end of which Gloster announces his intention of going to fight the Saracens in Portugal. It is possible therefore, though by no means certain, that Wadeson may have been the author of the extant piece.

223. FRIAR RUSH AND THE PROUD WOMAN OF ANTWERP.

[**91-95, 104**. 'frier Rushe & the prowd womon' 'the prowde womon of anwarpe frier Rushe' 'the prowd(e woman (womon) of anwarp(p)e' 'the prowde womon'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Day and Haughton, 4 July to 29 Nov. 1601, in full, £5. Paid to Chettle, 21 Jan. 1601/2, 'for mending,' 10*s*.]

'I think The Proud Woman of Antwerp was a separate play by Chettle alone,' says Fleay, meaning presumably 'by Haughton.' This is directly contrary to evidence. Friar Rush is the hero of a legend of wide-spread popularity in Denmark and Germany, and an English chapbook on the subject was entered

S. R. 1568–9, the earliest extant edition being that of 1620. With this Herford suggests that the playwrights interwove the story of the Devil's marriage borrowed from Machiavelli's novel of *Belphegor* (see *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, p. 308). The Rush story also supplied the plots of Dekker's *If it be not Good, the Devil is in it*, and Jonson's *Devil is an Ass*; for *Belphegor*, cf. the *Devil and his Dame* (204).

224. TOM DOUGH, PART II.

[**92, 93**v. 'thome dowghe'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Day and Haughton, 30 July to 11 Sept. 1601, in part, £4.]

Fleay suggests that this may have been a sequel to the *Seven Yeomen of the West* (219), one of the characters of *Thomas of Reading* being called 'Tom Doue': but it happens that this name rimes with 'love'! I am, however, by no means certain that Fleay's suggestion is wrong. The rime only occurs in one single instance which may well have been overlooked by the playwrights, and otherwise there is nothing to show that the name was not to be pronounced after the manner indicated by Henslowe's spelling.

224*a*. MAHOMET.

See above, 50.

225. THE RISING OF CARDINAL WOLSEY (PART I).

See above, 221.

225*a*. THE WISE MAN OF WEST CHESTER.

See above, 62.

225*b*. THE ORPHANS' TRAGEDY.

See above, 191.

225*c*. JERONIMO.

See above, 16.

226–7. THE SIX CLOTHIERS.

[**94–94**v, **100** 11. 'the vj (sixe) cloth(y)ers'. Pt. I. Paid on behalf of the Admirals men, to Hathway, Haughton, and Smith, 12 and 22 Oct. 1601, in part, £5. Pt. II. Paid to the same, 3/8 Nov. 1601, in earnest, £2.]

The nature of the entries forbid the identification of these pieces with the *Six Yeomen of the West* (219), although it is true that the heroes of *Thomas of Reading* were clothiers. They may possibly have been sequels.

228. TOO GOOD TO BE TRUE.

[**95 96**. 'to good'e to be trewe'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, Hathway, and Smith, 14 Nov. to 7 Jan. 1601/2, in full, £6. 5.]

From the authorisation for payment from Shaa, which is preserved (MS. I. 36), we learn that £6 was to be the total amount given for the piece, so that the advance of the odd 5*s*. to Chettle on 14 Nov. was irregular. Since the additional title, 'or northern Man,' in that entry is a forgery, there is no reason to connect the piece with the poem of the *King and a Poor Northern Man* reprinted by Collier (Percy Soc. 1841).

228*a*. VALTEGER.

See above, 95.

228*b*. JUDAS.

See above, 207.

229. THE SPANISH FIG.

[**96** 9. 'the spanish fygge'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men (payee unnamed), 6 Jan. 1601/2, in part, £3.]

Fleay proposes to identify this with a play, entered as the *Noble Spanish Soldier* by Dekker, S. R. 16 May 1631 (together with the *Wonder of a Kingdom*), and again 9 Dec. 1633, and printed in 1634 as the *Noble Soldier* (not the *Spanish Soldier*, as Fleay says) by S. R[owley]. This is certainly an old play of about 1600, presumably by Dekker and Rowley with later additions by Day, which like those to the *Wonder of a Kingdom* (cf. *Mack*, 69) were extracted and printed in the *Parliament of Bees*. In this case the allusion in V. i (ed. Bullen, p. 322), 'Goe with Judas and repent,' may allude to the play on which Rowley was engaged in Dec. 1601 (see *Judas*, 207). Fleay's statement, repeated by Ward, that the King is poisoned with a Spanish fig in the extant play is untrue; he is poisoned with a bowl of wine. There is, however, an allusion to Spanish figs in the passage (ed. Bullen, p. 330), and it is quite possible that such may have been the mode of poisoning in the original piece. On the whole, therefore, the identification seems plausible.

230. PONTIUS PILATE.

[**96** 18. 'ponesciones pillet'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker, 12 Jan. 1601/2, for a prologue and epilogue, 10*s*.]

The interpretation of Henslowe's title must, of course, be more or less matter of conjecture.

230*a*. TASSO'S MELANCHOLY.

See above, 49.

230*b*. THE FRENCH DOCTOR. See above, 57.

230*c*. THE MASSACRE OF FRANCE. See above, 26.

230*d*. CRACK ME THIS NUT. See above, 76.

[**96** 26–7. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Alleyn, 18 Jan. 1601/2, 'for iij boockes,' £6.]

230*e*. FRIAR RUSH AND THE PROUD WOMAN OF ANTWERP.

See above, 223.

231. MALCOLM KING OF SCOTS.

[**105** 15, 23. 'malcolm kynge of scott℮ (scotes)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Massye, 18 Apr. 1602, 'for a playe Boocke,' £5. Paid 27 Apr., 'to bye a sewt of motley for the scotchman,' 30*s*.]

Nothing is known of this piece.

232. LOVE PARTS FRIENDSHIP.

[**105** 27, **106** 24. 'love ptes (partes) frenship(pe'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle and Smith, 4 May 1602, 'to bye a Boocke,' £6. Paid 31 May, for a suit, £2. 10.]

The money for licence was owing 4 Aug. 1602 (MS. I. 37). According to Bullen it is 'not altogether improbable' that this may be the *Trial of Chivalry* (*Old Plays*, iii. p. 263). That play, however, belonged to Derby's men (cf. *Bourbon*, 115).

233. THE BRISTOW TRAGEDY.

[**105** 31, **106** 3, 11. 'bristo tragedi(e'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Day, 4 to 28 May 1602, in full, £5.]

Halliwell and Hazlitt follow Collier in suggesting that this is the *Fair Maid of Bristow*, entered S. R. 8 Feb. 1605, and printed the same year. But as this is a comedy and was acted, according to S. R., by the King's men, the identification is out of the question. Warner (p. 24) seeks to identify the 'baxters tragedy,' for which the money due for licence was owing 4 Aug. 1602 (MS. I. 37), with the present piece, but this is uncertain, though I have no suggestion to make with regard to either. Bristow is, of course, an old form of Bristol, but the omission of the article is perplexing. It is remarkable that in each of the three entries Henslowe has thought it necessary to remark that Day's play was 'written by hime sellfe,' an addition found, I believe, nowhere else. How far did Day and possibly other of Henslowe's writers act as purveyors of other men's work?

234. JEPHTHAH.

[**105**^{v}, **106**^{v}. 'Jeffa(e'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Dekker and Munday, 5 May 1602, in earnest, £5. Paid 16/18 May, for wine 'when they Read the playe,' 2*s*. Paid 8 May (probably June) to 5 July, for properties, £13. 17.]

'Jepha Judg of Jsrael' is among the plays for the licensing of which money was owing 4 Aug. 1602 (MS. I. 37). Nothing further is known of it.

234*a*. CARDINAL WOLSEY.

See above, 221.

235. TOBYAS.

[**105**^{v}–**106**^{v}. 'tobyas (tobias)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, 16 May to 27 June 1602, in full; £6. 5.]

The money for licensing was owing 4 Aug. 1602 (MS. I. 37). Nothing is known of the piece.

236. CAESAR'S FALL, OR THE TWO SHAPES (?)

[**105**^{v} 29, **106** 18. 'sesers ffalle' 'too shapes' (?). Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Drayton, Munday, Webster, '& the Rest' (including Middleton), 22 May 1602, in earnest, £5; to Dekker, Drayton, Middleton, Munday, and Webster, 29 May, in full, £3; total £8.]

The agreement of the list of authors and the complementary nature of the payments put the identity of the pieces, I think, beyond doubt. What, however, the second title can mean I have no notion. Nothing is known of the piece.

237. RICHARD CROOKBACK.

[**106**^{v} 10. 'Richard crockbacke'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men to Jonson, 22 June 1602, in earnest and for 'adicyons for Jeronymo,' £10.]

I can see no reason for Fleay's supposition that this was 'Probably an alteration of Marlow's play (on which Shakespeare's was founded), brought by Jonson from the Chamberlain's company.' Jonson would hardly have been paid in earnest for an old play, and the sum is unexpectedly large even supposing it to have been a part payment for a new piece, for it is difficult to allow more than £3 or so for the additions to *Jeronimo*. Of course, if the play was wholly Jonson's, one would have expected him to publish it, but we cannot be certain that it was even finished, and in any case may have been written in collaboration.

238. THE DANISH TRAGEDY.

[**107** 3. 'a danyshe tragedy'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, 7 July 1602, in earnest, £1.]

Fleay identifies this with *Hoffman* (253), but the payments are separated by too long an interval for that to be a satisfactory hypothesis, though it is not, of course, impossible. I prefer to imagine that it was a fore-piece dealing with the story of Hoffman's father, such as the extant work throughout presupposes. Cf. *Roderick* (263).

239. THE WIDOW'S CHARM.

[**107–107**v. '(the, a) widowes cherme (charme)', comedy. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to 'antony the poyete,' 9 July to 11 Sept. 1602, in part, 30*s*.]

According to Fleay 'Antony the poet' means 'poet to the City Corporation, for whom Monday wrote nearly all the pageants from this time to 1616 [or rather those of 1605, 1611, and 1614–16].' That any known poet, whether Munday or Wadeson, should be consistently called by such a title in connection with one play (four entries), and one play only, seems to me inconceivable.

240. A MEDICINE FOR A CURST WIFE.

[(*a*) **107** 15, 25; (*b*) **115–116**. '(a) med(y)s(s)en for a cvrst(e wiffe'. (*a*) Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men to Dekker, 19 and 31 July 1602, in part, £4. (These payments were cancelled, and restored again by the word 'stete' written against them.) (*b*) Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Dekker, 27 Aug. to 2 Sept. 1602, in full, £6. Paid to Dekker, 22 Sept., 'over & above his price of his boocke,' 10*s*.]

The transaction is really quite clear. Dekker began to write the play for the Admiral's men and, after he had received £4, transferred his services to Worcester's, from whom he received the full £6. He, no doubt, refunded the £4 to the Admiral's men, and Henslowe, supposing that the sum would be returned to him, cancelled the entries. The company, however, retained the money and so the entries were re-instated. Nothing is known of the play.

241. SAMSON.

[**107** 20. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men (payee unnamed), 29 July 1602, 'for the Boocke,' £6.]

Ward makes the common mistake of giving the names of actors authorising payment (S. Rowley and E. Juby) as those of the authors. In this he has followed Bullen, who in his edition of Middleton (ii. p. 26) draws attention to a passage in the *Family of Love* (licensed 12 Oct. 1607, entered S. R. the same day, and printed the following year as acted by the Revels' Children), which clearly implies that a play on the subject of Samson was being performed by one of the men's companies. No doubt it was the present piece.

242. PHILIP OF SPAIN.

[**107** 28. 'phillipe of spayne'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men to Alleyn, 8 Aug. 1602, for this play and *Longshanks*, £4.]

Clearly an old piece belonging to Alleyn. If it came into his hands together with *Longshanks* (75) it may have originally belonged to Strange's men. Hazlitt suggests that it may have been 2 *If you know not me you know nobody* by Heywood (entered S. R. 14 Sept. 1605, and printed the following year). It so happens that Philip is a character in Part I, but he does not appear in Part II, while neither part can be as early as the present piece.

242*a*. LONGSHANKS.

See above, 75.

243. WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT.

[**107**$^{\text{v}}$ 6. 'w^{m} cartwright'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Haughton, 8 Sept. 1602, 'for a playe,' £2. 10 (altered from £4).]

Collier, who omits the 'w^{m}' in the title though Malone gave it correctly, says that the play was founded on the murder of a clergyman named Storr, by one Cartwright, an account of which was published in 1603. He is followed by Halliwell and Hazlitt as usual. But it happens that the murderer's name was Francis not William and that the account was not published till 1613. Nothing is known of the play.

244. FELMELANCO.

[**107**$^{\text{v}}$. 'felmelanco', tragedy. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Mr. Robinson (? for Chettle) 9 Sept. 1602, in part, £3; to Chettle, 15 and 15/27 Sept., in full, £3; total £6.]

Robinson is not heard of elsewhere, but the use of 'his' (i. e. Chettle's) in the other entries by no means necessitates our supposing him a fictitious character, as Fleay thinks. It is, however, unlikely that he had any hand in the play. Probably Chettle had again pawned his MS. Hazlitt (Index) suggests Richard Robinson, an obscure miscellaneous writer of the time, and calls the play the *Female Anchoress* (following Collier in the misreading 'femelanco' for 'felmelanco'), and connects it with Massinger's *Prisoner, or the Fair Anchoress of Posilipo*, licensed by Herbert for the King's men 26 Jan. 1640, and entered S. R. 9 Sept. 1653. We should perhaps read the title as 'Fell Melanco.'

245. MORTIMER.

[**107**$^{\text{v}}$ 14 (also **95** 9, altered to 'vortiger') 'mortymore'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 10 Sept. 1602, for properties, £6. 18.]

If we adopt Fleay's view that Jonson's Plot (119) written by Chapman was the fragmentary *Fall of Mortimer* of the 1640 folio, this no doubt refers to the same play. That, however, is unlikely. It is more reasonable, perhaps, to suppose that both the present and the *Spencers* (170) had some distant connection with Marlowe's *Edward II* (entered S. R. 6 July 1593, and published the following year as acted by Pembroke's men, from whom it may possibly have passed to the Admiral's, though it was reprinted in 1622 as acted by the Queen's men).

246. THE EARL OF HERTFORD.

[**107**^{v} 26. 'the earlle of harfurd'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, 15/27 Sept. 1602, for properties 'for the new playe,' 32*s.*]

Nothing is known of this piece.

247. JOSHUA.

[**108** 2. 'Jhosua'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Rowley, 27 Sept. 1602, in full, £7.]

Nothing is known of this piece.

247*a*. TAMAR CAM, PART I.

See above, 90.

248. RANDAL EARL OF CHESTER.

[**108** 9, 23. 'Chester' (altered from *Felmelanco*, after which the word 'tragedie' has been allowed to stand, perhaps unintentionally) 'Randowlle earlle of chester'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Middleton, 21 Oct. and 9 Nov., in full, £6.]

There can be no reasonable doubt that the two entries refer to the same play. 'Query Edol Earl of Chester, another name for a refashioning of the old play *Uter Pendragon* [105], afterwards remade into *The Birth of Merlin*.'—Fleay. This is possible, for £6 is not a particularly large sum for a new play at this date. But Middleton was a new hand, and after all Edol and Randal are not the same name. It might possibly be a refashioning of the *Wise Man of West Chester* (63, *John a Kent*) owing to a failure of the original piece when revived in Sept. 1601 (225*a*). Ranulph, Earl of Chester, appears in that play. He does not, however, play an important part, and appears, according to Fleay, in other plays as well. The subject of the play may have been Randulf le Meschin (died 1129 ?), his son Randulf de Gernons (died 1153), or Randulf de Blundevill (died 1232), all of whom were Earls of Chester. The second is perhaps the most likely.

249. MERRY AS MAY BE.

[**108** 20, 27. '(as) mer(e)y as may be'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Day, Hathway, and Smith, 9 to 17 Nov., in full, £8 (the first payment mentioning that the play was 'for the corte').]

Nothing is known of the piece.

249*a*. DOCTOR FAUSTUS.

See above, 55.

250. THE SET AT TENNIS.

[**108**^{v} 6. 'the seeat at tenes'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Munday, 2 Dec. 1602, in full, £3.]

Other payments presumably preceded that recorded. This piece can hardly have anything to do with Dekker's *Fortune's Tennis* (210) or with Middleton and W. Rowley's masque of the *World tost at Tennis*, entered S. R. 4 July 1620, and published the same year as performed by Prince Charles' men.

250*a*. FRIAR BACON.

See above, 1.

251 & 259. THE LONDON FLORENTINE.

[**108^v–109^v**. '(the) london florenten (florentyn, florantyn)' 'the florentyne'. Pt. I. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle and Heywood, 18/21 Dec. to 7 Jan. 1602/3, in full, £6. 10 (each author being separately paid 'in fulle' and in either case for 'his playe'). Pt. II. Paid to Chettle, 12 Mar. 1602/3, in earnest, £1.]

Evidently the play was apportioned to the two authors, and Henslowe dealt separately with each. Nothing is known of the piece.

252. [PLAY FOR COURT.]

[**109** 2. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, 29 Dec. 1602, 'for a prologe & a epyloge for the corte,' 5*s*.]

What play these additions were for it is of course impossible to say (perhaps 249). The Admiral's men acted three times at court this winter (*Revels*, p. xxxiv).

253. HOFFMAN.

[**109** 7. 'Howghman', tragedy. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Chettle, 29 Dec. 1602, in part, 5*s*.]

I doubt this being the same as the *Danish Tragedy*, but rather regard it as a sequel to that piece. Heywood's connection with the present play, supposed by Fleay, is based on the cancelled entry of 14 Jan., and is, of course, chimerical. The extant play is certainly by one hand only. The alternative names 'Charles and Sarlois . . . instead of Otho' (ed. Ackermann, pp. 34, 36, &c.) occur in the same scenes and are consequently due to revision, not collaboration (see Fleay's remarks s. v. *Nobody and Somebody*). The play was entered S. R. 26 Feb. 1630, and published the following year as acted at the Phoenix. At the end of his *Nine Days' Wonder*, 1600, Kemp mentions the 'bloody lines' of a play called the *Prince of the Burning Crown*. This has been thought to refer to *Hoffman* (p. 75), but it is obviously too early either for this or the *Danish Tragedy*, unless we suppose Chettle to have worked over an earlier piece (cf. Collier, *Actors*, p. iii).

254. SINGER'S VOLUNTARY.

[**109** 14. 'Syngers vallentary'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Singer, 13 Jan. 1602/3, 'for his playe,' £5.]

Fleay rightly remarks that this must have been more than a mere jig (it is indeed explicitly called a play), but quotes Day's *Humour out of Breath*, IV. iii (ed. Bullen, p. 65), where the word 'Voluntarie' is used as meaning a song. I suppose that Singer put his own name into the title of some topical piece which he had either written or bought. For Collier's views on the subject see his *Bibliographical Account*, 1865, ii. p. 209.

255. THE FOUR SONS OF AYMON.

[**109** 20, **112** 16. 'the 4 (fower) son(n)es of amon (Aymon)'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Shaa, 10 Dec. 1602 (? Feb. 1602/3), 'for (vpon) a boocke,' £2. (See acquittance from Shaa, undertaking to refund the money advanced if the play is not performed before 'Christmas next . . . 1603 & in the xlvj^th year of' Elizabeth, and if the book is returned.)]

The date 10 Dec. is presumably wrong, since not only does it appear between entries dated 14 Jan. and 7 Mar. 1602/3, but it would seem that Shaa's acquittance can only have been written between 25 Dec. 1602 ('next' Christmas being 1603), and 24 Mar. 1603 when Elizabeth died. (The piece, remarks Fleay, was retained by the company, for Herbert licensed it to Prince Charles' men on 6 Jan. 1624, as an old play. Prince Charles' men, however, had nothing to do with the Admiral's.) The play was probably not by Shaa, though whether he had bought it of some impecunious or unknown author, or whether it was an old play which had come into his hands, is uncertain. We learn from Heywood's *Apology for Actors* (1612, ed. Shakespeare Soc., pp. 58–9) that the play was performed by an English company at Amsterdam. The only visit recorded before the date of Heywood's book took place c. 1601 (Herz, p. 11), under one John Kemp. The play was of course founded on an old French romance, a translation of which was originally printed by Caxton. A 'last part' was entered S. R. as late as 22 Feb. 1599. We learn from Heywood that Rinaldo (of Montauban), the most important of the four sons, 'like a common labourer, lived in disguise, vowing as his last pennance to labour and carry burdens to the structure of a goodly church there to be erected,' and was killed by his fellow workmen out of jealousy because 'by reason of his stature and strength, hee did usually perfect more worke in a day then a dozen of the best.'

256. THE BOSS OF BILLINGSGATE.

[**109–109**^{v}. 'the bosse (bossce) of belle(i)n(ge)sgate'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Day, Hathway and another, 1 to 12 Mar. 1602/3, in full, £6.]

The Boss of Billingsgate was a fountain. A song or ballad concerning it, entitled 'The maryage of London Stone and the fayre pusell the bosse of Byllyngesgate,' was printed at the end of a *Treatise of this Gallant* by de Worde not later than 1535. Of the play nothing is known. Fleay thinks that the unnamed collaborator was Smith.

257. THE SIEGE OF DUNKIRK WITH ALLEYN THE PIRATE.

[**109**v 3. 'the sedge of doncerke wth alleyn the pyrete'. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men to Massye, 7 Mar. 1602/3, in earnest, £2.]

Whether Massye was really the author, which seems improbable, or was only acting on behalf of the author is doubtful (cf. 231). Hazlitt's interpretation of the title as the *Siege of Dunkirk* with Edward Alleyn in the part of the Pirate is fanciful.

258. [PLAY OF CHETTLE'S IN PAWN.]

[**109**v 6. Paid on behalf of the Admiral's men, to Mr. Broomfield, 7 Mar. 1602/3, 'for the playe wch harey chettell layd vnto hime to pane,' £1.]

This may, of course, have been the same as 2 *London Florentine*, the next play of his which we find recorded.

259. THE LONDON FLORENTINE, PART II.

See above, 251.

SECTION X

Play belonging to Prince Henry's, formerly the Lord Admiral's, men, acting at the Fortune, in March 1604.

260. THE PATIENT MAN AND THE HONEST WHORE.

[**110** 3. 'the pasyent man & the onest hore'. Paid on behalf of the Prince's men, 1 Jan./14 Mar. 1604, to Dekker and Middleton, in earnest, £5.]

'The Honest Whore, With, The Humours of the Patient Man, and the Longing Wife' was entered S. R. 9 Nov. 1604, and printed the same year as by Dekker, the edition of 1635 adding that it had been acted by the Queen's men. The name of Towne, the actor, appears in a stage direction in sc. xv (ed. 1873, p. 78). The extent of Middleton's share is much disputed.

SECTION XI

Plays performed by Lord Pembroke's men at the Rose, 28 and 29 Oct. 1900.

261. LIKE UNTO LIKE.

[**83** 3. 'the [devell] licke vnto licke'. Performed by Pembroke's men, as an old play, 28 Oct. 1600.]

Henslowe's error enables us to identify this pretty certainly with Fulwell's *Like will to Like, quoth the Devil to the Collier*, entered S. R. 1568–9, and printed the former year. The phrase occurs in the form 'like unto like' in the second line of the text. The piece had no doubt been greatly altered from the printed version.

262. RODERICK.

[**83** 4. 'RodeRicke'. Performed by Pembroke's men, as an old play, 29 Oct. 1600.]

Roderick is the name of the hero's father in Chettle's tragedy of *Hoffman*, and this may therefore have been a fore-piece to that play (see *Danish Tragedy*, 238). Collier, however, remarks that *Roderick* 'may have been a drama on "Roderick the great" who divided Wales, and who is mentioned in "Thameseidos" 1600, by E. W[ilkinson]., Lib. 2. [D1^v].' He means Rhodri Mawr, prince of North Wales, who after fighting against the Danes fell in battle with the English in 877. On the whole this seems a more likely suggestion.

SECTION XII

Plays belonging to Lord Worcester's men, acting at the Rose, 17 *Aug.* 1602 *to* 9 *May* 1603.

262*a*. SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE.

See above, 185.

263. [CHETTLE'S TRAGEDY.]

[**115** 24, **116**. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, 24 Aug. 1602, for properties and to Chettle 'in earneste of a tragedie,' £3. 10; also 7 and 9 Sept., in part, £1 (to which should be added, no doubt, 10*s*. paid him 8 Sept. for no assigned object).]

Fleay confidently identifies this with *Hoffman*, but since that piece is only mentioned in the Admiral's accounts, this is hardly reasonable. 'In this instance,' he writes, 'by no means a solitary one, Henslowe entered the play to the debit of both the Admiral's company and Worcester's.' This, of course, is the natural inference from the accounts as given by Collier, since he omitted to mention what entries were cancelled. There are three instances of a sum being debited to both companies, and in every case one of the duplicate entries has been crossed out. The only piece with which the present tragedy can be at all plausibly identified is *Biron* (267). Cf., however, the play by Chettle and Heywood (276).

263*a*. MEDICIN FOR A CURST WIFE.

See above, 240.

263*b*. [FOUR PRENTICES OF LONDON ?]

[**115**v 21. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, 3 Sept. 1602, 'to bye iiij Lances for the comody of thomas hewedes & mr smythes,' 8*s*.]

The suggestion that these payments were for 'the play of the Four Prentices of London, where they toss their pikes so' is tempting. The *Four Prentices* as we have it belongs to 1610, when it must have been printed, though we only possess an edition of 1615 in which it is said to have been written by Heywood and acted by the Queen's men. But it is an old play revised, and may well have been in the hands of the company when they were still Worcester's men. It probably originally belonged to the Admiral's men, cf. *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (47). On the other hand, a comparison with the subsequent entries strongly suggests that the comedy was *Albere Galles* (264). The 'thomas hewode play,' for which properties were bought on 4 Sept. (**114** 20), was no doubt the same piece.

264. ALBERE GALLES.

[**115**v 28. 'alber[*t*]re galles' (? Albert Galles). Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Heywood and Smith, 4 Sept. 1602, in full, £6.]

Collier's suggestion that this play was on the subject of Albertus Wallenstein is unhappy, since at this date the future general was only nineteen years old, and was still studying as a pupil of the Jesuits at Altorf. Fleay suggests that it may be *Nobody and Somebody*, entered S. R. 12 Mar. 1606, and printed without date as acted by the Queen's men. Henslowe's title will pass as a corruption of Archigallo, the King of Britain in the chronicle part of the play, though certainly not, as Fleay suggests, of 'Archigalle's three sons,' since the king, though he had three brothers, had no sons at all. The identification appears reasonable. The allusions in the printed play will fit this date well enough if we allow for certain alterations made after James' accession. There may be yet older work in the piece, and the German translation in the 1620 collection may represent an earlier version, though I find no clear evidence of this. I cannot agree with Fleay's proposed division; surely the chronicle part is by one hand and the Nobody–Somebody part by another simply? The four lances of 3 Sept. do not appear to be particularly needed for this play.

265. MARSHAL OSRIC.

[**116**–**117**v. '(marshalle) oserecke (oserocke)'. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Heywood and Smith, 20 to 30 Sept. 1602, in full, £6. Paid 3 Nov. for properties, 26*s*.]

Fleay suggests the identification of this play with the *Royal King and Loyal Subject*, entered S. R. 25 Mar. 1637, and printed the same year as written by Heywood and acted by the Queen's men (i. e. Queen Henrietta's, a different company from Queen Anne's). In this the chief character is, indeed, the Lord Marshall, but his name nowhere appears. It is, of course, quite possible that a name might be omitted in revision, but in this case, though it is clear that the text has undergone considerable alteration, the list of dramatis personae evidently belongs to an earlier redaction. It is, of course, possible that the list may belong to a revision intermediate between the original play and the final piece as printed, but though the identification cannot be altogether rejected, it appears to rest on very slight evidence. Cf. *Biron* (267).

266. CUTTING DICK.

[**116** 23. 'cuttyngdicke'. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Heywood, 20 Sept. 1602, for additions, £1.]

Evidently an old Worcester's play; not *Cutlack* (40), which belonged to the Admiral's men. Fleay suggests that it may have been the *Trial of Chivalry* (see *Bourbon*, 115), but there is no justification for identifying Dick Boyer with Cutting Dick, a character mentioned in *Kemp's Nine Days' Wonder* (1600, ed. Camden Soc. p. 14) and in Wither's *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1611, Lib. II, Sat. 2); and since the identification of *Bourbon* and *Biron* (267) breaks down, no a priori likelihood in favour of Fleay's view remains.

267. BIRON.

[**116** 28, **116ᵛ** 17. 'burone' 'berowne'. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, 25 Sept. and 2/3 Oct. 1602, for properties (a black sattin suit, a scaffold and a bar), £5. 13.]

There is little doubt of the title; Henslowe's spelling represents the English pronunciation sufficiently clearly. It can, therefore, have no connection with *Bourbon*, and this puts the *Trial of Chivalry* out of the question. Fleay suggests that the properties were for the *Royal King and Loyal Subject* (see *Marshal Osric*, 266), and it is true that in that play there is 'a Barre set out' (ed. 1874, p. 77), and the King calls for 'A Laurell wreath, a scaffold, and a block' (p. 80), which are presumably brought on, but 'Bonville' is the nearest name to 'berowne' found in the play, and he is not particularly important. The play, then, presumably related to the story of Charles, Duke of Biron, who was executed in July 1602. Chapman's play can hardly be as early as this, and there is no evidence of his writing for Worcester's men. His two pieces on the subject may, however, stand in the same relation (whatever it was) to the present piece, as his *Bussy D'Ambois* plays to the *Civil Wars of France* (152). It is possible that the *Unfortunate General* (275) may have dealt with the same events, but that was not written till some months later.

268. THE TWO (THREE) BROTHERS.

[**116ᵛ–117ᵛ**. 'the ij (iij) brothe(r)s', tragedy. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Smith, 1 to 15 Oct. 1602, in full, £6. Paid for properties (suits for devils, witches, spirits, a table and coffin, and 'vnto the paynter of the propertyes') 15/21 to 23 Oct. £3. 9.]

Nothing is known of this piece; cf. 269*a*.

269. [MIDDLETON'S PLAY.]

> [**116**^{v} 19. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Middleton, 3 Oct. 1602, in earnest of an unnamed play, £1.]

'Was this the altered *Hengist*, afterwards remade as *The Mayor of Quinborough*?' —Fleay. See *Valteger* (95). Elsewhere he writes: 'The King's men [who acted the *Mayor of Queenborough*] probably obtained the old play [*Valtiger*] after the Fortune was burned, 1621 Dec.,' i. e. from the Prince's, late Admiral's, men. There is, indeed, no evidence whatever that it ever passed through the hands of Worcester's men.

269*a*. [A PLAY OF ABSALOM.]

> [**116**^{v} 23. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, 3/11 Oct. 1602, 'for puleyes & worckmanshipp for to hange absolome,' 14*d*.]

According to Fleay the payment was for a revival of Peele's *David and Bethsabe* (entered S. R. 14 May 1594, and printed in 1599), which he describes as 'an Admiral's men's play revived in Oct. 1602,' omitting to mention that the entry is in the Worcester accounts. There is nothing to show what company Peele's play belonged to, and nothing to suggest that it was connected with the present piece. The position of the entries suggests that the properties may have been for the *Two* (*Three*) *Brothers* (268). Five sons of David appear in Peele's play.

270 & 271. LADY JANE, OR THE OVERTHROW OF REBELS.

> [**117–117**^{v}. 'Lad(e)y(e Jane' 'the overthrowe of Rebelles'. Pt. I. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Chettle, Dekker, Heywood, Smith, and Webster, 15 and 21 Oct. 1602, in full, £8. Pt. II. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Dekker, 27 Oct., in earnest, 5*s*. (to which should perhaps be added 10*s*. paid to Smith and 3*s*. paid to Chettle on 12 Nov., **118** 5, 7). Paid 6 Nov., for properties, £5.]

The second title occurs only in the last entry (6 Nov.), but there can be no question of the identity of the pieces. Nor is there much doubt that the piece is preserved as *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, printed, without entry, in 1607 as written by Dekker and Webster and acted by the Queen's men. This play gives the complete story so that either it has been condensed from the two parts, or else the 5*s*. which Dekker got from Henslowe was for a quite fictitious continuation. I am exceedingly sceptical of some of these 'second parts,' these δρâματα τῶν δευτέρων, in earnest of which Chettle in particular was fond of extracting small sums, but in the present case it appears to be genuine enough. Though the story does hang together rather well the transactions are often abrupt, and there is good reason to suppose that portions of the original version have been cut out. What remains is, therefore, probably in the main the work of the two authors whose names appear on the title-page. 'I think Webster wrote Sc. 1–9, Dekker Sc. 11 [*sic*]–17, the change of *Dram. Pers.* being very marked in Sc. 10.'—Fleay. This, I believe, corresponds rather with the division between the two parts than the two authors. Part I ends with the collapse of the Jane Gray faction; Part II begins with Mary's audience (see opening lines of sc. x, ed. Hazlitt p. 30: Hazlitt's numbering of scenes is completely wrong; Fleay's is right), and contains Wyatt's rebellion and the execution of all concerned. I think with Fleay that scs. i–ix are probably Webster's (with the possible exception of iii–v). In sc. x the admirable speech by Wyatt appears to be by the same hand as those in sc. vi, i. e. Webster's (cf. 'God's mother, I turn child!' p. 19, and 'By God's dear mother—O God, pardon! swear I!' p. 33). Sc. xi seems to me doubtful; sc. xii is probably by Dekker, and so is most of the rest except sc. xvi, which seems beyond his power and in which the sententious couplets (pp. 54–5) point to Webster. Sc. xvii is undoubtedly by Dekker in his most earnest mood and the famous couplet on p. 58 is as characteristic of him as it is unlike Webster. (I should add that Stoll, in his minute and learned study of *John Webster*, 1905, gives almost the whole of the play to Dekker; but I cannot agree with him. He also misquotes the Diary as stating that the sum paid to Dekker for Part II was £3 instead of 5*s*.)

272. CHRISTMAS COMES BUT ONCE A YEAR.

[**117ᵛ–118ᵛ**. 'crys(s)mas comes bute once ayeare'. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Chettle, Dekker, Heywood, and Webster, 2 to 26 Nov. 1602, in full, £7. Paid 9 Nov. (? Dec.), for properties, £6. 8. 8.]

Nothing is known of this piece.

273 & 277. THE BLACK DOG OF NEWGATE.

[**118–119**. '(the) black(e do(o)g(g)(e (of newgat(e)' (in the first two entries altered from 'John dayes comody(e'). Pt. I. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Day, Hathway, Smith, '& the other poete,' 24 Nov. to 20 Dec. 1602, in full, £6. Paid 10 and 16 Jan. 1602/3, for properties, 22*s*. Pt. II. Paid to Day, Hathway, Smith, '& the other poete,' 29 Jan. and 3 Feb., in full, £7; paid 'vnto the 4 poetes,' 21 to 26 Feb., for additions, £2; total £9. Paid 15 Feb. for properties, £5. 2.]

Fleay thinks that the fourth playwright was probably Haughton, which seems to me unlikely, as on no other occasion did he write for Worcester's men. The play was no doubt founded on a chapbook, said to have been printed before 1600, and ascribed to Luke Hutton who was executed in 1598. The first edition is in the Bridgwater collection; I have only seen that of 1638: 'The Discovery of a London Monster, called, The Blacke Dogg of New-gate; Profitable for all Readers to take heed by. Vide, Lege, Cave. Time bringeth all things to light.'

274. THE BLIND EATS MANY A FLY.

[**118–118ᵛ**. 'the blinde eates many a flye (fley)'. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Heywood, 24 Nov. to 7 Jan. 1602/3, in full, £6.]

Fleay says 'see The English Traveller' but vouchsafes no further elucidation.

That piece, entered S. R. 15 July 1633, was printed the same year as written by Heywood and acted by the Queen's men (i. e. Queen Henrietta's, a different company from Queen Anne's). I see no reasonable possibility of identifying it with the present play. The title might, of course, apply to the Lionel plot, but even so would not be very appropriate. Was not this, moreover, copied from the *Alchemist* (acted 1610)? If Fleay is right in supposing Geraldine to be Sandys, that story must also be late. The phrase was proverbial, and occurs, in the form 'Bewar therfore; the blinde et many a fly,' as the refrain to a balade of Lydgate's 'warning men to beware of deceitful women' (Skeat, *Chaucer*, vii. p. 295). It may be worth remarking that the same poem begins 'Loke wel aboute' (cf. 179).

275. THE UNFORTUNATE GENERAL.

[**118**$^{\text{v}}$–**119**$^{\text{v}}$. '(the) vnfortunat Jenerell(e (generall) ((the) frenshe histor(e)y(e)'. Paid on behalfe of Worcester's men, to Day, Hathway, and Smith, 7 to 19 Jan. 1602/3, in full, £7. Paid for properties, 24 Jan., £2. 10.]

Nothing is known of this piece (but cf. 267).

276. [PLAY BY CHETTLE AND HEYWOOD.]

[**119** 14 (cf. **109** 16). Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Chettle and Heywood, 14 Jan. 1602/3, in earnest of an unnamed play, £2.]

This may, of course, be the same as Chettle's tragedy (263), though in view of the intervening work this does not seem likely. It might more plausibly be identified with *Shore* (280).

277. THE BLACK DOG OF NEWGATE, PART II.

See above, 273.

278. A WOMAN KILLED WITH KINDNESS.

[**119**$^{\text{v}}$–**120**$^{\text{v}}$. 'a womon (woman) kyl(l)(e)d w$^{\text{th}}$ kyndnes (kindnes(s)' 'the——'. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Heywood, 12 Feb. and 6 Mar. 1602/3, in full, £6. Paid 5 Feb. and 7 Mar., for properties, £7. 3.]

Printed, without entry, 1607, as by Heywood, the (third) edition of 1617 adding that it was acted by the Queen's men.

279. THE ITALIAN TRAGEDY.

[**120** 30, **120**$^{\text{v}}$ 7. '& etalleyon tragedie' 'the etallyan tragedie'. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Smith, 7 and 12 Mar. 1602/3, in full, £6.]

This can have nothing to do with Day's 'Italian tragedy of ——' (193, which I have identified with the *Orphans' Tragedy*, 191), though Fleay seems satisfied with the identification. Nothing is known of the present piece.

280. SHORE.

[**100**^{v} 1, **121** 7. 'the Booke of Shoare, now newly to be written' 'a playe wherein shores wiffe is writen'. Paid on behalf of Worcester's men, to Chettle and Day, 9 May 1603, in earnest, £2 (see acquittance).]

Fleay thinks that the payment was for extracting the Shore part out of *Edward IV* (cf. *Siege of London*, 65), and certainly the wording of the acquittance is suspicious, but £2 in earnest of this would be a very high payment, and the work would hardly need two playwrights. I fancy a new play is meant, though it is very possible and even likely that the authors availed themselves of the work of their predecessor. Cf. 276.

CHAPTER IV

PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE DIARY.

THE object of this chapter being to supply an annotated index of all the actual persons who appear in Henslowe's Diary, the names have been arranged for the most part alphabetically, and precise references have usually been given for every statement. The only intentional exceptions have been made in the case of certain minor characters, who have been placed for convenience immediately after their more important relatives, and in the case of references to names appearing as witnesses and authorizers of payments, which, when not given in full, will be found distinguished in the Index at the end of the volume.

ADDAMES, HENRY.

Acquittance to Henslowe from J. Borne for £3. 8 for his use, 2 Mar. 1591/2 ? (**5**^{v} 3).

'ADREN.'

('my cossen Adren'.) Henslowe discharged a debt to him of £7 on 28 Mar. 1591/2, and paid him a further sum of £22. 10 on 13 Apr. (**5**^{v} 12, 15). Nothing is known as to his identity.

ADYSON, EDWARD.

Tenant of Henslowe, 1602/3, at £9. 10 a year (**178** 17). This rent was due to Henslowe on a lease for 21¼ years, granted to the above and Joane his wife by Robert Lyvesey of Tooteingebeake, Surrey, and Gerrard Gore of London, with consent of Isabell, wife of Thomas Keye, or Keyes, 'one of the cookes of her Maiesties kitchen,' 20 Aug. 1596, of a tenement, seven cottages, and a wharf, &c., on the Bankside, in the parish of St. Saviour, adjoining the Bear Garden and Unicorn's Alley (Mun. 112). Another lease for 15 years was granted him by Henslowe, 30 Nov. 1603, of a tenement on the Bankside, in the parish of St. Saviour (Mun. 130). In both these leases he is described as Edward Addyson of St. Saviour's, Southwark, waterman. He was one of the Queen's watermen who put their marks to the petition of c. Aug. 1592 ('Adysson', MS. I. 17), and the original warrant for his appointment, dated 6 June 1569 is preserved in B. M. MS. Add. 5750, fol. 31.

ALEN, Charles.

('lame Charles alen'.) Witness (?), 14 Dec. 1594 (**3** 15).

ALLEYN, Edward.

(Alleyn himself invariably spelt his name as above. Henslowe frequently wrote it Allen and even Alen; the form Allin is also found. I cannot agree with Warner in regarding the signature 'Edward Allen' on the letter from Raye to Henslowe, of 13 May 1594, as autograph, cf. p. xxxi and Corrigenda, also Young, ii, p. 328). For Alleyn's private affairs and his connection with Henslowe and his family see Chap. I. His dramatic career has been traced in connection with the companies in Chap. II. Accounts of his life, including its later years after his removal to Dulwich, will be found in Warner (Introduction), Young (ii. Chap. I; who also gives a full transcript of his very interesting diary in Chap. II, rendered all the more valuable by the excellence of the Index), and *D. N. B.*, besides Collier's *Alleyn Memoirs.* It only remains to summarize in this place the entries of Henslowe's Diary, which I shall do in the briefest possible manner and in chronological sequence: 1592, 22 Oct., marries Joan Woodward (**2** 5); 4 Nov. to 14 Mar. 1597, account of expenses in connection with his house and other matters (**237**, **238**, **235**); 1593, measurement of the wainscot in his house (**2** 17); 1596, 2 May to 8 July, account with Henslowe for the Admiral's men (**71**^{v} 1); 5 July, agreement as to the parsonage of Firle (**24** 1, see further under Langworth, Arthur); 29 Sept. memorandum of payment to Langworth (**25** 6); 14 Oct. account with Henslowe as one of the Admiral's men (**23** 16–25); 3/8 Dec. and 14 Mar. 1597, ditto (**22**^{v} 23, 32); before 9 June, account with Henslowe (**234** 1–12, **234**^{v} 1–9); 9 June, loan to discharge him of his privy seal and for allowing of the patent, probably in connection with the bear-baiting (**234** 13–16; cf. **38** 8); 18/28 July, further loans from Henslowe (**234** 22–4); 29 Dec., had left playing (?) temporarily (**43** 2); 1598, before 5 Jan., paid Henslowe 'for John synger' 10*s.* (**233**^{v} 1); 1599, 21 Jan., sold *Vayvode* (150) to the Admiral's men (**53** 1); 1600, 20 June/10 July, received £11 of a debt due from the Admiral's men (**69**^{v} 28); 2 and 20 Aug., paid sums of £20 and £10 to Kenricke Williams (**96**^{v} 2, 7); 11 Nov., received £4 from the Admiral's men 'a bowt ther composicion' (**70**^{v} 18); 11 Nov./14 Dec., received one eleventh share 'for the firste weckes playe' presumably at the Fortune (**70**^{v} 21); 1601, 4 May, paid to Henslowe the court money received by the Admiral's men for their Christmas playing (**88**^{v} 8; cf. **191**^{v} 10); 22 Aug., sold *Mahomet* (224^a) to the Admiral's men (**93** 11), 19 Sept., the *Wise Man of West Chester* (225^a, **93**^{v} 23), 20 Nov., *Valtiger* (228^a, **95** 9); 1602, 18 Jan., the *French Doctor* (230^b), the *Massacre of France* (230^c), and *Crack me this Nut* (230^d, **96** 25); 4 Feb., he and Henslowe lent John Ockey £5, having previously, it would seem, entered into partnership with Ockey and Nicholas Dame for the manufacture of starch (**112** 5, **204** 1–15); 23 Feb., received 27*s.* 6*d.* from the Admiral's men out of the gallery money (**105** 4); 8 Aug., sold *Philip of Spain* (242) and *Longshanks* (242^{a}) to the Admiral's men (**107** 27), and 2 Oct., *Tamar Cam* (247^{a}, **108** 4; cf. **116**^{v} 11, cancelled); 22 Oct., sold properties to Worcester's men (**117** 22; cf. **108** 11, cancelled); 1602/3, tenant of Henslowe in Maulthouse's rents at £10 (**178** 24); undated, memorandum of transactions in timber with Thomas Lawrence (**159** 2). He had to wife—

ALLEYN, JOAN,

née Woodward, step-daughter to Henslowe. The first mention of her is the entry of her marriage with Alleyn, 22 Oct. 1592 (**2** 5). During most of the following year Alleyn was in the provinces with Strange's men, and his wife, who remained in London, is frequently mentioned in his correspondence (MS. I. 9–15). During his absence she received rents for him down to 18 Oct. (**1**^{v} 1–7), and to the same period belong certain payments by her on his behalf (**1**^{v} 12–18). We next find her on 16 May 1595 putting her mark as witness to a bargain between Henslowe and Arthur Langworth (**98** 10). She evidently could not write and again witnessed a deed with her mark on 14 Nov. 1606 (Mun. 496). On 9 and 10 June 1595 she delivered on behalf of her step-father two sums of £10 to Arthur Langworth witnessing the memoranda of the loans (**85**^{v} 5, **98** 17). In 1597, 18/28 July, Henslowe lent Alleyn £2 'to bye a gowne for his wiffe' (**234** 23). Her name also appears as witness to entries dated 22 June 1596 (**22** 29), 18 July 1597? (**234** 20), 17 Nov. 1599 (**13**^{v} 12), 10 Jan. 1603/4 (**129**^{v} 16). A letter to her husband in the hand of some scribe, dated 21 Oct. 1603, was sent to him while he was staying with the Challoners at the time of the plague (MS. I. 38). That she held lands jointly with her husband appears from a fine of which the exemplification is preserved (Mun. 589; MS. V. 33: cf. MS. IX. 26 May 1620; Warner, p. 185; Young, ii. p. 177). Alleyn's Diary shows that on 8 Sept. 1620 she contributed £3 to a grant in aid of the Queen of Bohemia, and also contains other allusions (MS. IX; Warner, p. 186; Young, II. p. 187). Joan Alleyn died in 1623, the following being the entry in the College Register: 'Joane Alleyn, the wife of Edward Alleyn, esquire and ffounder of this Colledg of Gods gifte, departed this life the eight and twentieth of June, and was buried in the chappell of the same colledge the first days of July following' (MS. X. fol. 19; Warner, p. 196). Some laudatory verses on her were written by a poor scholar Richard Meridall who entered the College, 7 Aug. 1617, aged 10, and left it 16 Mar. 1621/2 (MS. III. 77; *Alleyn Papers*, p. 83; Warner, p. 107).

ALLEYN, HENRY.

('harey alleyn'.) Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head at 20*s*, 1604 (**177** 17). A Henry Alleyn was competitor for the wardenship of Dulwich College, 16 May 1642 (MS. VI. 11), but it is hardly likely that he was the same person.

ALLEYN, JOHN.

Elder brother of Edward, inholder. The only mention of him in the Diary is in an account dated 4 May but without the year and headed: 'layd owt a bowte John allen adminestracyon as folowethe' (**3**^{v} 22–32). This must have been in 1596, letters of administration being granted to Margaret Allen of the goods, &c., of John Allen, her husband, late of St. Andrew's, Holborn, deceased intestate, on 5 May that year (Mun. 110). He is first known as servant to 'the Lord Sheffeilde' and inholder in 1580 (see releases and acquittances 1580–1594, MS. IV. 11, 22, 17), later as 'servaunte to me the Lo. Admyrall' in a letter on his behalf from the Privy Council to certain Aldermen, dated 14 July 1589 (MS. III. 3, also 4, and MS. IV. 24). On 3 Jan. 1588/9 he was with his brother and others, in what was presumably Worcester's company (MS. I. 2), and we find him on various occasions from 1589 to 1591 purchasing theatrical apparel (MS. I. 3–5). On 23 Jan. 1587/8 he administered the goods of Richard Browne, shipwright, who had apparently died in his debt (Mun. 92; MS. IV. 19). Other deeds relating to his property, &c., are preserved of 1585 (Mun. 88–90), 1587 (Mun. 92), 1588 (Mun. 93, 94), 1589 (Mun. 96), 1590 (Mun. 97, 98), 1591 (Mun. 99), 1592 (MS. IV. 28; cf. Mun. 111), 1594 (Mun. 103, 104), 1595 (Mun. 106, 107). He had, we learn, been in possession of a messuage in the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark, called the Unicorn, which was later, 25 June 1618, in dispute between the Attorney-General on the one part and William Henslowe and Jacob Meade on the other part (Mun. 174). He left a son, John, nephew consequently of Edward, who witnessed an acquittance from Daborne to Henslowe on 19 May 1613 (MS. I. 77), and appears in connection with certain bear-baiting transactions c. 1618 (MS. XVIII. 12). A letter is extant from him asking a Mr. Burne for his daughter in marriage, dated from the Bear Garden, 11 June, but without the year (MS. III. 10; *Alleyn Papers*, p. 15). His suit, however, does not appear to have been successful, for an affidavit of Edward son of Thomas Allen, 6 June 1642, declares him to have died without issue and unmarried (MS. VI. 12).

ALLEYN, RICHARD.

Actor. Whether he was related to Edward is not known. He first appears as a witness 3 May 1593 in connection with Francis Henslowe and may therefore have belonged to the Queen's men (**2**^{v} 38). Philip Henslowe advanced him various small sums in 1597–8 (**230** 1, **233** 16), including payments to the attorney Ceachen. On 25 Mar. 1598 he bound himself to Henslowe as a 'hiered servante' for two years, and at the same time witnessed a similar agreement on Heywood's part (**231** 1, 23). On 7 Apr. 1599 Henslowe on behalf of the company advanced 10*s.* to him and Towne 'to go to the corte vpon ester euen' (**54**^{v} 12). He appointed payment on behalf of the Admiral's men 17 Jan. (?) 1599 and 6 May 1600 (**53** 27,

69 6). He performed in *Frederick and Basilea* in 1597 and the *Battle of Alcazar* c. 1598, his name appearing in the plots (Apx. II. 3, 4), but never rose to be a sharer. He died, leaving a widow, before 18 Sept. 1602.

ALLEYN, RICHARD, his Wife.

Widow of the above. Henslowe advanced her sums amounting to £7. 10 on 18 and 19 Sept. 1602 (**230** 14, 16), apparently to redeem goods from pawn; part of the sum is entered as repaid.

'ANTHONY THE POET.'

('antony the poyet(e, poet').) Playwright. Author of the *Widow's Charm* (239), 9 July–11 Sept. 1602 (**107–107ᵛ**).

ARDNOLD, ——.

Henslowe paid £2. 10 'toward the [deathe] beringe of ardnold' some time between 9 Sept. 1594 and 14 March 1597/8 ? (**235** 33).

ATKYNSONE, WILLIAM.

Leather dresser. Loan of £2 from Henslowe, 6 Jan. 1597/8, for a week (**19ᵛ** 1).

ATTEWELL, GEORGE.

Player. Witnessed a loan from Philip to Francis Henslowe, 1 June 1595 (**3ᵛ** 12), and possibly belonged to the same company as the latter, whatever that may have been. He was no doubt related to Hugh Atwell, player, who, however, is not met with till 1609/10 (cf. MS. I. 72, &c.). He received payment on behalf of the combined Strange's and Admiral's men for performances at court on 27 Dec. 1590 and 16 Feb. 1591 (see Chap. V. § v), but of his subsequent history nothing appears to be recorded.

AUGUSTEN, WILLIAM.

Player. Henslowe bought his boy, James Bristow, of him for £8, 18 Dec. 1597 (**232** 26).

BANDE, JOHN.

Tenant of Henslowe, under James Russell's lease, at £2, 1602/3 (**177ᵛ** 12).

BANDE, ——.

Henslowe lent 20*s*. to Mr. Freman 'to folowe his sewt in the Corte of Requestes ageanste mʳ bande,' 26 Nov. 1604 (**129ᵛ** 25).

BALLE, ——.

('goodman Balle'.) Tennant of Henslowe in the Rose rents, at 26*s*. 8*d*., 1602/3; owed 30*s*. and paid 10*s*. (**178** 34). Owed Henslowe for rent, 3 Apr. 1604 (**179** 16).

BEASTE, ——.

Kinsman of Arthur Langworth, on whose behalf he fetched a loan of £10 from Joan Alleyn acting for Henslowe, 9 June 1595 (**88**^{v} 4).

BEATTRES, ——.

Witness, 11 Apr. 1599 (**33**^{v} 20).

BEESTON, CHRISTOPHER.

('xpofer (Crystofer) beston(e'.) Player. We find him selling properties to Worcester's men 28 Aug. and 26 Oct. 1602 (**115**^{v} 2, **117**^{v} 11) and appointing payment on their behalf 26 Nov. 1602 and 7 Jan. 1603 (**118** 22, **118**^{v} 27). According to Fleay Beeston is first found with Strange's men in 1592 and remained with that company after they became the Chamberlain's men till 1598. In 1602–3 he was with Worcester's men, and is found with the same company, then Queen Anne's men, down to their dissolution in 1619. He was with the Lady Elizabeth's men 1622–5; Queen Henrietta's men 1625–37; and was manager of the children's company known as Beeston's Boys under patronage of the King and Queen 1637–42.

BICKERS, NICHOLAS.

Henslowe lent him 30*s.* at the request of the Admiral's men, 10 June 1601 (**82** 19).

BIRDE, SIMON.

Tenant of Henslowe in Malthouse's rents, at 26*s.* 8*d.*, 1602/3 (**178** 25).

BIRDE, (*alias* BORNE) WILLIAM.

('Birde,' or 'Bird' 'Byrd' 'Burde', the first alone autograph; 'Borne' 'Bourne'.) Player. Birde first appears at the time when the Admiral's men were under restraint after the performance of the *Isle of Dogs* (112) and before their junction with Pembroke's men. He came to Henslowe on 10 Aug. 1597 and offered to bind himself in 100 marks to play with them at the Rose and not in any other public house about London for the space of two years from the removal of the restraint (**232** 1). The point seems to be that he should play at Henslowe's house rather than with the Admiral's men, and in spite of the fact that his name nowhere appears before this, it is just possible that he was already a sharer in the company, in which case it would appear to have been Henslowe's intention by the transaction in question to bind Birde, and through him the Admiral's men, to himself and his playhouse. Anyhow Birde's name appears among those of the Admiral's players on 11 Oct. following, at the head of the company's accounts (**43**^{v} 4). Properties were purchased for him on 1 Dec. (**43**^{v} 16, **37** 16). On 12 Dec. he opened a private account with Henslowe who continued to advance him moneys till 29 Mar. 1598. Loans of 12 and 19 Dec. amount to 33*s.* (**38** 19, 25, **39** 18, 24). On 24 Feb. 1598 he borrowed 20*s.* for a wrought waistcoat of silk (**38** 31, **39** 28).

This particular advance he sought to repay in instalments between 25 Feb. and 4 Mar. but only succeeded in returning half the money (**39** 9). On 8 Mar. he was joined by Downton and Spenser in borrowing 30*s.* for a lawsuit between them and Martin Slaughter, who had left the company the previous July (**39** 30). On 25 Mar. Birde borrowed a further 5*s.*, and on 29 Mar. 13*s.* 4*d.* 'to descarge the areast of langleyes' (**39** 35), a further sum of 6*s.* 8*d.* being required the same day for the same purpose (**38**^{v} 21). Langleyes was in the habit of supplying goods to the company. Meanwhile, 8/13 Mar., Birde had acknowledged a debt of £46. 7. 3 as one of the company (**44**^{v} 24). A fresh private account, opened with the second advance for Langleyes, was continued till after 27 Nov. (**38**^{v} 20–33); a suit against Thomas Pope, the Chamberlain's man, is mentioned on 30 Aug., a visit of the company to Croyden 'to ther lord when the quene came thether' on 27 Sept., and silk stockings for the *Guise* on 27 Nov. and after. An independent loan of £3 is dated 3 Apr. (**39**^{v} 19), and an acknowledgment of a debt of £6, jointly with Spenser and Downton, on 9 Apr. (**42** 2, 11). On 17 June he started making repayments to Henslowe, but only got as far as refunding 5*s.* (**33** 1). The dispute with Langleyes was not settled till 4 Oct. 1598 when Birde, Jones, Shaa and Downton borrowed £3 of Henslowe to pay him 'for the agrement' and to fetch a rich cloak from pawn (**33**^{v} 9). It seems likely that being in straits these men had pawned some of the company properties, for Henslowe specially mentions that the sum advanced is to be paid by them individually and not out of 'the stocke.' On 10 Oct. Birde obtained a bond from R. Bradshaw for the payment of 50*s.* on 2 Mar. following, and on this bond, on 8 Jan. 1605, he made a note of a debt of 10*s.* to Edward Alleyn with power to recover upon the same (MS. I. 25). Further private accounts begin on 23 Oct. and continue till after 22 Dec. (**41**^{v} 25–38); two are advances to buy stage dresses and to embroider his hat for the *Guise*, one was 'when the widow came to m^{rs} Reues to super' on 22 Dec. The last one is interesting as showing that Henslowe was still occasionally lending money on pawn and that sums so lent were not, as a rule, entered in the Diary: those we find there mentioned are unsecured loans. Birde again borrowed 40*s.* of Henslowe on 22 Apr. 1599 (**42**^{v} 1), his note on the occasion promising repayment next week being preserved (MS. I. 105). On 10 July 1600 he acknowledged the company's debt along with the other sharers (**70** 8). On 26 Nov. following he was in the King's Bench 'for hurting of a felowe w^{ch} browght his wiffe a leatter,' and the said 'm^{rs} Birde alles Borne' borrowed £3 of Henslowe to discharge him (**42**^{v} 9). On 30 June and 4 July 1601 Birde paid to Henslowe, for what purpose is not specified, sums amounting to £1. 11. 8, which, however, were subsequently returned to him (**102**^{v} 1). On 11 July he acknowledged a debt of £23 (**89**^{v} 6, 19). On some date before 18 Oct. Henslowe lent him £5 towards the return of which he had paid sums amounting to £1. 17. 4 by 1 Nov. (**103**^{v} 1). Also on 29 Oct. Birde made a payment of 25*s.* towards the refunding of the above-mentioned £23, but subsequently received 20*s.* of this back (**89**ᵛ 21, 22). We find his name with others as acknowledging a company debt, 7/23 Feb. 1602, but it is not autograph (**104** 19). On 12 Mar. he paid Henslowe £18. 10 towards the £23, and Henslowe acknowledged him to be clear of all debts except the balance of £4. 10 (**89**ᵛ 23). Meanwhile he had been turning his hand to writing. On 20 and 24 Dec. 1601 he and Rowley were paid £6 in full for *Judas* (228ᶜ, **95** 27, 30, **95**ᵛ 10). It would seem, however, as though they were working on an unfinished work of Haughton's (207). Possibly the latter furnished the plot; he received 10*s.* only. Again on 22 Nov. 1602 Birde and Rowley received no less than £4 for additions to *Doctor Faustus* (249ᵃ, **108**ᵛ 2). Birde's name occurs occasionally as a witness between 6 Oct. 1597 (**232** 24) and 16 Nov. 1598 (**230**ᵛ 9), and repeatedly as authorizing payments between 23 May 1598 (**46** 10) and 4 Dec. 1602 (**108**ᵛ 7). An undated letter from Birde to Alleyn, concerning one John Russell, a gatherer, against whom the company had complaints, must, of course, refer to the Fortune. It cannot therefore be earlier than 1600, is most unlikely to be earlier than 1604, and may even have been written after Henslowe's death. According to Alleyn's Diary (MS. IX) Birde dined with him on 19 Apr. 1618 (with his son), 11 July 1619 (with his wife), 23 July 1620 (with his son), and 15 Apr. 1621, and met him at the Paul's Head on 23 Feb. of the latter year (Young, ii. pp, 81, 142, 185, 204, 202). He appears as joint lessee of the Fortune in the lease of 31 Oct. 1618 (Mun. 56). In the leases of shares in the re-built Fortune, 20 May 1622, he appears as occupying a tenement adjoining the play-house (Mun. 58). On 8 Jan. 1605, on the other hand, he had, in his note on Bradshaw's bond already mentioned, described himself as 'of Hogsdon' (MS. I. 25). He performed in 1 *Tamar Cam* in 1602, his name appearing in the plot (Apx. II. 7). Though he always signed his own name as Birde, he was, it seems, usually known by his alias of Borne.

BIRDE, WILLIAM, his Wife.

Henslowe lent her £3, 26 Nov. 1600, to discharge her husband out of the King's Bench where he was committed 'for hurting of a felowe wᶜʰ browght his wiffe a leatter' (**42**ᵛ 6). She dined with Alleyn in company with her husband 11 July 1619 (as above).

BLACKBORNE, WILLIAM.

Peter Streete's man. Henslowe lent him 9*s.* to buy laths, &c., 1 Feb. 1599/1600 (**32** 26). He appears as 'blacbourn' in the accounts for the building of the Fortune about the same date (Mun. 22).

BLACKWAGE, WILLIAM.

'my lord camberlenes man'. Henslowe lent him £5, before 13 May 1594 (cf. Raye, Rafe; **3**ᵛ 1). Whether he was an actor or a private servant is not known.

BLACKWOD, THOMAS.

('Black(e)wod(e'.) Player, Worcester's man. He authorized payments on behalf of the company, 19 Aug. 1602 to 7 Mar. 1602/3, borrowed 10*s.* from Henslowe 'when he Ride into the contrey wth his company to playe' 12 Mar. 1602/3 (**113**^{v} 11), and acknowledged the company's debt dated 16 Mar. 1602/3, but not necessarily on that day. He is not otherwise known.

BLOOMSON, MICHAEL.

('Blvenson, blewmsone'.) Servant to the Master of the Revels. Acquittance for 20*s.* on Tilney's behalf, 12 Apr. 1596, signed with his mark (**20**^{v} 4); held a similar acquittance for £2, 19 July 1597 (**23**^{v} 19).

BOLOCKE, ——.

Labourer. Payment to him by Alleyn, before 24 Nov. 1592 (**238** 16).

BORNE, JAMES.

Signed acquittance to Henslowe for £3. 8 on behalf of Henry Addames, 2 Mar. 1591/2? (**5**^{v} 1).

BORNE WILLIAM, *see* Birde (*alias* Borne), William.

BOWES, RALPH.

Master of the Game of Bears, Bulls and Mastiff Dogs. He signed draft warrant for payment of quarter's fee to bearer, 17 Apr. 1596, a copy of which is in the Diary (**72**^{v} 8). The letters patent of Elizabeth granting him the office, 2 June 1573, belonged to Collier who erased the name throughout, substituting that of John Dorrington. The document is preserved at the British Museum (MS. Egerton, 2623, fol. 11). An exemplification made at the request of Morgan Pope is dated 18 Nov. 1585 (Mun. 7). A draft patent to Henslowe makes the grant on the surrender of the former patent to Bowes (Mun. 18). Bowes was ill on 4 June 1598 and died a few days later (MS. II. 1, 2). He was succeeded by John Dorrington.

BOYLE, WILLIAM.

Playwright (?). He was paid 30*s.* by the Admiral's men for a new book called *Jugurtha* (196), 9 Feb. 1600 (**67**^{v} 11), but whether he was the author or not there is nothing to show. He undertook to refund the money should the play not be approved.

BRADER, ——.

Ironmonger, apparently distinct from the owner of the Fryingpan in Southwark (cf. **4**^{v} 14, **5**^{v} 7). Various payments to him are recorded in connection with the Rose in 1592 (**4** 39–**5** 25), and also with Alleyn's house, 20 Jan./9 Feb. 1593 (**235** 18).

BRADSHAWE, Richard.

Gabriel Spenser's man, later player. He fetched money for Spenser, 19 May 1598 (**42** 25), received money on behalf of Dekker and Drayton, 16 and 16/18 Oct. 1598 (**51** 15, 16), and borrowed 14*s.* and 5*s.* of Henslowe 15 Dec. 1600 and 29 Apr. 1601, to be paid on his return to London (**85** 1, 9). He was evidently at this date acting with some company in the provinces. On 10 Oct. 1598 he and two others entered into a bond in £5, to repay 50*s.* to William Birde on 2 Mar. 1599, which became forfeit, and on 8 Jan. 1604/5 Birde made a note of a debt to Alleyn of 10*s.* with power to recover the same from Bradshawe on the bond (MS. I. 25).

BRATHER, Hamlet.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head at 24*s.*, 1604 (**117** 19). It is not impossible that he may be the same as Brader.

BREWER, Sarah.

('sarey Brewer'.) Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head at 30*s.*, 1604 (**177** 21).

BRISTO, Thomas.

Upholsterer. Acquittance for £4. 10 to Richard Vickers, 29 Jan. 1594? (**61**^{v} 2).

BRISTOW, James.

Henslowe's boy. Bought of Augusten for £8, on 18 Dec. 1597 (**232** 26); his wages from A. Jeffes to Henslowe in arrears, 8 Aug. 1600 (**82**^{v} 3); his wages from 23 Apr. 1600 to 15 Feb. 1600/1 owing to Henslowe from the Admiral's men, £6. 9 (**85**^{v} 32, cf. **61** 15). He is probably also the 'Jemes' who appears as witness 27 Mar. 159[8/]9? (**61**^{v} 11), though this may have been Jones' boy.

BROMFIELD, (Robert).

('bromffelld, bramfelld, bromflde', his Christian name does not occur in the Diary.) Woodmonger of St. Saviour's and Sevenoaks. Chettle was paid 20*s.* for his use, 17 July 1601, perhaps to redeem a MS. (**91**^{v} 29); he received payment for cloth, 23 Sept. (**93**^{v} 28), and 20*s.* for redemption of 'the playe w^{ch} harey chettell layd vnto hime to pane' (i.e. pawn), 7 Mar. 1602/3 (**109**^{v} 6). He commended him to Alleyn in a letter from Joan Alleyn, 21 Oct. 1603 (MS. I. 38); rented a wharf from Lord Montagu at £5 a year, and received acquittance for his half-year's rent from Woodwarde, 22 Apr. 1603 (MS. IV. 43), the lease dated 13 Nov. 1586 being held by assignment (in which he is described as of St. Saviour's, Southwark, woodmonger) from John West, 27 Apr. 1601 (Mun. 121), and passing later into Alleyn's hands for £115 (MS. VIII. fol. 41^{v}; *Alleyn Papers*, p. xvii); entered into two bonds, 15 Dec. 1608, and one 16 June 1609 (Mun. 151, 152, 155), in which he is described as of Sevenoaks, gent.; received letters patent jointly with others from James I to determine the boundaries of the Unicorn and other messuages, &c., in the parish of St. Saviour, late in the tenure of John Allen and others, and now in dispute between the Attorney-General on the one part and William Henslowe and Jacob Meade on the other part, 25 June 1618 (Mun. 174); and finally dined at the Mermaid in company with Edward and Thomas Alleyn, Mr. Edmonds and five members of the Fortune company (Palsgrave's men), 18 Sept. 1618 (MS. IX; Young, ii. p. 104).

BROWNE, ——.

Henslowe lent the Admiral's men 10*s*. 'to feache browne,' 14/29 Oct. 1596. Fleay says (*Stage*, p. 144) that 'the "fetching" of Brown' means the purchasing of properties from him, but this is one of the instances in which the writer misquotes the Diary to suit his own interpretation. The phrase 'to fetche browne' cannot apply to fetching things *of* or from him. What it does mean I do not pretend to say. The same applies to Fletcher mentioned in the same connection.

BROWNE, EDWARD.

Witness, 25 Jan. 1599 (?), together with Henslowe and Massye (**20**^{v} 15). This would suggest that he was already with the Admiral's men at this date. He is otherwise known as one of Worcester's men, 14 Jan. 1583 (p. 81), and as one of the Admiral's men performing in 1 *Tamar Cam* in 1602 (Apx. II. 1). He may possibly have been the 'Browne of the Boares head' who died of plague in 1603 (MS. I. 38).

BUCKHURST, LORD.

('lord buckhorste' 'lord of buckurste'.) Thomas Sackville, later (1604) Earl of Dorset, commissioner in State Trials and Ecclesiastical causes. Henslowe visited him with his attorney about a copyhold withheld by Welles, 20 May and 17 June 1593 (**41** 13, cf. **123** 5). As early as 14 July 1589 we find him signing a letter of the Privy Council to certain Aldermen, including John Harte who became Lord Mayor the following Oct., requiring them to take order for the relief of John Allen, servant to the Lord Admiral, against one Dr. Thomas Martin (MS. III. 3).

'BURTE', LORD.

Owed money to Francis Henslowe, 1 June 1595 (**3**^{v} 10). We also find the following entries in the pawn accounts: 7 Mar. 1593/4, 'lent vpon a yellow satten dublett branched of my lorde Burtes man . . . xx^{s}' (**76**^{v}), and 26 Apr. 1594, 'lent vpon a Remnante of black satten & and [*sic*] a longe blacke Clocke vn made vp stricked on wth waffes of my lord Burtes for v^{li}' (**77**^{v}). This may suggest how Francis Henslowe came to be in the position of creditor, for he appears to have acted as Philip's agent in the pawn business. Bertie was the family name of Peregrine, Baron Willoughby de Eresby, who was at this time governor of Berwick and warden of the east marches, and it is just possible that it is he who is meant, though it would, of course, not be a proper title. His son Robert (born 1582) was too young—even had he borne a courtesy title. It may have been to the latter, after his succession to the title in 1601, that Daborne owed his preferment (MS. I. 98).

CAESAR, JULIUS.

('m^r Seser'.) Dr., later (1603) Sir, Julius Caesar, judge of the Court of Admiralty and Master of Requests, sat in various parliaments from 1589 to 1622, was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1606, Master of the Rolls in 1614, and died in 1636. In 1597 Henslowe was 'going vp & downe to sencaterens' to see him 'a bowt the changinge of ower comysion' (**38** 18). This is not likely to refer to the internal arrangements of the Admiral's company at the time of their partial amalgamation with Pembroke's men, but may possibly or probably have to do with Henslowe's and Alleyn's attempts to secure the reversion of the Mastership of the Game of Bears, &c., in which matter we learn, 4 June 1598, that 'doctor seasser hath done nothinge' (MS. II. 1). On 1 Mar. 1615/6 he and Sir Francis Bacon signed a discharge as commissioners of new buildings (Mun. 170). On 24 Aug. 1620 Alleyn met him at dinner at the Bishop of Winchester's, and on 11 Nov. met the Bishop at his house (MS. IX; Young, ii. pp. 187, 193).

CALLE, ——.

Worcester's men paid 10*s.* 'vnto m^rs calle, for ij cvrenet℮ for hed tyres for the corte', 1 Jan. 1602/3 (**118**^v 21).

CALVERLEY, RICHARD.

('Ryc calverley'.) Acquittance to Henslowe for £3, jointly with Lyngare, 31 Aug. 1595 (**98**^v 7).

CARALLE, SIR ——.

('m^r Car[ ]alle knyght'.) Bond of £105 to John Henslowe, before 3 Apr. 1593 (**125**^v 8). The transactions connected with this bond appear to be quite inextricable.

CARNAB, JOHN.

Received money on behalf of the Master of the Revels, 23 Feb. 1598 (**38**^v 17).

CARTER, RA.

Acquittance to Henslowe for 14*s.* 2*d.* being rent due to H. Wendover, 31 Oct. 1597 (**38**^v 6). A Randall Carter was one of the governors of the Free Grammar School of St. Saviour's, Southwark (Mun. 164).

CARTWRIGHT, WILLIAM.

Associated with Richard Jones in borrowing 10*s.* of Henslowe, 21 Apr. 1598 (**19**^v 12). (N.B. Henslowe's contraction may stand either for 'with' or 'which': Collier printed the latter and I inadvertently followed him in my text. In this case the meaning would be that Cartwright advanced the money, which from the form of the entry is highly improbable.) No doubt the Admiral's player is intended, who appears, apparently as a hired man, in the plots of the *Battle of Alcazar*, c. 1598, *Fortune's Tennis* (?), c. 1599, and 1 *Tamar Cam*, 1602 (Apx. II. 4, 6, 7). He was joint-lessee of the Fortune, 31 Oct. 1618 (Mun. 56), and dined with Alleyn on various occasions between 22 Mar. 1617 and 18 Aug. 1622 (MS. IX, Young, ii. pp. 73, 148, 174, 204, 247).

CATTANES, ——.

Player. He authorized a payment on behalf of Worcester's men, 24 Jan. 1602/3 (**119**^{v} 6).

CEACHEN, ——.

('ceachen, m^{r} ceatchen'.) Attorney. Received moneys from Henslowe acting for Richard Alleyn, 9 Aug. 1598 (**230** 10, 12). Is the name an error for Cheacke?

CHALONER, Thomas.

Probably of Kenwardes, Lindfield, Sussex. He acknowledged a debt to Henslowe due 30 June 1592 (**19** 26), and paid Henslowe £100 on a bond after 3 June 1595 (**124** 5). Probably brother of Francis Chaloner mentioned by Joan Alleyn, 21 Oct. 1603 (MS. I. 38). Henslowe bought property of him on the Bankside in the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark, in Apr. 1605 (Mun. 132). He was not the Sir Thomas Chaloner who was chamberlain to Henry, Prince of Wales (cf. MS. I. 54, Harley MS. 252, fol. 8, and Nichols' *James I*, i. p. 204).

CHAMBERLAIN, THE LORD.

(*a*) Henry Carey, first Baron Hunsdon. Patron of a company of players, late Earl of Derby's (Lord Strange's) men, and known while under him as the Lord Chamberlain's men. William Henslowe went to him on business, 3 Apr. 1593, and was employed about his service 20 Apr. (**125**^{v} 14, 17). He entertained Edmond Henslowe in his service the same year (**39** 5, **122**^{v} 17). Philip Henslowe fetched a letter from him in connection with a suit against Edward Phillips, 10 July/19 Dec. 1594 (**41** 38). A petition was preferred to him by Richard Topping against Henslowe in the matter of Thomas Lodge, 1596? (MS. I. 21), and he was one of those who signed the letter of the Privy Council of 14 July 1589, to various aldermen, among others John Harte who became Lord Mayor the following Oct., requiring them to take order for the relief of John Allen, servant to the Lord Admiral, against Dr. Thomas Martin (MS. III. 3). He died 22 July 1596, his title and patronage passing to his son George.

(*b*) George Carey, second Baron Hunsdon. Patron of a company of players, late Lord Chamberlain's men, known while under him, first as Lord Hunsdon's men, and later, 17 Apr. 1597 to 1603, again as the Lord Chamberlain's men. He received money from Henslowe by the hand of William Paschall, 28 Mar. 1600 (**90**$^{\text{v}}$ 2). What this payment, £10 in part of £20, was for does not appear. Topping's petition (see above) was repeated to him and was answered by Henslowe, 29 Jan. 1597/8 (MS. I. 22, 23). He also signed the warrant of the Privy Council for the erection of the Fortune, 8 Apr. 1600 (MS. I. 29).

CHAPMAN, George.

('Chap(p)man(e'.) Playwright. It is possible that Chapman's work may be traced, among the plays performed by the Admiral's men, as far back as 2 Oct. 1595, the year after the publication of his Σκιανυκτος, though, the identity of the *Disguises* (78) with his *May Day* being problematical, it is only a possibility. We first find an undoubted play of his mentioned on 12 Feb. 1595/6, when the *Blind Beggar of Alexandria* (88) was performed at the Rose. This was followed 11 May 1597 by the *Comedy of Humours* (106) whose identity with the *Humorous Day's Mirth* is proved by the inventories. Chapman's name first appears in connection with an unnamed play, 16 and 23 May 1598, which was, no doubt, that afterwards called, first the *Isle of a Woman*? (138), and later the *Fount of New Fashions* (153), and has been identified by Fleay on rather insufficient grounds with *Monsieur d'Olive*. The loan of 10 June probably refers to the same transaction, in which case Chapman received no less than £8. 10 for the piece between 16 May and 12 Oct. 1598 (**45**$^{\text{v}}$ 26, **46** 11, 21, **46**$^{\text{v}}$ 2, **50**$^{\text{v}}$ 8, **51** 5). On 3 Dec. 1597 Jonson received £1 upon the plot for a play which he showed to the Admiral's men (119), and on 23 Oct. 1598 Chapman received a payment for two acts of a tragedy upon Benjamin's (i. e. Jonson's) plot (157$^{\text{a}}$). This must refer to the same piece, but its identity is doubtful. Subsequent payments for the remaining three acts and in full for the whole were made 4 and 8 Jan. 1598/9 (**51**$^{\text{v}}$ 2, **52**$^{\text{v}}$ 16, 21). On 23 Oct. 1598 Chapman also received an advance on a play of his own (156) which cannot be identified, but to which the loan of 10*s*. on 1 Nov. may also have referred (**51**$^{\text{v}}$ 2, **52** 28). On 24 Oct. 1598 Chapman acknowledged a debt of £10 to Henslowe, but this is a private transaction unconnected with his work for the company (**90** 8). From 22 Jan. to 22 July 1599 Chapman was receiving payments for the *World Runs on Wheels* (165), the final entry taking the curious form 'in full payment for his Boocke called the world Rones a whelles & now all foolles but the foolle' (**53** 5, **53**$^{\text{v}}$ 18, **63** 21, 29, 33). This may either mean that the title was altered (understanding 'and now called All Fools,' &c.), or that the payment was in full for the first piece and in earnest of the second (understanding 'and now for All Fools,' &c.). In the former case the total paid would again be £8. 10. The title *All Fools but the Fool* (175) suggests that there is some connection between this piece and the *All Fools* printed in 1605, but what is uncertain. On 17 July 1599 Chapman received an advance in earnest of a 'Pastoral Tragedy' (177), but there is no evidence of its having been completed (**63**^{v} 10, and cf. p. xlix). He ceased to write for the Admiral's men after this. There is no record of any collaboration on Chapman's part in the Diary if we except the case of Jonson's plot. Indeed, the only play in the earlier part of his career on which he was engaged with other playwrights was *Eastward Ho* (1604–5), written in conjunction with Jonson and Marston. It is, however, just possible that he may sometimes have worked over pieces by other men, see the *Civil Wars of France* (152) and *Biron* (267). Among the MSS. at Dulwich is a dedication by Chapman to Sir Albertus Morton, of 'this Crowne and Conclusion of all his pore Homericall Labours,' i. e. the *Batrachomyomachia*? (MSS. 2nd Ser. 94, 3). This is written on what was once the fly-leaf of a book belonging to one Thomas Marshe, and is described by Bickley (p. 106) as a contemporary copy. I have not been able to see this document so cannot speak for certain, but I may mention that Chapman wrote two very different hands (see facsimile signatures) and that a cataloguer who was only acquainted with one would no doubt suppose the other to be a copy. Now, the *Batrachomyomachia* has a printed dedication to the Earl of Somerset, but it appears that Chapman was in the habit of writing dedications in particular copies as well. Thus the Heber copy had the following inscription: 'For the many noble favors receiv'd of the righte honorable the Lord Russell and desirous by all the best services to crowne his Lordship's free graces with continewance George Chapman humblie inscribes this Crowne of all the Homericall Graces and Muses to his Lordships Honor wishing the same crownde above Title: and establishte past Marble.' The book appeared c. 1622.

CHEACKE, ——.

('cheacke, checke'.) Attorney. Payments were made to him by Henslowe in the suit against Edward Phillips, 5/16 May 1593 (**41** 5, 6, cf. **122**^{v} 36, 37).

CHETTLE, HENRY.

(The name usually appears as 'harey cheattell' in Henslowe's entries, but Chettle is the spelling of the autograph signatures.) Playwright. He is considerably the most prolific of the writers with whom we have to deal, being in this respect only approached by Dekker, for what little evidence we have concerning Heywood hardly bears out his astonishing claim. Very little, however, is known about his work, nearly all of which has perished, and an account of his career resolves itself into little more than a list of collaborators, titles, and dates. He was not only free of the Stationers' company (1584), but was actively engaged in business, having entered into partnership with J. Hoskins and J. Danter in 1591. All his ventures in this line, however, of which the publication of his own *Kind-Heart's Dream*, c. Jan. 1593, was the most important, appear to have preceded his career as a dramatist (p. 23). The first play with which we find him connected is 2 *Robin Hood* (127), 25 Feb. 1598, on which he collaborated with Munday (**44**^{v} 11) and which was printed as the *Death of Robert Earl of Huntington* in 1601. It would, therefore, appear that he first wrote for the Admiral's men some months after their amalgamation with Pembroke's (Oct. 1597). We then find other plays as follow: the *Famous Wars of Henry I* (130), 13 and 13/25 Mar. 1598, with Dekker and Drayton (**45** 1, 6); 1 *Earl Goodwin and his three Sons* (131), 25 Mar. 1598, with Dekker, Drayton and Wilson (**45** 17); *Pierce of Exton* (132), 30 Mar./7 Apr. 1598, with Dekker, Drayton and Wilson (**45** 29); 1 *Black Bateman of the North* (134), 2/6 and 22 May 1598, with Dekker, Drayton and Wilson (**45**^{v} 14, **46** 6); 2 *Earl Goodwin and his three Sons* (135), 6 Apr. (May) and 10 June 1598, with Dekker, Drayton and Wilson (**45**^{v} 20, **46** 24, 26); the *Funeral of Richard Coeur-de-Lion* (137), 14, 15, 17, 21 June 1598, with Drayton, Munday and Wilson (**46** 34, **46**^{v} 4, 7, 11), to which a loan to Chettle, 24 June, may also refer (**46**^{v} 21); 2 *Black Bateman of the North* (139), 26 June, 8, 14 July 1598, with Wilson (**47** 1, 11, 26); the *Play of a Woman* (141), 14 July 1598, alone (**47**^{v} 1); *Hot Anger soon Cold* (147), 18 Aug. 1598, with Jonson and Porter (**49** 21); *Chance Medley* (148), 19 Aug. 1598, with Drayton, Munday and Wilson, Chettle receiving 30*s.* as his share, but probably on behalf of Dekker (**49** 26); *Catiline's Conspiracy* (149), 26, 29 Aug. 1598, with Wilson (**49**^{v} 20, 27); *Vayvode* (150), 29 Aug. 1598, an old play revised (**49**^{v} 23); *Brute* (145), 8, 9, 16 Sept., 12, 18, 22 Oct. 1598, with Day, perhaps two parts (**50** 9, 12, 15, **51** 8, 21, 26); 1 *Robin Hood* (127), 18 Nov. 1598, for mending (**52** 5), originally by Munday, printed in 1601 as the *Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington*; (2?) *Robin Hood* (127 and see above), 25 Nov. 1598, for mending for court (**52** 13); *'Tis no Deceit to Deceive the Deceiver* (160), 25 (? cancelled), 28 Nov. 1598, alone (**52** 13, 25); after an interval of two months and a half spent in the Marshalsea prison (see below), *Polyphemus* or *Troy's Revenge* (168), 16, 27 Feb. 1598/9, alone (**53**^{v} 23, 25, cf. **61** 9); the *Spencers* (170), 4 Mar. 1598/9, with Porter (**54**^{v} 12, cf. **61** 9); *Troylus and Cressida* (172), 7, 16 Apr. 1599, with Dekker (**54**^{v} 8, 24), the loan of 5*s.* on 27 Mar. referring perhaps to the same (**54** 25); after a further interval of over a month due to another arrest (see below), *Agamemnon* (174), 26, 30 May, 1599, with Dekker (**63** 7, 13); the *Stepmother's Tragedy* (178), 23, 25 Aug., 14 Oct. 1599, with Dekker (**64** 1, 8, **65** 3); *Robert II* or the *Scot's Tragedy* (182), 3, 15, 16 Sept. 1599, with Dekker, Jonson and another (**64** 16, 25, 26); *Patient Grissel* (187), 16 Oct./1 Nov., 19, 26 Dec. 1599, with Dekker and Haughton (**65** 14, **66**^{v} 11, 26; cf. **31** 21), printed 1603; the *Orphans' Tragedy* (191), 10, 27 Nov. 1599, alone? (**65**^{v} 11, 29; cf. **29** 15, and see below), possibly part of the *Two Lamentable Tragedies* printed 1601; the *Arcadian Virgin* (192), 13, 17 Dec. 1599, with Haughton (**66**^{v} 5, 8); *Damon and Pithias* (198), 16 Feb., 10 Mar., 26, 27 Apr./6 May 1599/1600, alone (**67**^{v} 23, cf. **29**^{v} 3; **68** 5, **68**^{v} 28, 35); the *Seven Wise Masters* (199), 1, 2 Mar. 1599/1600, with Day, Dekker and Haughton (**67**^{v} 25, **68** 1); the *Wooing of Death* (202), 27 Apr./6 May 1600, alone (**69** 1, 3), a loan of 5*s.* on 6 May belonging perhaps to the same (**69** 7); the *Golden Ass and Cupid and Psyche* (203), 10, 14 May 1600, with Day and Dekker (**69** 17, 21); 1 *Blind Beggar of Bednal Green* (206), 26 May 1600, with Day (**69** 30), printed 1659; 2 *Blind Beggar of Bednal Green* (214), to which probably belongs a payment of 10*s.* to Chettle and Day in earnest of an unnamed piece, 19 June 1600, with Day and Haughton (**69**^{v} 21); again after an interval of over nine months, during which the company seems to have been in abeyance, *All is not Gold that Glisters* (216), 31 Mar., 6 Apr. 1601, alone (**86** 15, 25); *King Sebastian of Portingale* (218), 18 Apr., 16 May 1601, with Dekker (**86**^{v} 5, **87** 11); the *Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (221), 5, 28 June, 4, 17 July, 18 Aug. 1601, alone (**87**^{v} 16, **91** 2, 27, **91**^{v} 27, **93** 2) complicated entries involving apparently the redemption of a portion of the MS. from pawn; the *Rising of Cardinal Wolsey* (225), 24 Aug., 10 Oct., 6, 9, 12 Nov. 1601, with Drayton, Munday and Smith (**93** 15, **94** 19, **94**^{v} 19, 24, 29); the *Orphans' Tragedy* (191 as above), 24 Sept. 1601, probably for revision (**93**^{v} 32); *Too Good to be True* (228), 14 Nov. 1601, 7 Jan. 1601/2, with Haughton and Smith (**95** 5, **96** 12); *Friar Rush and the Proud Woman of Antwerp* (223), 21 Jan. 1601/2, for mending (**104** 7); *Love parts Friendship* (232), 4 May 1602, with Smith (**105** 26); the *Rising of Cardinal Wolsey* (225 as above), 15 May 1602, for mending (**105**^{v} 6); *Tobyas* (235), 16 May, 2, 26, 27 June 1602, alone (**105**^{v} 10, **106** 29, **106**^{v} 18, 21); the *Danish Tragedy* (238), 7 July 1602, alone (**107** 2). So far all Chettle's work had been for the Admiral's men. Between Aug. 1602 and May 1603, however, he worked not only for these but also for Worcester's men who were likewise connected with Henslowe. We find the following plays:—an unnamed Tragedy, for Worcester's men (263), 24 Aug., 7, 8, 9 Sept. 1602, alone (**115** 23, **116** 4, 8, 9); *Felmelanco* (244), for the Admiral's men, 15, 15/27 Sept. 1602, with Robensone? (**107**^{v} 20, 29); 1 *Lady Jane* (270), for Worcester's men, 15, 21 Oct. 1602, with Dekker, Heywood, Smith and Webster (**117** 6, 19), also 2 *Lady Jane* (271), probably the play for which 3*s.* was paid to Chettle and 10*s.* to Smith on 12 Nov. 1602, with Dekker, &c. (**118** 7), these two parts being condensed into a single play and printed as *Sir Thomas Wyatt* in 1607; *Christmas comes but once a Year* (272), for Worcester's men, 23, 26 Nov. 1602, with Dekker, Heywood and Webster (**118** 9, 19); 1 *London Florentine* (251), for the Admiral's men, 17, 22 Dec. 1602, with Heywood (**108**^{v} 19, 25); an unnamed play (252) belonging to the Admiral's men, provided with prologue and epilogue for the court, 29 Dec. 1602 (**109** 2); *Hoffman* (253), for the Admiral's men, 29 Dec. 1602, alone (**109** 5), printed in 1631; an unnamed play, for Worcester's men (276), 14 Jan. 1602/3, with Heywood (**119** 14); an unnamed play for the Admiral's men (258), redeemed from pawn 7 Mar. 1602/3 (**109**^{v} 7), possibly the same as 2 *London Florentine* (259), for the Admiral's men, 12 Mar. 1602/3, alone (**109**^{v} 13); *Shore* (280), for Worcester's men, 9 May 1603, with Day (**121** 6, cf. **100**^{v} 3). I have given the plays straight ahead and must now return to notice certain other entries. On 16 Sept. 1598 Henslowe made a memorandum that Chettle owed the Admiral's men £8. 9 'al his boockes & Recknynges payd' (**50** 17), a note which helps us to infer that there may have been more than one part to *Brute* (146), the play on which he was engaged at the time. A little later, 3/8 Nov., we find him borrowing 18*s.* 4*d.* to arrest someone with Lord Leicester (**51**ᵛ 5, 12). I take this and similar entries written in the margin, which are often cancelled, to refer to private debts to Henslowe, not company transactions. The only mention of Chettle between 28 Nov. 1598 and 16 Feb. following is on 17 Jan. 1598/9 when the company lent him 30*s.* to pay his charges in the Marshalsea, which will account for his silence (**52**ᵛ 25). In the beginning of May he was again in trouble and on 2 May he joined with Dekker to borrow £1 of Henslowe to discharge himself from the arrest of Ingrome (**62** 11). About 13 Oct. 1599 he obtained a private loan from Henslowe of £1 (**64**ᵛ 17, 19, 21), and on 22 Oct. acknowledged a debt to the same of £9. 9 (**62** 5). Another private loan of 3*s.* from the same is dated 18 July 1601 (**91**ᵛ 19, 21), and another of 5*s.*, 29 July 1602 (**107** 18). On 25 Mar. 1602 he received £3 from the Admiral's men upon his sealing a bond to write for them and presumably for them alone (**105** 9). This is curious in view of the fact that we find him five months later dividing his energies between the Admiral's and Worcester's men. His name appears as witness, 8 July 1599 (**31**ᵛ 10); altered to Haughton, 25 Aug. 1599 (**64** 5); altered to Dekker, 31 July 1602 (**107** 23); and in a cancelled entry (duplicate), 14 Jan. 1602/3 (**109** 18). Nothing else is known of his career as a playwright; he died before Jan. 1606.

CLYFTON, ROBERT.

Acquittance to Henslowe for £5 for the use of R. Walles, 6 May 1601 (**100** 8).

COLE, ——.

Register. Henslowe paid his fees in the matter of Edmond Henslowe's administration, 1593 (**40** 13, cf. 15–17; **122**ᵛ 28, cf. 30–32).

COLLES, ——.

Pawnbroker (?). Richard Alleyn's widow fetched her mantle, &c., from him, borrowing £5. 10 from Henslowe for the purpose, 19 Sept. 1602 (**230** 18).

CONNESBEY, RICHARD.

Gentleman usher in ordinary. Draft application for an allowance, 20 Jan. 1597/8 ? (**113**ᵛ 2).

CORDEN, WILLIAM.

Tenant of Henslowe, under James Russell's lease, at 16*d.*, 1602/3 (**177**ᵛ 17). He signed a letter from the churchwardens and others of the liberty of the Clink to Alleyn, presenting James Saunders as a 'poore elected beadesman,' before 10 Oct. 1616 (MS. III. 71).

COWCHMAN, ——.

('cowch(e)man'.) Henslowe preferred a bill for perjury against him and others in the Star Chamber, 1594 (**41** 25, **123** 16).

CRAFFTE, PERCIVAL.

('Pe(a)rsyvall(e Crafftc'.) Lay at the sign of the Cross Keys in Watling street, and gave his word for the fustian dyer in Grubstreet, 24 Dec. 1592 (**2** 9).

CRANWIGGE, JAMES.

Player (?). Played his challenge at the Rose, 4 Nov. 1598, on which occasion Henslowe's share of the profits amounted to £2 (**51**ᵛ 31). It is possible, since his name is found nowhere else in dramatic records, that he was only a dancer, tumbler or more probably a fencer, all of which vocations used the stage.

CUCKSON, RICHARD.

('cvckson, cvxson, cuxsone, cvxton, Cuxen'.) He and his wife acknowledged a fine to Henslowe, 3 June 1595, and again relinquished their rights to certain property in consideration of £40, after 5 June (**41**ᵛ 1, 11; cf. **123** 33, **123**ᵛ 3). Henslowe paid him £35. 10 'for the copi hold landes & mackynge the writingeę & sewt,' no date (**123**ᵛ 9). The property seems to be the same as the house belonging to Edmond Henslowe which Philip sold to Langworth for £80 in June 1595 (see **124** 1 and **41**ᵛ 2 margin).

CUCKSON, MARGARET.

Wife of Richard, as above. It appears that she was sister to Philip Henslowe, and a beneficiary under his will, 1616 (Rendle, *Henslowe*). She must therefore have been the same as Margaret, wife of Ralph Hogge, whom John Henslowe calls 'my bryther hogge' in 1580 (p. xix). It is curious that only her first husband should be mentioned in the visitation of 1634 (p. 16), seeing that she must have married again by 1595.

DAME, NICHOLAS.

Starchmaker. He entered into an agreement, jointly with John Ockley, with Henslowe and Alleyn, for the manufacture of starch (**204** 13), no date, but apparently before 4 Feb. 1601/2 (?), on which date he was witness to a loan of £5 to Ockley from Henslowe and Alleyn (**112** 12).

DARDES, ——.

Henslowe in 2 James I (24 Mar. 1604–23 Mar. 1605) confirmed a lease, originally granted to him by widow Renowells in 39 Elizabeth (17 Nov. 1596–16 Nov. 1597) for 18 years, in consideration of a good fat capon to be delivered every year at St. Andrew's tide (**178**ᵛ 19).

DAVES, HENRY.

('Harey daves'.) Borrowed 6*s.* from Henslowe, 20 Apr. 1598 (**28** 1). It is possible that the name is merely a slip for Hugh Daves.

DAVES, HUGH.

('daves, davis'.) His name appears frequently as witness, though he was only a marksman, between 8 May 1593 and 26 Nov. 1603. In 1595 Henslowe expended various sums upon the house he had been occupying (**6** and **6**^{v}), whence it would appear that he was already one of Henslowe's tenants. On 9 Nov. 1601 the Admiral's men paid 7*s.* 6*d.* to mend his 'tanye cotte' (i. e. tawny coat) 'w^{ch} was eatten wth the Rattes' (**94**^{v} 17). He was therefore in some way connected with the playhouse, and his name occurs as witness in connection with those of players; he also valued properties in company with Alleyn, 28 Apr. 1595 (**13**^{v} 6). He is not, however, known to have been an actor himself. He was a tenant of Henslowe in 1602/3 in Windover's rents, at £6 (**178** 40).

DAVES, HUGH, HIS WIFE.

Witness, 8 Apr. 1595 (**3** 32).

DAY, JOHN.

(Autograph signatures occur both with and without the final *-e*, but the latter is the commoner.) Playwright. The Diary supplies us with the earliest evidence of his connection with the stage, but this does not go back before July 1598. On the thirtieth of this month we find a solitary entry (**49** 2) to the effect of his having sold to the Admiral's men a play 'called the conquest of brute wth the first fyndinge of the bathe' (145), which was probably an unfinished, or possibly an old, piece, and was subsequently finished or revised by Chettle. Day does not reappear till late in 1599, from which time onward we get pretty full notes of his activity. The plays upon which he worked are as follow:—*Cox of Collumpton* (188), 8/9 and 14 Nov. 1599, with Haughton (**65**^{v} 1, 16, **31** 15); *Thomas Merry* (190), 27 Nov., 5, 6 Dec. 1599, with Haughton (**65**^{v} 26, **66** 14, 19, 22, **29** 5, 10), possibly part of the *Two Lamentable Tragedies* printed 1601; an unnamed Italian tragedy (193), 10 Jan. 1600 (**67** 7), possibly the same as Chettle's *Orphans' Tragedy* (191); the *Spanish Moor's Tragedy* (197), 13 Feb. 1600, with Dekker and Haughton (**67**^{v} 19), perhaps the same as *Lust's Dominion* printed in 1657; the *Seven Wise Masters* (199), 1, 8 Mar. 1600, with Chettle, Dekker and Haughton (**67**^{v} 25, 29); the *Golden Ass* (202), 27 Apr./6 May, 10, 14 May, with Chettle and Dekker (**68**^{v} 32, **69** 13, 16, 21); 1 *Blind Beggar of Bednal Green* (206), 26 May 1600, with Chettle (**69** 31), printed 1659; an unnamed play (208^{a}), 19 June 1600, with Chettle (**69**^{v} 21), the payment being, however, more likely a bonus on the preceding. After a few months of diminished dramatic activity the entries begin again:—2 *Blind Beggar of Bednal Green* (*Tom Strowd*, 214), 29 Jan. 10 Feb., 27 Apr./2 May, 5 May 1601, with

Haughton (**82** 18, **85**^{v} 19, **86**^{v} 16, 25), the payments including a bonus on the first performance; the *Conquest of the West Indies* (217), 4 Apr., 21 May, 5, 11, 26 Aug., 1 Sept. 1601, with Haughton and Smith (**86** 18, **87** 22, **92** 27, **92**^{v} 20, **93** 17, 28, also MS. I. 35); 3 *Blind Beggar of Bednal Green* (*Tom Strowd,* 220), 21 May, 18/23, 25, 30 July 1601, with Haughton (**87** 26, **91**^{v} 23, **92** 2, 6, and Apx. I. 5); the *Six Yeomen of the West* (219), 4 June 1601, with Haughton (**87**^{v} 6, also MS. I. 34, 35); *Friar Rush and the Proud Woman of Antwerp* (223), 4, 14 July 1601, with Haughton, later revised by Chettle (**91** 22, **91**^{v} 14); 2 *Tom Dough* (224), 30 July, 3 Sept. 1601, with Haughton (**92** 9, **93**^{v} 6). Again after another interval:—*Bristow Tragedy* (233), 4, 23, 28 May 1602, alone (**105** 30, **106** 1, 9, and cf. MS. I. 37), this being the first play which we have reason to suppose Day completed without collaboration; *Merry as may be* (249), 9, 17 Nov. 1602, with Hathway and Smith (**108** 19, 26); the *Boss of Billingsgate* (256), 1, 7, 12 Mar. 1603, with Hathway and another (**109** 23, 27, **109**^{v} 9). All these plays were for the Admiral's men. Meanwhile, however, Day had also been writing for Worcester's men. We find entries of the following:—1 *Black Dog of Newgate* (273), 26 Nov., 20 Dec. 1602, with Hathway, Smith and another (**118** 23, **118**^{v} 18); the *Unfortunate General* (275), 16, 19 Jan. 1603, with Hathway and Smith (**119** 27, **119**^{v} 3); 2 *Black Dog of Newgate* (277), 29 Jan., 3, 21, 26 Feb. 1603, with Hathway, Smith and another (**119** 16, 20, **120** 16, 19); *Shore* (280), 9 May 1603, with Chettle (**121** 7). We also find record of two small loans from Henslowe personally, namely, 5*s.* on 4 Jan. 1600 (**30**^{v} 5), and 4*s.* 18/23 July 1601 (**91**^{v} 26, 28). Two papers of Day's are preserved at Dulwich, namely, a letter to a patron enclosing a poem on 'The Miracles of our Blest Saviour,' now lost (Second Series, MS. 94. 2 B; printed in *Shak. Soc. Papers,* i. p. 20), and some verses apparently spoken by Henry, Prince of Wales, over the body of Hotspur, scribbled in his hand on the back of a note to Henslowe (MS. I. 35). The acrostic verses on Thomas Downton signed John Daye are probably not by him (Bickley, p. 105). After the close of the Diary Day continued his literary activity for many years, though it is impossible to trace any connection with the stage between 1608 and 1620. I should perhaps add that in the *Parliament of Bees* Fleay has 'small doubt that the *Fænerator,* or *Usuring Broker,* is sketched from Henslow as a model.' This view is perhaps rendered plausible by the lines (ed. Bullen, p. 63):

> Most of the Timber, that his state repairs,
> He hew's out ot'he (*sic*) bones of foundred players,
> They feed on Poets braines, he eats their breath.

DEKKER, THOMAS.

(The autograph spelling is always Dekker; Henslowe rings the changes on 'dicker(s' 'dyckers' and 'deckers'.) Playwright. The question of the date at which Dekker began his career as a dramatist is of considerable importance in connection with the authorship of the early plays acted by the Admiral's men at the Rose. Several of these suggest by their titles that they may be connected with plays later published as Dekker's, and as some were already old plays in 1594 Fleay has supposed that Dekker was already engaged in writing for the Admiral's company before they broke in 1591, which would make him a contemporary of Marlowe. It has, on the other hand, been generally supposed that Dekker's career began in 1598, the date at which he is first mentioned by Henslowe. That no conclusive evidence exists for his activity as a playwright before this date is true, but we should have to regard it as something of a coincidence that he should have begun to write just at the very moment that Henslowe began to record the names of the authors connected with the company. That such a coincidence is to be supposed in the case of Haughton, is an argument rather against than for supposing it in that of Dekker; Henslowe, moreover, specifically styles the former 'yonge harton' in his earliest accounts. Since, again, Dekker's birth can hardly be placed much later than 1570 or 1572, there is no difficulty in supposing him to have been engaged in writing for the stage say in 1594, and it is likely enough that he should begin by revising some of the old plays which belonged to the stock but which had not been performed in London since 1591. The strongest argument in favour of Fleay's view rests on the *Virgin Martyr*, entered S. R. 7 Dec. 1621, and published in 1622 as by Massinger and Dekker. There is no reason to question the double authorship, and the presumption is that the text represents a revision by Massinger of an old Dekker play. In IV. ii, however (1873, p. 68), we find the expression 'Ile come upon her with rounce, robble-hobble, and thwick thwack thirlery bouncing,' evidently ridiculing the hexameter craze, and consequently hardly later than 1590. (This makes the identification of the play with *Dioclesian* (60) impossible, for that play was new in 1594, a fact overlooked by Fleay.) Dekker's play may, however, have been a revision of a yet earlier piece. If 'our next neighbour's man, called Christopher' in II. i (p. 24) refer to Marlowe, as it may, the original piece possibly belonged to the Admiral's men c. 1590, but there is no evidence that they ever revived it. The date of Dekker's revision is uncertain, but it is not likely to have been made between 1594 and 1602, for he seems to have been pretty busy working for the Admiral's and later for Worcester's men during those years except during the winter of 1601–2, to which it might possibly belong. The German *Dorothea*, which does not appear till 1626, may have been the original play, taken over by the members of the Admiral's company in 1591, or else Dekker's revision, imported at a later date. Two other plays of Massinger's, *Philenzo and Hippolito* (see 46) and *Antonio and Vallia* (66), appear to be revisions of old plays performed by the Admiral's men, which latter are therefore assigned by Fleay to Dekker. The parallel with the *Virgin Martyr* is, however, imperfect, and the inference will not hold. (*Philipo and Hippolito* was, moreover, a new play;

the omission of the 'ne' is Collier's error.) The three other plays mentioned by Fleay as containing work by Dekker before 1592, are *Faustus* (55), *Fortunatus* (87) and the *French Doctor* (57 . I have endeavoured elsewhere to show that in no case need we suppose Dekker's work in these to be earlier than 1594. If we assume Dekker to have been the reviser of Marlowe's unfinished play of *Faustus*, as it was printed in 1604, we have yet no right to assume that his care was bestowed upon it earlier than the revival of 1594. In the case of *Fortunatus* we cannot with certainty date any of Dekker's work earlier than 1599, though there is some probability that it received revision at his hands in 1596. In that of the *French Doctor*, lastly, there seems no sufficient reason to connect it with Dekker's *Jew of Venice* at all, unless we regard it as identical with the *Venetian Comedy*. In that case, however, it was a new play in 1594. To sum up. There appears to be some reason to suppose that Dekker attached himself to the Admiral's men as playwright when they opened at the Rose in June 1594 after their two and a half years or more of vagabondage. There seems to me some likelihood of his having been the author of the *Set at Maw* and the *Mack*, the two 'card-plays' produced in 1594 and 1595 respectively. There does not appear to be any sufficient evidence to suppose that he was engaged in any dramatic work at an earlier date. On the other hand, Fleay's theory that Dekker was writing for the Admiral's men as early, say, as 1589 to 1590, though unsubstantiated, does not appear to me in any way intrinsically absurd, and explains certain allusions in extant plays, which I can only explain by a hypothetical pre-Dekker piece. It would not, in any case, be necessary to place Dekker's birth before 1570. We can now pass on to consider that portion of his career for which we have a less conjectural basis. Dekker's name occurs for the first time in a genuine entry on 8 Jan. 1598 when he received 20*s.* for an unnamed book (124 ?), the record being, however, subsequently cancelled (**44** 9). The entries then proceed regularly :—*Phaeton* (124), 15 Jan. 1598, alone (**44** 14); the *Treplicity of Cuckolds* (129), 1 Mar. 1598, alone (**44**^{v} 17); the *Wars of Henry I* (130), 13/25 Mar. 1598, with Chettle and Drayton (**45** 5); 1 *Earl Goodwin* (131), 25 Mar. 1598, with Chettle, Drayton and Wilson (**45** 17); *Pierce of Exton* (132), 30 Mar./7 Apr. 1598, with the same (**45** 28); 2 *Earl Goodwin* (135), 2/9 May, 10 June 1598, with the same (**45**^{v} 20, **46** 23), if this be not the same as the preceding; 1 *Black Bateman of the North* (134), 22 May 1598, with the same (**46** 6) the *Madman's Morris* (140), 1, 10 July, 1598, with Drayton and Wilson (**47** 8, 17); 1 *Hannibal and Hermes* (142), 17, 27, 28 July 1598, with the same (**47**^{v} 19, **48** 6, 12); *Pierce of Winchester* (144), 28/29 July, 8, 10 Aug. 1598, with the same (**48** 15, **49** 6, 16); *Chance Medley* (148), 19 Aug. 1598, with Drayton, Munday and Wilson (**49** 24), but it is not clear whether it was Dekker or Chettle that was engaged on this piece, receiving 30*s.* as his share; 2 *Hannibal and Hermes* (*Worse Afeared than Hurt*, 151), 30 Aug., 4 Sept. 1598, with Drayton (**50** 3, 8); 1 *Civil Wars of France* (152)

29 Sept. 1598, with the same (**50**^{v} 5); *Connan Prince of Cornwall* (156), 16, 20 Oct. 1598, with the same (**51** 13, 23); 2 *Civil Wars of France* (158), 3 Nov. 1598, with the same (**51**^{v} 6); 3 *Civil Wars of France* (159), 18 Nov., 30 Dec. 1598, with the same (**52** 2, **52**^{v} 13); *Introduction to the Civil Wars of France* (164), 20 Jan. 1599, alone (**52**^{v} 31); *Troylus and Cressida* (172), 7, 16 Apr. 1599, with Chettle (**54**^{v} 8, 24); *Orestes' Furies* (173), 2 May 1599, alone (**62** 14), but probably the same as the next; *Agamemnon* (174), 26, 30 May 1599, with Chettle (**63** 7, 13); the *Gentle Craft* (176), 15 July 1599, alone (**63**^{v} 8), printed 1600; the *Stepmother's Tragedy* (178), 24 July, 23 Aug. 1599, with Chettle (**63**^{v} 13, **64** 1); *Bear a Brain* (179), 1 Aug. 1599, alone (**63**^{v} 18); *Page of Plymouth* (180), 10 Aug. 1599, with Jonson (**63**^{v} 24); *Robert II* (*Scot's Tragedy*, 182), 3, 15 Sept. 1599, with Chettle, Jonson and another (**64** 15, 25); *Fortunatus* (189^{a}), 9, 24, 30 Nov., 1, 12 Dec. 1599, alone (**65**^{v} 7, 22, **66** 2, 9, **66**^{v} 1), including alterations and a new ending for the court, printed 1600; *Patient Grissel* (187), 19, 26, 28 Dec. 1599, with Chettle and Haughton (**66**^{v} 11, 26, 29, **31** 17, 23), printed 1603; *Truth's Supplication to Candlelight* (195), 18, 30 Jan. 1600, alone (**67** 19, 28, **30**^{v} 9); the *Spanish Moor's Tragedy* (197), 13 Feb. 1600, with Day and Haughton (**67**^{v} 19), perhaps the same as *Lust's Dominion* printed 1657; *Seven Wise Masters* (199), 1 Mar. 1600, with Chettle, Day and Haughton (**67**^{v} 25); the *Golden Ass* (202), 27 Apr./6 May, 10, 14 May 1600, with Chettle and Dekker (**68**^{v} 32, **69** 13, 16, 21); 1 *Fair Constance of Rome* (208), 14 June 1600, with Drayton, Hathway and Munday (**69**^{v} 16); also probably 2 *Fair Constance* (209), 20 June, with the same (**69**^{v} 24), Hathway's being the only name mentioned; *Fortune's Tennis* ? (210), 6 Sept. 1600, alone (**70**^{v} 13); *Phaeton* (210^{a}), 14, 22 Dec. 1600, alterations for the court (**70**^{v} 25, **71** 4); *King Sebastian of Portingale* (218), 18 Apr., 16, 22 May 1601, with Chettle (**86**^{v} 5, **87** 11, 31); Dekker disappears for a while at this point, the next entry being more than six months later. To the interval belongs *Satiromastix* acted by the Paul's boys and printed 1602. The entries continue:—*Pontius Pilate* (230), 12 Jan. 1602, prologue and epilogue only (**96** 16); *Tasso* (230^{a}), 16 Jan. and again 3 Nov. and 4 Dec. 1602, alterations (**96** 20, **108** 16, **108**^{v} 7); *Jephthah* (234), 5 May 1602, with Munday (**105**^{v} 2, **114** 4); *Caesar's Fall* (*Two Shapes*, 236), 29 May 1602, with Drayton, Middleton, Munday and Webster (**106** 16); *Medicine for a Curst Wife* (240), 19, 31 July 1602, alone (**107** 14, 24), the payments being subsequently cancelled. So far all payments recorded were made on behalf of the Admiral's men. From this point to the end of the Diary Dekker worked for Worcester's men only with the exception of the alterations in *Tasso* already mentioned. The entries run:—*Sir John Oldcastle* (262^{a}), 17 Aug., 7 Sept. 1602, additions (**115** 5, **116** 2); *Medicine for a Curst Wife* (263^{a}), 27/28 Aug., 1, 2, 27 Sept. alone (**115** 32, **115**^{v} 12, 16, **116** 29), including a bonus of 10*s.*; 1 *Lady Jane* (270), 15, 21 Oct. 1602, with Chettle, Heywood, Smith and Webster (**117** 6, 19); 2 *Lady Jane* (271), 27 Oct. 1602, alone (**117**^{v} 13); *Christmas comes but once a Year* (272),

23 Nov. 1602, with Chettle, Heywood and Webster (**118** 9). Lastly, in 1604 we find Dekker apparently at some date before 14 Mar. engaged with Middleton on the *Patient Man and the Honest Whore* (260) printed the same year (**110** 2). It remains to mention a loan of £2 from Henslowe to the Admiral's men, 4 Feb. 1598, to discharge Dekker out of the Counter in the Poultrey (**44** 27); another of £3. 10 on 30 Jan. 1599 to discharge him from the arrest of the Chamberlain's men, though Dekker acknowledged it as a private debt to Henslowe (**53** 16, **101** 2, 7); and another advance of 20*s.* on 1 Aug. 1599, again acknowledged as a private debt (**63**ᵛ 21, and see p. xlix). A memorandum of 2 May 1599, which belongs to a period for which the regular accounts are missing, records that a loan of 20*s.* was made to Dekker and Chettle to discharge the latter 'of his a Reste from Jngrome.' The fact that this is immediately followed by the entry: 'Lent more the same time vnto mʳ dickers in earnest of a Boocke called orestes fvres . . . vˢ,' suggests that the previous loan was made on the same security, whence it would follow that Chettle was also engaged on this play (173). This would put its identity with *Agamemnon* (174) practically beyond doubt. Dekker's career was not a prosperous one. He continued for long as a prolific playwright and pamphleteer, and was also employed for the composition of city pageants. No inconsiderable portion of his life was passed in prison. From the King's Bench he wrote to Alleyn on 12 Sept. 1616, and another similar letter, undated, is also preserved (MS. I. 108, 109). 'And it best becomes mee,' he writes, 'to Sing any thing in praise of Charity, because albeit, J haue felt few handes warme, thorough that complexion, yett imprisonment may make me long for them.' The date of his death is almost as uncertain as that of his birth.

DERBY, COUNTESS OF.

Either Alice, Countess-Dowager, widow of Ferdinando Stanley, Baron Strange, fifth Earl of Derby, or else Elizabeth, the young' Countess, wife of William, sixth Earl, brother of Ferdinando. She represented the Queen at the christening of Lord Windsor's child, 20 Jan. 1597/8 ? (**113**ᵛ 5). If we suppose that the Queen was standing sponsor, the fact of the 'young Countess' having the same name as her Majesty is perhaps an argument in her favour.

DERE, ——.

Henslowe expended various sums for building his house upon the Bankside, 'wᶜʰ was good man deres,' 1599–1600 (**32** 3). He was probably therefore one of Henslowe's tenants.

DICKENSON, ——.

('dickenson(e, duckenson'.) Timber merchant. He is frequently mentioned in the accounts of 'what we owe a bowt ouʳ howsse' 1600, no doubt the Fortune, the only date mentioned being 2 Aug. (**97**–**97**ᵛ). He is apparently to be distinguished from the owner of Northumberland Court, another timber merchant who also supplied materials in the same account.

DIXSON, GEORGE.

He bound himself in £5 for the production of a bitch belonging to William Dixson, as below, 29 Sept. 1601 (**97**ᵛ 16).

DIXSON, WILLIAM.

Owner of a bitch who is to be forthcoming 'to seʳve the Quen', i. e. for the royal bearbaiting, when sent for by Henslowe, 29 Sept. 1601 (**97**ᵛ 7).

DONSTALL (OR DONSTONE), JAMES.

('donstall, donston(e'.) Player. His name first appears in the list of Admiral's men of 14 Dec. 1594/14 Jan. 1595 (**3** 19); on 27 Aug. 1595 he bought a gown of Henslowe and paid instalments on that and the following day (**16** 1, 8, 10); he was one of the Admiral's men to start an account with Henslowe on 14 Oct. 1596 (**23** 14, 25), and appointed payment on their behalf before 28 Nov. and on 11 Dec. (**22**ᵛ 15, 27), this being before the regular accounts begin; he last appears as witness 27 July 1597 (**233** 9). He was no doubt the same as the James Tunstall who was with Worcester's men 14 Jan. 1583 (Young, ii. pp. 3, 4), witnessed the sale of some properties to John Alleyn 23 Nov. 1590 and 6 May 1591 (MS. I. 4, 5), and valued the chattels of Richard Browne, shipwright, 8 Jan. 1588 (MS. IV. 19); he also appears as witness in deeds dated 28 Oct. 1585, and 6 and 8 July 1590 (Mun. 88, 97, 98). The variations of the name are difficult to account for. Tunstall and Dunston (or Tonstall and Donston) appear to be distinct names and not mere variants, while such a form as Donstall is probably due to confusion. This would seem to be borne out by the fact that the baptism of a Dunstone Tunstall is entered in the Register of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, 20 Aug. 1572 (Warner, p. 3).

DORNEXE, ——.

Upholsterer (?). In Alleyn's account for his house we find 'j corpet of dornexe' priced 9*s.*, 20 Jan./9 Feb. 1593 (**235** 19). Similarly in the pawn accounts 'hangenes for a howsse of dornackes' are mentioned, 25 Sept. 1593 (**59**).

DORRINGTON, SIR JOHN.

('dorington', autograph.) Master of the Game of Bears, Bulls and Mastiff Dogs. Acquittance to Henslowe for £10 being one quarter's rent, 9 Apr. 1602 (**151** 5). His appointment in succession to Ralph Bowes by letters patent of Elizabeth dated 11 Aug. 1598 was confirmed by James I, 14 July 1603 (Mun. 25). He was knighted at Whitehall on 23 of the same month (Nichols, *James I*, i. p. 216). He had obtained a promise of the reversion of the Mastership before 4 June 1598 (MS. II. 1). Henslowe and Meade held a licence for the Bear Garden under him (for which the above rent), and he wrote to the former about baiting before the Queen in May 1600 (MS. II. 3). In 1603 Henslowe appears to have presented a petition to him (MS. XI. fol. 30). Henslowe's draft patent was altered to make the grant of the Mastership in succession to Dorrington (Mun. 18), but he was actually succeeded by Sir William Steward. Dorrington probably died after holding the office about a year, for the grant to Steward was made on 20 July 1604, and surrendered to Henslowe and Alleyn on 14 Nov. following (MS. II. 5).

DOVER, ——.

(Called the tailor in contradistinction to the little tailor, i. e. Radford.) Tailor. Received payment for properties, 3/4 Aug., 27 Aug. and 10 Sept. 1601 (**92** 20, **93** 21, **93**^{v} 15, and cf. **119** 17). We also find mention of the 'cvter' or cutter, who may be the same, 5 July 1602 (**106**^{v} 28).

DOWNES, ——.

Paid 20*s.* as half-year's rent of a house in Westminster to Henslowe for Mrs. Keyes, after 22 Apr. 1599 (**43** 18).

DOWNTON, THOMAS.

('Downton' always in autograph; Henslowe usually writes 'dowton' earlier, and 'downton' later; the forms 'dowten', 'dowghton' are also found, and in one of the Plots 'denygten'.) Player. His name first occurs in the list of Admiral's men 14 Dec. 1594/14 Jan. 1595 (**3** 19). We find, however, no further mention of him till 6 Oct. 1597 when he bound himself to play, at Henslowe's house only, for a term of two years from the following shrovetide (**232** 15). He again appears among the Admiral's men whose names head the accounts beginning 11 Oct. 1597 (**43**^{v} 4). On 12 Nov. he opened a private account with Henslowe, which was continued till 12 Dec. (**37** 17–28), when he borrowed 10*s.* to fee a counsellor, perhaps for the suit against Martin Slaughter which we find in hand on 8 Mar. following. Below this account is a note that Henslowe had lent him as long before as 2 Nov. 1597 £12. 10 to redeem two cloaks from pawn and had himself taken the cloaks as security for the money (**37** 29). On 28 Dec. he received 5*s.* to give to Munday for his book of *Mother Redcape* (122, **37**^{v} 28, cf. **43**^{v} 35). Some time before 3 Mar. 1598 he bought a pair of long stockings of crimson silk of Henslowe for 24*s.* (**41**^{v} 16). On 8 Mar. he and Birde and Spencer borrowed 30*s.* for their suit against Martin Slaughter (**39** 30). He and others acknowledged the company debt, 8/13 Mar. (**44**^{v} 23). He borrowed 40*s.* of Henslowe on 20 Mar. (**40**^{v} 13). On 6 Apr. he received from Henslowe 5*s.* 6*d.* which had been paid to the latter by Spenser (**33**^{v} 4). On 9 Apr. he joined Birde and Spenser in acknowledging a debt of £6 to Henslowe (**42** 2, 13), and on 25 Apr. he borrowed a further 5*s.* (**36**^{v} 26, **40**^{v} 6). On 4 Oct. he borrowed, together with Birde, Jones and Shaa, a sum of £3 under circumstances already discussed (s. v. Birde, **33**^{v} 9). Some time before 4 Jan. 1599/1600 (?) he signed an acquittance to Henslowe for 6*s.* (**30**^{v} 4), and on 25 Jan. 1599/1600 (?) he hired a covenant servant for two years from Shrove Tuesday following, at 8*s.* a week so long as play continued '& after they lye stylle one fortnyght then to geue him hallfe wages' (**20**^{v} 9). On 10 July he joined the rest in acknowledging the company debt (**70** 7). Between 30 June and 5 Sept. 1602 he was engaged in paying off his private debt to Henslowe (**103** 15–26). His name appears as acknowledging the company debt 7/23 Feb. 1602, but it is not autograph (**104** 18). On 14 Mar. 1604 he and Edward Juby represented the company, by that time known as the Prince's men, in their reckoning with Henslowe (**110** 8). His name occasionally appears as a witness between 12 Dec. 1597 (**38** 23) and 16 Nov. 1598 (**230**^{v} 9), and as authorizing payments between 8 Jan. 1598 (**94** 8) and 12 Mar. 1603 (**109**^{v} 12). His 'biger boye,' a theatrical apprentice evidently, witnessed a loan on 19 Dec. 1597 (**38** 28, **39** 26). This may be the boy who acted in 1 *Tamar Cam* in 1602 (Apx. II. 7). The letter sent, presumably in 1593, by John Pyk, or Pig, to Mrs. Alleyn purports to have been written by Downton, and though this is not the case it suggests that Downton was travelling with Alleyn and Strange's men at the time (MS. I. 15). Acrostic verses on his name by one John Daye, probably not the dramatist, are preserved at Dulwich (Bickley, p. 105). He performed in the *Battle of Alcazar*, c. 1598, and in 1 *Tamar Cam* in 1602, his name appearing in the plots (Apx. II. 4, 7). A lease to him of a thirty-second part of the Fortune was drawn up in 1608 but not executed (Mun. 33). He was a witness to the joint lease of 31 Oct. 1618, by which time he had probably retired (Mun. 56). He dined with Alleyn on 18 Aug. 1622 (MS. IX; Young, ii. p. 247). Downton's name (in the form Doubton) occurs first in the patent to the Palsgrave's men in 1613 (Lincoln's Inn MS. CLVIII; B. M., MS. Add. 24,502, fol. 60^{v}).

DOWSON, THOMAS.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head at 20*s.*, 1604 (**177**^{v} 31).

DRAPER, HENRY.

Waterman. Supplied deal boards for Alleyn's house, 24 Nov. 1592 (**238** 21; cf. **237** 24). No Christian name is given in these entries so that the identity is not certain. Borrowed £20, and £16 of Henslowe 2 Jan. and 4 Apr. 1593 ? (**3** 1, 4). He was one of the watermen who signed the petition of c. Aug. 1592 to the Lord Admiral (MS. I. 17).

DRAPER, ——.

('m^{rs} Draper'). Possibly wife of the above. Borrowed £5 of Henslowe, 29 Mar. 1594 (**3** 6).

DRAYTON, MICHAEL.

Playwright. Whether Drayton was concerned in the production of any plays before he became connected with the Admiral's men need not be discussed, since the question has no bearing on any of the entries in the Diary. The activity of which we there find record extends from 1597 to 1602 and is confined to the Admiral's company. As Fleay points out this activity falls into two well-marked periods. The first extends from Dec. 1597 to Jan. 1599, a period of thirteen months during which Drayton was concerned in the composition of eighteen plays; while during the second, which extends from Oct. 1599 to May 1602 only six plays are recorded as employing his pen. As there is no reason to suppose Drayton's individual share in these latter to have been much greater than that in the earlier pieces, Fleay supposes him to have been engaged in writing for some other company as well. This is exceedingly likely but cannot be discussed in this place. The earlier series of entries is as follows:—*Mother Redcap* (122), 12 Dec. 1597, 5 Jan. 1598, with Munday (**37**$^{\text{v}}$ 25, **43**$^{\text{v}}$ 33, **44** 3); *Wars of Henry I* (130), 13, 13/25 Mar. 1598, with Chettle and Dekker (**45** 1, 5); 1 *Earl Goodwin* (131), 25 Mar. 1598, with Chettle, Dekker and Wilson (**45** 16); *Pierce of Exton* (132), 30 Mar./7 Apr. 1598, with the same (**45** 29), if this be not the same as 2 *Earl Goodwin*; 1 *Black Bateman of the North* (134), 22 May 1598, with the same (**46** 6); 2 *Earl Goodwin* (135), 6, 10 June 1598, with the same (**46** 18, 23, 25); the *Funeral of Richard Cœur-de-Lion* (137), 24 June 1598, with Chettle, Munday and Wilson (**46**$^{\text{v}}$ 18); the *Madman's Morris* (140), 1, 9 July 1598, with Dekker and Wilson (**47** 8, 14); 1 *Hannibal and Hermes* (142), 17, 27, 28 July 1598, with Dekker and Wilson (**47**$^{\text{v}}$ 19, **48** 6, 12); *Pierce of Winchester* (144), 8, 10 Aug. 1598, with the same (**49** 6, 16); *Chance Medley* (148), 24 Aug. 1598, with Chettle or Dekker, Munday and Wilson (**49**$^{\text{v}}$ 13); 2 *Hannibal and Hermes* (*Worse afeared than Hurt*, 151), 30 Aug., 4 Sept. 1598, with Dekker (**50** 3, 7); 1 *Civil Wars of France* (152), 29 Sept. 1598, with the same (**50**$^{\text{v}}$ 5); *Connan Prince of Cornwall* (156), 16, 16/18, 20 Oct. 1598, with the same (**51** 13, 16, 23); 2 *Civil Wars of France* (158), 3 Nov. 1598, with the same (**51**$^{\text{v}}$ 6); 3 *Civil Wars of France* (159), 30 Dec. 1598, with the same (**52**$^{\text{v}}$ 13); *William Longbeard*? (163), 20 (21) Jan. 1599, alone (**52**$^{\text{v}}$ 28, **31** 6). It should be added that on 9 Aug. 1598 Drayton became surety for the delivery of a comedy of Munday's (146); the entry is cancelled (**49** 12). In the interval between the two groups of entries Drayton's name occurs as witness on 8 July 1599 (**31**$^{\text{v}}$ 8). The second series runs:—1 and 2 *Sir John Oldcastle* (185–6), 16 Oct. (1/8 Nov.), 19/26 Dec. 1599, with Hathway, Munday and Wilson (**65** 8, 23, **66**$^{\text{v}}$ 21), including a bonus on the first performance of Pt. I; *Owen Tudor* (194), 10/18 Jan. 1600, with the same (**67** 11); 1 *Fair Constance of Rome* (208), 14 June 1600, with Dekker, Hathway and Munday (**69**$^{\text{v}}$ 15), also probably 2 *Fair Constance* (209), 20 June, with the same though Hathway alone is named (**69**$^{\text{v}}$ 24); the *Rising of Cardinal Wolsey* (225), 10 Oct., 12 Nov. 1601, with Chettle, Munday and Smith (**94** 20, **94**$^{\text{v}}$ 29); *Caesar's Fall* (*Two Shapes*, 236), 22, 29 May 1602, with

Dekker, Middleton, Munday and Webster (**105**ᵛ 28, **106** 16). Drayton was first and foremost a poet who depended upon noble patronage and who received it. We have no evidence of his dramatic activity subsequent to the period covered by the Diary that is worth considering, and indeed it is probable that this department remained with him throughout of subordinate interest.

DREW, ROBERT.

Tenant of Henslowe at £5. 6. 8, 1602/3 (**178** 20).

DUKE, JOHN.

('dvke' or more usually 'dewcke' in Henslowe's entries.) Player, Worcester's man. He first appears as acknowledging a debt of £2 to Henslowe, 21 Sept. 1600, to be repaid 20 Oct. (**83**ᵛ 19), no mention being made of his company. We next find him appointing payment on behalf of Worcester's men from 18 Aug. 1602 (**115** 7) to 9 May 1603 (**121** 6). From an entry dated 16 Mar. 1602/3 it appears that he had been arrested and confined in the Clynck at the suit of John Willett, mercer, who claimed £8. 10 against the company (**120**ᵛ 13). He had previously been with Strange's men and appears in the plot of 2 *Seven Deadly Sins* acted in 1592 (Apx. II. 1).

DUTTEN, EDWARD.

Borrowed money of Henslowe, 18 July 1597, for a fortnight (**234** 17), and of Alleyn, 14 Mar. 1597/8? (**235** 37). He performed in *Frederick and Basilea* in 1597 (Apx. II. 3), and was therefore a member of the Admiral's company. He was probably of the family of Duttons, Doutons, or Downtons, of whom three, John, Lawrence and Thomas, appear in the lists of various acting companies.

EASSTE, LEWES.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head at 20*s*., 1604 (**177**ᵛ 24).

EAST, GILBERT.

Henslowe's baliff. Dined almost daily with Henslowe and Street 'sense we went a bowt ower new howsse,' i. e. the Fortune, 5 June to 8 Aug. 1600 (**98**ᵛ **99**); witness 'gylbart easte my bayllefe,' 26 Nov. 1603 (**179** 6). He was later sworn appraiser in the Liberty of the Clink and valued Henslowe's estate in 1616 (see p. 20).

'EDWARD'.

The Clerk of the Signet's man. Payment from Henslowe 'a bowt the changinge of ower comysion' 1597 (**38** 12).

'EDWARD'.

Page to the Lord Admiral (?). The Admiral's men lent 30*s*. 'vnto edwarde my lordeƒ pagge,' 17 Apr. 1599 (**54**ᵛ 28).

ELIZABETH, Queen of England.

Represented by the Countess of Derby at the christening of Lord Windsor's child, 20 Jan. 1597/8 ? (**113**^{v} 6); went to Croyden, c. 27 Sept. 1598 (**38**^{v} 29); the Admiral's men performed before her at Christmas 1600 (**191**^{v} 9, cf. **88**^{v} 11); bond for the production of a bitch to serve her at the royal bearbaiting, 29 Sept. 1601 (**97**^{v} 4); the Admiral's men paid for hose for Nick to tumble in before her, 25 Dec. 1601 (**95**^{v} 14). Henslowe held a lease from the Queen, bought of Mrs. Keyes, which became forfeit from the widow Valle, 8 July 1597 (**72**^{v} 15); on 27 Apr. 1599 we find him paying, on behalf of Whitt and Hugsen, and acting for Mrs. Keyes, a quarter's rent, 41*s.* 8*d.*, due for a house at Greenwich, to Sir Thomas Flude on behalf of the Queen (**42**^{v} 16); finally we find a note in 1602 that he pays £27. 13. 4 to the Queen in rent (**178**^{v} 3). See further concerning these leases in Chap. I (p. 27).

EVANES, Roger.

('evanes' altered from 'Laleye'.) Groom of the Chamber to Elizabeth. Loans from Henslowe, 28 Mar. 1598 to 9 Jan. 1598/9 (**20**^{v} 16). Neither name appears in the list of Grooms of the Chamber appended to warrants of 1592–1602 (B. M., MS. Add. 5750, fols. 114–7).

FA., Jo.

Received payment from Henslowe, 28 Jan. 1597 ? (**1**^{v} 20).

FARMER, ——.

('farmer, fermer'.) Vahan's attorney. Henslowe visited him in company with his own attorney, 5/16 May 1593 (**41** 8, **123** 1).

FELLE, William.

William Birde's man. Received a loan from Henslowe on Birde's behalf, 22 Apr. 1599 (**42**^{v} 2). Birde's letter to Henslowe requesting the loan, with Henslowe's note: 'feched by william Felle his man,' is preserved, undated (MS. I. 105).

FERNEY, William.

R. Hoope's man. Witness, 14 Jan. 1595 ? (**3** 24).

FESEY, ——.

('goody fesey, feasey'.) Tenant of Henslowe in the Rose rents, at £2, 1602/3 (**178** 29, see Corrigenda). She paid Henslowe 30*s.* out of 50*s.* due, 10 July 1603, and owed 40*s.* at Michaelmas 1605 (**178**^{v} 12, 8).

FIDE, Lucas.

The name 'lucasse fide' is inserted in the list of tenants under James Russell's lease. He may have held in succession to John Wade, at £2. 10, 1602/3 (**177**^{v} 5).

FLEATCHER, ——.

('flea(t)cher'.) The Admiral's men fetched him and paid him on two dates between 14 and 29 Oct. 1596 (**23** 16, 24). Whether the entries refer to any known person, Lawrence Fletcher or another, cannot be determined. (Concerning Fleay's view see under Browne, ——.)

FLEMYNGE, ——.

('goodman flemynge'.) Tenant of Henslowe in the Rose rents, at 30*s.*, 1602/3 (**178** 35).

FLUDE, SIR THOMAS.

Received payment of rent on behalf of the Queen, 27 Apr. 1599 (**42**v 15).

FORESTE, ELLEN.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head at 40*s.*, 1604 (**177**v 29).

FORLONGE, ——.

Suit against 'goodman forlonge Sonne wch wold a mareyd' Nan Henslowe, 1609 (**124**v 4). He may have been the same as one 'furlonge' mentioned in Alleyn's Diary (see under Nan Henslowe).

FOTHERBEYE, ——.

('goody fotherbe' 'fotherbeye'.) Henslowe received her half year's rent, 16*s.*, and paid it over to Mrs. Keyes, after 22 Apr. 1599 (**43** 21, **42**v 21).

FREMAN, ——.

('mr freman of sussex'.) Borrowed 20*s.* of Henslowe, to follow his suit against Bande in the Court of Requests, 26 Nov. 1604 (**129**v 23).

FRESHWATER, ——.

('fresh watr' 'goodman freshwatr'.) Received payment from Worcester's men for properties, 24 Aug. 1602 and 16 Jan. 1602/3 (**115** 22, **119** 23).

FULLER, RICHARD.

Henslowe's attorney. Received payments from Henslowe for various legal expenses in the suit against Edward Phillips, May to Dec. 1594 (**41** and **123**); borrowed 20*s.* of Henslowe, 24 Aug. 1594 (**40**v 1); debt of £1 due from Alleyn to Henslowe 'turned to mr langworth frome mr fuler,' before 9 June 1597 (**234** 10, cf. **234**v 6).

FULLER, RICHARD, HIS MAN.

Witness, 24 Aug. 1594, as above (**40**v 7).

GARLAND, JOHN.

('owld garlland'.) Player. Joined with others to play 'in the duckes nam,' i. e. as servants to the Duke of Lennox, without date, probably 1604 (**100** 20). From a document dated 1 Mar. 1604/5, we learn that Garland, described as of 'the ould forde,' had forfeited £40 on a bond to Abraham Savere, also one of Lennox' men, 'for the deleuere of a warrant, which was mayd vnto me from the gratious the duke of Linox' (MS. I. 41); whether this was the warrant for his company, dated 13 Oct. 1604 (MS. I. 40), may be questioned. We also have a bond of Francis Henslowe's to observe articles with him and others, 16 Mar. 1605 (MS. I. 42). Cf.

also Henslowe to Alleyn, 28 Sept. 1593 (MS. I. 14). He may very possibly have been related to the Austen and George Garland who signed the address to the Privy Council from the inhabitants of the Lordship of Finsbury (MS. I. 28), or to the Thomas Garland who leased the Long Slip to Henslowe and Alleyn, 28 June 1608 (Mun. 31).

'GEORG.'

('gorg'.) Payment for bringing boards, in an account of Alleyn's before 24 Nov. 1592 (**238** 13).

GLENE, ——.

('goodman glene'.) Paid 40*s*. in rent to Joan Alleyn, 16 Aug. 1593; no doubt a tenant of Alleyn who was then in the country (**1**ᵛ 6).

GLOVER, ——.

('goody glover'.) Tenant of Henslowe in the Rose rents, at 40*s*., 1602/3 (**178** 36); bought a boat of Nan Henslowe, 20 July 1607, for 27*s*. (**123**ᵛ 33). Possibly the Elizabeth Glover, daughter of William Plogg of Camberwell, who inherited land under her father's will, dated 26 Mar. 1597 (MS. IV. 34).

GLOVER, WILLIAM.

Tenant of Henslowe in Malthouse's rents, at 53*s*. 4*d*., 1602/3 (**178** 23).

GOSON, ——.

('mʳˢ goson, goosson'.) Received payments from the Admiral's men for head-tires, 21 Dec. and 7 Feb. 1601/2 (**95**ᵛ 2, **104** 13).

GRIFFIN, (EDWARD).

('mʳ griffen, greffen, gryffen', his Christian name does not appear in the Diary.) Scrivener. Witness 'mʳ griffen at the hachette,' probably a tavern, 8 July 1599 (**31**ᵛ 7); lent Henslowe 20*s*. to pay on behalf of the Admiral's men, 1 Dec. 1599 (**66** 11); followed Nan Henslowe's suit in the Spiritual Court, 1609 (**124**ᵛ 2). There is a letter from Daborne to him, concerning a loan from Henslowe, c. 9/20 Aug, 1613? (MS. I. 99), and he is also mentioned in a letter from Daborne to Henslowe 30 July 1613 (MS. I 83). He is found witnessing documents, 7 June and 10 Dec. 1613 (MS. II. 25 and I. 92), and signing a letter from the Churchwardens and others of the liberty of the Clink to Alleyn, presenting James Saunders as a 'poore elected beadesman' before 10 Oct. 1616 (MS. III. 71).

GRIGGS, JOHN.

('Grigges, gryges', autograph 'Grigg ę' but ę is probably merely for *s*.) 'Butcher,' but in fact carpenter. Acknowledged a debt of £15 to Henslowe, 13 July 1592, due 13 Aug. (**12** 16); received payments in connection with Alleyn's house, 4 Nov., 24 Nov. and 24 Nov./22 Dec. 1592 (**237** 5, 23, 29; cf. **238** 20); also in connection with Henslowe's 'playe howsse,' i. e. the Rose, the same year (**4**^{v}–**5**); took Mary Henslowe as apprentice for 7 years, 5 June 1595 (**41**^{v} 6, cf. **123** 36); appeared as witness, 31 Aug. 1595 (**98**^{v} 10). From a deed of partnership between Henslowe and John Cholmley, dated 10 Jan. 1586/7, we learn that the Rose theatre was then to be erected by John Grygges (Mun. 16), but it is not certain whether any such building was put up before 1592, as above. He and his wife are mentioned in letters of 5 July, 1 Aug. and 28 Sept. 1593 (MS. I. 10, 11, 14).

Griggs, John, his Wife.

Witness 'm^{rs} Gryges,' 18 July 1597 (**234** 21). Mentioned in 1593 together with her husband as above.

GRYMES, ——.

('grymes' 'good man grimes'.) Builder. Received payments in connection with H. Daves' house to 16 Oct. 1595 (**6**^{v} 43, 44, **6** 28), and in connection with Dere's house, from 22 Dec. 1599 to 2 Feb. 1599/1600 (**32** 9–28).

HARDINGE, Thomas.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head at 26*s.* 8*d.*, 1604 (**177**^{v} 25).

HARIS, Valentine.

Groom of the Chamber to Elizabeth. Borrowed £3 of Henslowe, 8 Aug. 1598 (**28**^{v} 1). His name as groom is attached to warrants of 7 Apr. 1592 and 26 Jan. 1598/9 (B. M., MS. Add. 5750, fols. 114, 116).

Haris, Valentine, his Brother-in-Law.

('hareys brother in lawe'.) Witness to the above loan, 8 Aug. 1598 (**28**^{v} 6).

HARRIS, William.

(Autograph 'Harris', Henslowe 'm^{r} hares, harys'.) Public scrivener. Received payment from the Admiral's men, 6 Mar. 1600/1 (**85**^{v} 30); draft letter from Henslowe to him concerning a bond, before 4 May 1601 (**191**^{v} 1, 4, cf. **88**^{v} 8). He also appears as witness, 12 Mar. 1602 ? (**89**^{v} 31), and received payment, in an undated account, 'for mackynge al the writtinges' for Malthouse (**19** 4). He seems to have negotiated the sale of the Lordship of Dulwich from Sir Francis Calton to Alleyn in 1605 (see MS. III. 15), and witnessed documents dated 26 Apr. 1595, 2 July 1596, and 8 Jan. 1599/1600 (Mun. 106, 111, 22).

HARTROP, ——.

('goodman hart(t)rop(e'.) Paid William Henslowe 16*s.* for a colt, after 29 May 1593 (**125**^{v} 23); received payment for threshing from Henslowe (**40** 7, cf. **122**^{v} 22).

HARYSON, ——.

Skinner ('skner'). Tenant of Henslowe at 53*s.* 4*d.*, 1602/3 (**178** 15).

HASLETT, John.

Vaulter, i. e. acrobat. Borrowed sums of money, varying from *6d.* to £1, from the Admiral's men 15 and 16 Nov. 1598 (**51**^{v} 24, 28), and from Henslowe, 27 Mar., 27 Mar./7 Apr. and 7 Apr. 159[8]9 (**61**^{v} 7, 12, 14); appears as witness, 16 Apr. 1599 (**229**^{v} 12).

HASSARD, Robert.

Servant of the Master of the Revels. Received payment on behalf of Tilney from Henslowe, for one month's play at the Fortune, £3, 29 Aug. 1601 ? (**83**^{v} 11) and 9 June 1602 (**100** 18, cf. **101** 10; the entry immediately above belonging to 3/8 Nov. 1601, cf. **94**^{v} 5).

HATHWAY, Richard.

(Autograph 'Hathwaye', otherwise also 'hathway' 'hathewaye' haythway'.) Playwright. He is not known otherwise than in connection with Henslowe. The entries regarding his dramatic work are as follow:—*King Arthur* (133), 11, 12 Apr. 1598, alone (**46** 5, **45**^{v} 5); *Valentine and Orson* (143), 19 July 1598, with Munday (**47**^{v} 25); 1 and 2 *Sir John Oldcastle* (185–6), 16 Oct. 1599, with Drayton, Munday and Wilson (**65** 9), this being Hathway's only appearance between July 1598 and Jan. 1600; *Owen Tudor* (194), 10/18 Jan. 1600, with the same (**67** 12); 1 *Fair Constance of Rome* (208), 14 June 1600, with Dekker, Drayton and Munday, (**69**^{v} 15); 2 *Fair Constance* (209), 20 June 1600, with the same ? (**69**^{v} 24); *Hannibal and Scipio* (212), 3, 11, 12 Jan. 1601, with Rankins (**71** 15, 21, 24, **31**^{v} 19, 23); *Scogan and Skelton* (213), 23, 26 Jan., 5, 25 Feb., 8 Mar. 1601, with the same (**71** 30, **85**^{v} 5, 13, 23, **86** 2); *Conquest of Spain* (215), 24 Mar., 4, 11, 16 Apr. 1601, with the same (**86** 10, 22, 29, **86**^{v} 1); 1 *Six Clothiers* (226), 12, 22 Oct. 1601, with Haughton and Smith (**94** 24, 28); 2 *Six Clothiers* (227), 3/8 Nov. 1601, with the same (**94**^{v} 6, **100** 9, 13); *Too Good to be True* (228), 6, 7 Jan. 1602, with Chettle and Smith (**95**^{v} 29, **96** 13); *As merry as may be* (249), 17 Nov. 1602, with Day and Smith (**108** 26). Hathway now ceased to work for the Admiral's and began to write for Worcester's men. The plays continue:—1 *Black Dog of Newgate* (273), 24, 26 Nov., 20 Dec. 1602, with Day, Smith, &c. (**118** 13, 24, **118**^{v} 17); the *Unfortunate General* (275), 7, 10, 16, 19 Jan. 1603, with Day and Smith (**118**^{v} 28, **119** 5, 26, **119**^{v} 3); 2 *Black Dog of Newgate* (277), 29 Jan., 3, 21, 24, 26 Feb. 1603, with Day, Smith, &c. (**119**^{v} 16, 19, **120** 13, 16, 19) including additions. Hathway now returned to the Admiral's men and was engaged on the *Boss of Billingsgate* (256), 1, 7 Mar. 1603, with Day, &c. (**109** 23, 27). Hathway's periods of activity, separated by long intervals during which we hear nothing of him, suggest that he probably also wrote for other companies of which we have no detailed records. A small loan, 4*s.*, to him and Rankins is recorded 20/27 Apr. 1601 (**86**^{v} 11). There is also an interesting letter from Rowlye to Henslowe extant, from which it appears that the portion of the *Conquest of Spain by John of Gaunt* (215) which had already been delivered to the company was returned to Hathway, who in exchange gave a note of hand for the repayment of the sums advanced (MS. I. 33). Hathway no doubt disposed of the play to some other company.

HATTO, WILLIAM.

Servant to the Master of the Revels. Acquittance to Henslowe for 40*s.* received on behalf of Tilney, 19 July 1597 (**23**^{v} 21).

HAUGHTON, WILLIAM.

(Autograph as above, otherwise also 'horton' 'harton' 'hawton' 'hawghton' 'howghton' 'hauton' 'Haughtoun' 'Haulton' 'harvghton'.) Playwright. Like Hathway, Haughton is only known in connection with Henslowe. When he first appears he is called 'yonge harton,' and evidently became connected with the Admiral's men about the time of their amalgamation with Pembroke's in 1597. His only appearance that year, however, is as receiving 10*s.* for an unnamed book (117) on 5 Nov. (**37** 7, **43**^{v} 9). From 1598 also only one play of his is recorded, namely, *A Woman will have her Will* (126), 18 Feb. 2/6 May (**44**^{v} 2, **45**^{v} 17), which may, however, be the same as the book already mentioned, and was anyhow printed in 1616. In the summer of 1599 Haughton began to work regularly for Henslowe. His plays are as follow:—the *Poor Man's Paradise* (181), 20, 25 Aug. 1599, alone (**63**^{v} 27, **64** 5); *Cox of Collumpton* (188), 1, 8/9, 14 Nov. 1599, with Day (**65** 20, **65**^{v} 1, 16, **31** 8, 12); *Thomas Merry* (190), 21, 27 Nov., 5 Dec. 1599, with the same (**65**^{v} 19, 26, **66** 14, **29** 5, 11); the *Arcadian Virgin* (192), 3, 17 Dec. 1599, with Chettle (**66**^{v} 5, 8); *Patient Grissel* (187), 19, 26, 29 Dec. 1599, with Chettle and Dekker (**66**^{v} 12, 26, **67** 1, **31** 17, 22); the *Spanish Moor's Tragedy* (197), 13 Feb. 1600, with Day and Dekker (**67**^{v} 19); the *Seven Wise Masters* (199), 1 Mar. 1600, with Chettle, Day and Dekker (**67**^{v} 25); *Ferrex and Porrex* (200), 18, 25 Mar., 3, 3/13 Apr. 1600, alone (**68** 3, 13, 21, **68**^{v} 3, 7); the *English Fugitives* (201), 16, 24 Apr. 1600, alone (**68**^{v} 16, 19, 23); the *Devil and his Dame* (204), 6 May 1600, alone (**69** 8), the entry cancelled, but evidently the same as *Grim, the Collier of Croydon*, printed 1662; *Strange News out of Poland* (205), 17 May 1600, with Mr. Pett ? (**69** 26); *Judas* (207), 27 May 1600, alone (**69**^{v} 1, 3); *Robin Hood's Pen'orths* (211), 20, 27 Dec. 1600, 4, 13 Jan. 1601, alone (**70**^{v} 28, **71** 9, 18, 28); 2 *Blind Beggar of Bednal Green* (*Tom Strowd*, 214), 29 Jan., 10 Feb., 10 Mar., 5 May 1601, with Day (**85**^{v} 8, 19, **86** 7, **86**^{v} 25, **82** 17); the *Conquest of the West Indies* (217), 4, 11 Apr., 2 May, 5, 11 Aug. 1601, with Day and Smith (**86** 18, 32, **86**^{v} 22, **92** 27, **92**^{v} 20); the *Six Yeomen of the West* (219), 20 May, 6, 8 June 1601, with Day (**87** 19, 21, 23, 27); *Friar Rush and the Proud Woman of Antwerp* (223), 4, 14 July, 9, 29 Nov. 1601, with the same (**91** 22, **91**^{v} 14, **94**^{v} 14, **95** 15); 3 *Blind Beggar of Bednal Green* (*Tom Strowd*, 220), 18, 25, 30 July 1601, with the same (**91**^{v} 19, **92** 2, 6); 2 *Tom*

Dough (224), 3, 11 Sept. 1601, with the same (**93**^{v} 7, 18); 1 *Six Clothiers* (226), 12, 22 Oct. 1601, with Hathway and Smith (**94** 25, 29); 2 *Six Clothiers* (227), 3/8 Nov. 1601, with the same (**100** 10); and after an interval of several months *William Cartwright* (243), 8 Sept. 1602 alone (**107**^{v} 6). Further on 30 Jan. 1600 Haughton received and acknowledged a payment on behalf of Dekker for *Truth's Supplication to Candlelight* (195, **67** 31, **30**^{v} 8), and also received small loans from Henslowe on 2 Feb. 1599 and 14/19 June 1600 (**29** 18, **69**^{v} 16), besides a larger one, 10*s.*, on 10 Mar. 1600, for the purpose of releasing him out of the Clink (**68** 8). Two notes concerning payments to him for the *Six Yeomen* (219) are preserved (MS. I. 34, 35.) Haughton is not known to have written for any company but the Admiral's men, and even in connection with them his real activity is confined to the period of just over two years from Nov. 1599 to Nov. 1601.

HAYNES, JOHN.

Tenant of Henslowe under James Russell's lease, at 12*s.*, 1602/3 (**177**^{v} 8). He was in joint occupation with Christopher Lylle of a messuage and yard (possibly the same as that for which he paid the above rent) on the Bankside in the parish of St. Saviour, leased by Henslowe to John Darbey, glover, of St. Saviour's, for 21 years at a rent of £3, on 19 Aug. 1606 (Mun. 146).

HAYNES, RALPH.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head, at 32*s.*, 1604 (**177**^{v} 26).

HEARNE, THOMAS.

Player. Bound himself to play for Henslowe's company, i. e. the Admiral's men, for the term of two years, the first year at 5*s.* a week, the second at 6*s.* 8*d.*, 27 July 1597 (**233** 2).

HEATH, RICHARD.

('heath, Hethe'.) Mercer and silkman. Received payments from the Admiral's men, 13 May and 5 June 1601 (**87** 7, **87**^{v} 9).

HELLE, JOHN.

Clown. Borrowed 10*s.* of Henslowe and bound himself to play at his house till Shrove tide, 3 Aug. 1597 (**233** 25).

HENSLOWE, EDMOND.

Brother of Philip. He is first mentioned as inheriting money under the will of his brother John (**125**^{v} 6). The entry was made before 3 Apr. 1593, and he was then already dead, for Philip claimed the money. Indeed, he evidently died before 23 May 1592, when a legacy under his will was paid (**123**^{v} 13), and the date is confirmed by the fact that his widow survived him three years and died early in 1595 (**124** 11; cf. **123** 35). It follows that the date 1593, appended to 'A note what money my Brother Edmonde Hensley owes me at sevaralle times lent hime as a pereth herafter,' must be that of the entry and not of the actual transactions recorded (**39** 1). A further account is headed: 'A Note of all such carges as J phillip Hensley Haue layd owt of my owne money Jn the be hallfe of the Children of Edmond Hensley d^{e}sesed 1592' (**40** 1). A third and longer account is headed: 'A not of alle Such charges as J haue layd owt to defend the Sute a geanst edward phillipes as foloweth beginingе the 5 of maye 1593' (**41** 1). All these entries were later transcribed, with a few small alterations and certain additions, into one account headed: 'A Juste note what J haue Lent vnto edmond Henslow in mony & Layd owt in the be hallfe of his iij Chelldren as folowethe 1593' (**122**^{v} 1). In these accounts many details of interest are preserved. Edmond appears to have held some office under the Lord Chamberlain, who entertained him as his servant, probably not long before his death (**122**^{v} 14). He was a merchant, and had a dispute with a customer dwelling on London Bridge, who caused his goods to be seized at the fair (**122**^{v} 13, **39** 12). This was Southwark fair which was held on 8 Sept. He had leasehold property in Southwark, on the Bankside, and at Lambeth Marsh (**122**^{v} 5, 10, 12). His own home, however, was in Sussex and concerning his property there a good deal of difficulty arose after his death. Where he actually resided is uncertain, but his widow continued to live in the same house after his death, and it was not till her decease in 1595 that the property was sold, together with the 'trashe' therein, to Arthur Langworth for the sum of £80 (**41**^{v} 6; cf. **124** 1, and note that 'after the deseace' refers to 'Sowld,' not to 'dwelt in'). Richard Cuckson and his wife, who was Henslowe's sister, acknowledged a fine in connection with the property on 3 June 1595 (**41**^{v} 1; cf. **123** 33). In all probability, therefore, this was the same 'howsse & land & goodꝭ' which Henslowe sold to Langworth on 16 May 1595 for the sum of £100, of which a part payment of £50 is dated 3 June (**98** 3, 12). It is true that the sums mentioned do not agree in the two cases, but there is no record of a payment by Langworth in full, so that £80 may have been all that Henslowe was actually able to obtain. There seems to have been another house, upon which a legacy of £40 to Edmond's sister, the wife of Richard Cuckson, was probably secured. At any rate Cuckson and his wife received 'to Releace ther Righte in the howsse as may apere by writinge fortie powndꝭ & then they a knowledge a fyne,' while the house itself sold for £48. 9 (**41**^{v} 11, 15; cf. **123**^{v} 3). Edmond Henslowe, however, also had property, copyhold it would seem, at Buxted, and this involved his executer Philip in considerable litigation, the details of which are obscure. We find in the Diary a draft letter from Philip Henslowe to a Mr. Vahan complaining that he was threatened with a suit by one Edward Phillips who had attempted to make a re-entry into a house called the Corner House belonging to the late Edmond Henslowe, and holding his correspondent responsible for his continued peaceful possession of the same (**72**). This letter is dated 9 Feb. 1593, which probably means 1592/3, since we find Philip visiting Vahan's attorney between 5 and 16 May 1593 (**41** 8; cf. **123** 1). The letter does not state where the Corner House was, but there can be little doubt that it was only another name for the property known as the Lockyears, for we find Philip in the summer of 1593 going to 'grenstead,' that is East Grinsted, 'to treye & Jsapryst [or 'an Jsapryse,' i.e. a *nisi prius*] betwxt edward phillipes & me for the land called the lockyears' (**123** 7; cf. **41** 15). In this case it was in the occupation of one Robert Welles. On 20 May 1593, namely, and again on 17 June, Philip went to Lord Buckhurst, 'a bowte the copy howld land w^{ch} weales doth wth howld frome vs' (**41** 13; cf. **123** 4) Apparently the difficulty with Welles was arranged, for on 24 May he agreed to deliver up 'on serten pece of Land lyenge in Buxted Caled Locyers' by Lady day following (**127**^{v}), upon which Philip entered a note of £1 received the same day from him in part payment of rent due, followed at some subsequent date by a further payment of 10*s*. (**128**). It is doubtless to this dispute that the letter from William to Philip of 7 Dec. 1592 refers (MS. III. 6). The dispute with Phillips was taken into court where it dragged on at least till Dec. 1594 (**41** 41, **123** 32). The issue is unknown. Other copyhold lands seem to have been acquired by the trust under Edmond's will from Richard Cuckson, for Philip paid £35. 10 'for the copi hold landes & mackynge the writingeꝭ & sewt' (**123**^{v} 9). Under the same will Henslowe's other sister Mary came in for a legacy of £60 on her marriage. Philip notes: 'pd vnto John walters the 23 of maye 1592 for my systers Legassey when he mareyed her' (**123**^{v} 13). I do not think that the money was paid at the date mentioned, for the entry is made at the end of the accounts, after others belonging to 1595, and moreover Henslowe paid Walters £10 'for the vsse of the mony' (**123**^{v} 15). The date entered was therefore most likely that when the money became due, i.e. that of the marriage, which must have been after Edmond's death. Further litigation over Edmond's will took place in 1604, for which see below under John Henslowe. Few records of Edmond Henslowe remain outside the Diary. A letter from Francis Henslowe begging a loan from his 'vncle M^{r} Phillip Henslowe, or his [i.e. Philip's] brother Edmond Henslowe' was written about 1590 (MS. III. 5). Edmond is also described as having been 'the elder brother and heire of the said Phillipp' Henslowe in the Breviate in the Chancery suit concerning Philip's will in 1616 (MS. V. 23). Edmond left a widow—

HENSLOWE, MARGERY.

Maiden name unknown. The earliest fact recorded of her is that Edmond bought for her a new gown belonging to Philip's wife (**122**^{v} 7; cf. **39** 6), the payment of 50*s*. being recorded in the above-mentioned accounts. After Edmond's death Philip provided her with money (**40** 8, **122**^{v} 23). She lived three years after her husband's death, and during that time kept and schooled her three children: she died shortly before 27 Feb. '1595' (**124** 6–15; cf. **41**^{v} 15). That this date does not mean 1596 is proved by the entries showing that the sale of the house and the apprenticing of the two elder children took place in June 1595 (**41**ᵛ 1, 4, 7, cf. **124** 1, **123** 36). (Note that the wording in the entry of the sale of the house (**124** 1) is ambiguous: we must understand it 'sold the house after the decease of my sister,' not 'the house which my brother dwelt in after the decease of my sister.') There is extant a letter from William Henslowe to his brother Philip, on business connected with an action at law on a copyhold title of their sister Margery, dated from Buxted, 7 Dec. 1592 (MS. III. 6). Warner (p. 86) takes this Margery to be their married sister Margaret, wife of Ralph Hogge, but, as she seems to be always known as Margaret (cf. p. xix) and Edmond's wife always as Margery, it is more likely that the latter is meant, particularly as the date of the letter coincides with that of the legal difficulties over her husband's will, as above. Margery Henslowe left three children by her husband Edmond—

HENSLOWE, JOHN, MARY AND ANNE (NAN).

Children of Edmond Henslowe, nephew and nieces of Philip. They are not heard of before their father's and mother's deaths except in the headings to the accounts already quoted (**40** 3, **122**ᵛ 3). We learn, however, that they lived with their mother until her death and then all came up to their uncle Philip on 27 Feb. 1595 (**124** 13). It would appear, however, that they must have gone down into the country again, for Henslowe enters his expenses 'for bringing vp the ij chylldren to London,' i. e. John and Mary, between 3 and 5 June following (**41**ᵛ 3, **123** 35). Nan was apparently the youngest and seems to have stayed away. Their father's property was divided at his death into two equal parts, one to go to his widow the other to John and Mary (**124** 9). Possibly Nan came in for her mother's portion. John was apprenticed to one Newman a dyer, 3/5 June 1595, who received £2 on the occasion (**41**ᵛ 4), Mary to John Griggs 'to learne to sowe al maner of workes & to lerne bonelace,' 5 June, the fee being £3 (**41**ᵛ 6; cf. **123** 36). It will be noticed that when Philip came to copy out these entries into one comprehensive account, he omitted to mention John's apprenticeship but added the fee to that of Mary, making it £5. He did copy it, however, together with other payments into a separate account against John Henslow headed 1596 (**124** 16, cf. **39**ᵛ 1). The omission from the regular accounts was probably due to John having left his master. He seems to have been later apprenticed as a waterman, and Philip bought a boat for him of James Russell apparently about 1598 (**41**ᵛ 21; cf. **124** 28, and depositions as below). By this time Nan had come up to town, when we know not, and we find Philip buying her a gown 'when her syster turned her a waye' (**41**ᵛ 23, **123**ᵛ 6). We find no further record of any of the three till 1604, when Philip laid out money 'to defend the sewt ageanst John henslow sonne of edmond henslow to defend his fathers will' (**123**ᵛ 18). What the nature of the suit was does not appear, and we only know that William Henslowe came up as a witness, but Philip later complained that his nephew had sued him unjustly (see depositions). On 28 Sept. 1605 Philip lent his nephew £14. 16 to buy a place as King's waterman (**124** 29). The same year Philip gave £2 to John 'to tacke his syster marey home' (**123**^{v} 27), which seems to mean to take her and make a home for her. The cause is set forth thus: 'marey Henslow felle sicke of a dead pallsey in the yeare 1605 & liued after in that deasease ij yeares al w^{ch} time J payd for her kepinge ij^{s} a weeke besydes that w^{ch} she coste at surgerey & docters w^{ch} ij yeares comes to . . . x^{li} the Reast J leue' (**124** 31). Philip apparently debits John Henslowe with these expenses. No further entries concerning John and Mary appear in the Diary. A few accounts of 1607 relate to Nan. On 20 May Philip bought her a gown and on 20 July she sold to 'goody glover' a boat which she had of one Hichenson, and had apparently not paid for, for her uncle, who had pledged himself for the payment, debited her with 27*s.* (**123**^{v} 30, 32). An undated entry follows of 'a bedsteade standinge' for 10*s.* (**123**^{v} 35). Lastly we have an interesting entry dated 1609: 'Layd owt a bowt nane henslow to m^{r} gryffen w^{ch} folowed ther sewt in the spirtuall corte for her & w^{m} parsones a geanste goodman forlonge Sonne w^{ch} wold a mareyed her . . . 04^{li}–06^{s}–00^{d}' (**124**^{v} 1). The exact nature of the suit seems doubtful, but of Forlonge's son we know nothing while we later find Parsons as Nan's husband. Their marriage appears, however, to have been delayed, for we find Alleyn signing acquittances for rent due to Anne Henslowe on 2 July 1616 (MS. V. 25). On the other hand, the depositions (Trinity term) relative to Henslowe's will speak of her as married (p. 19). This fixes the date of the marriage as July–Aug. 1616. By 13 Apr. 1619 Parsons and Alleyn were at odds (MS. III. 82), and on 18 May 1625 William Persons and Anne his wife lodged a bill of complaint in Chancery against Alleyn (Mun. 182). In this they prayed for an injunction to stay a suit of Alleyn's against them on a bond for £500, on the ground that he had obtained the same by an unfulfilled promise to procure for them from Agnes Henslowe a lease for 21 years, or the term of her life, of messuages, &c., called the 'Boares head' on the Bankside, in Southwark, which had been bequeathed to her by Philip Henslowe, her husband, for life, with remainder to the said Anne Persons, his niece. The result of the suit is unknown. I suppose that William Parsons must be identical with the 'm^{r} persone' who is often mentioned together with his wife in Alleyn's diary. Thus about four years after the marriage 10/13 Oct. 1620, Alleyn entered: 'witnesses persone & His wife brown & baxster: furlonge & taylore m^{rs} Havall & Elsebeth Hookes in all 8 giuen them 12^{d} a pece' (MS. IX; Young, ii. p. 192). Possibly 'furlonge' may have been 'goodman forlonge Sonne.' On Philip Henslowe's death his nephew John disputed his will. Two Breviates of the cause are preserved but afford little information (MS. V. 22, 23, 28). We have also, however, some valuable depositions of witnesses (Rendle, *Henslowe*). From these it appears that John had proved unsatisfactory from the first. He had been apprenticed first to a dyer and then to a waterman but had not stayed with either. This is borne out by the entries in the Diary considered above. Finally Philip Henslowe had expressed his intention of disinheriting his nephew John, who was his legal heir, and leaving such property as he did not leave in the disposal of his widow, to his godson Philip, son of the said John. This is the only reference to the fact of John having been married. The result of the suit is not known, but there are two entries bearing on it in Alleyn's diary, namely: 16 Jan. 1618/9 'pd m^{r} Cheek for w^{t} drawing Jo: Hen: wifes shut,' and in accounts of following Apr. 'w^{t} drawing an action for Jo: Henslowe' (MS. IX; Young, ii. pp. 122, 130). In 1615 he was living in Paris Garden near the Swan playhouse (Rendle, *Bankside*, p. xiii).

HENSLOWE, FRANCIS.

Son of Richard and nephew of Philip Henslowe. The earliest record we have of him is a letter to his 'vncle M^{r} Phillip Henslow, or his [Philip's] brother Edmond Henslow,' begging for assistance to obtain his release from 'y^{e} counter in Woodstret,' undated, but c. 1590, and bearing a note by Philip Henslowe of 'carges for Frances Henslow,' amounting to 16*s.* 4*d.* (MS. III. 5). From Jan. 1593 to May 1594 continuously he was acting as his uncle's deputy in the pawn business, a note against an entry of 18 May 1594 indicating that he had then left (p. xx). Two loans from Philip dated 14 and 16 Jan. 1593 may belong to either 1593 or 1594 (**6** 1). The next entry in which he appears is that of another loan of £15 'to laye downe for his share to the Quenes players' when he went with them into the country to play (**2**^{v} 30). This entry is dated 8 May 1593, but as we have just seen that he did not leave London till 18 May 1594, we are forced to conclude that the old date has been carried on later than usual, even if it be not an actual error for 1595. An undated entry, probably made shortly after 9 Sept. 1594, shows him back in London and selling a 'Keverynge' to Alleyn for 18*s.* (**235** 27). On 1 June 1595 he again borrowed £9 of his uncle 'to laye downe for his halfe share wth the company w^{ch} he dothe playe wth all,' i. e. apparently no longer the Queen's men, to be repaid 'when he doth Receue his mony w^{ch} he lent to my lorde burte or when my asyenes dothe demand yt' (**3**^{v} 5). Next we find him borrowing £7 on 15 Dec. 1597, 'when he went to tacke his howsse one the bancksyd called the vper grown' (**62** 16). The house was doubtless the Upper Ground, which gave its name to the modern Upper Ground Street. Two undated entries show Francis in trouble again (**90**^{v} 6–18). Since these are written over blots caused by the crossing out of the opposite page they must have been made after 4 July 1601 (**91** 31), though how long after it is impossible to say. A warrant of Sir Edmund Bowyer, J.P., admitting him to bail to appear at the next sessions, issued 10 Jan. 1605/6, may suggest a date (MS. IV. 53). According to the first entry Philip lent Francis £5 to release him from the White Lion prison, where he was lying on a charge of horse-stealing; while from the second, which was made at the same time, we learn that he and Savery also had a charge of robbery against them. It was also with Savery, Garland and Symcockes, that Francis joined 'when they played in the duckes nam,' i.e. as servants of the Duke of Lennox, presumably in 1604 (**100** 19). On 25 Oct. that year Savery bound himself to Francis and to James Browne to secure a payment to Josua Speed for which they were jointly liable (Mun. 26). On 1 Mar. 1604/5, again, he gave Francis power of attorney to recover £40 from Garland on a forfeited bond (MS. I. 41), and on 16 Mar. Francis bound himself to Philip to observe his articles of agreement with his fellows (MS. I. 42). On 30 Mar. 1606 he acknowledged a debt of £2 to one Benjamin Harrys of Newington, and described himself as of St. George's, Southwark (MS. IV. 56). He was married, but so far as is known left no children, both he and his wife dying in 1606 probably of the plague. An undated 'Note of such chardges as was laied owte for [the funeral of] M^r^ Fraunncis Henslowe, gent., and his wife,' as also an acquittance from John Filter to Philip as administrator of Francis Henslowe, deceased, 6 Oct. 1606, are preserved (MS. IV. 57, 58). We also learn that he was among the inhabitants of the Clink liberty who paid a subsidy as early as 1594, when he was assessed on £3 (B. M., MS. Add. 24,487, fol. 168; cf. p. 14). According to the Heralds' Visitation he had a sister Mary, but this may be a confusion with his cousin, the daughter of Edmond Henslowe (see p. 16).

HENSLOWE, JOHN.

Brother of Philip. It appears from a rather obscure entry that Edmond Henslowe inherited certain moneys under the will of his brother John (**125^v^** 7). Since Edmond was dead in 1592 John must have died not later than that year. Another obscure entry 'J. h -01-10-00' interlined in the playhouse accounts, 8 Apr. 1591/2 (**7** 45) as well as a 'J. ha' opposite (**6^v^** 42) may possibly refer to him. It was to him that belonged the volume Philip later used for his Diary, and he is the author of the extensive forrestry accounts recorded therein, 576-8, &c. (p. xviii).

HENSLOWE, PHILIP.

(The variations in the spelling of the name are endless, Henslowe or Henslow and Hensley, both of which are used by Philip, being the most authoritative; Henslo, Henslaye, Hensly, Henshlowe, Henchlowe, Henchloes, Henchley, Hinslowe, Hinsloe, Hinslye, Hinshley, Hinchlo, Hincheloe, Hinchlaw, Hinchlie, Hinchley, Hynslowe, Hynsley, Hynchlaw, Hynchlowes, Hynchloe, Hynchlay, Inclow, are also found in the Diary or elsewhere.) Both his private concerns and his dramatic ventures have been dealt with at length in Chaps. I and II, and it only remains to summarize the references to himself which occur in his own Diary. There are, in the first place, certain undated memoranda, for the most part in his own handwriting, referring to subjects in which he was interested, but which lay outside the usual scope of his business. We find, for instance, certain not very lucid directions for the casting of nativities (**16**^{v} and **18**); an elaborate puzzle called 'A watche at cardes,' not unknown to-day (**18**^{v}); and also a series of medical recipes and prophylactic charms (**16**^{v}–**18**, **136**^{v}). These latter are partly in another hand which I have been unable to identify; it does not appear to be Alleyn's although he entered similar recipes in his own memorandum book (MS. VIII, cf. Warner, p. 164). The earliest entries are dated March and April 1591 but most probably 1592 is meant. There is an acquittance from James Borne on behalf of Henry Addames for £3. 8. dated 2 Mar., and record of various payments, including sums to 'my cossen adren,' at different dates till 13 Apr. (**5**^{v} 1–15). On 18 June 1592 Henslowe bought some gilt plate (**2** 1). Thomas Challoner acknowledged a debt of £7. 10. to be paid on 30 June (**19** 25), John Griggs a debt of £15 on 13 July to be paid 13 Aug. (**12** 3). The only date in the accounts of 1592 'a bowte my playe howsse' is 6 Feb., which might refer either to 1592 or 1593 (**4**–**5**, cf. p. 46). An account 'Jn the be hallfe of the Chelldren of Edmond Hensley d^{e}sesed' is headed 1592, but contains no date earlier than 15 June 1593 (**40** 1). An acquittance to Thomas Newman for £2 bears the date 10 Jan. 1593, i.e. 1592/3 (**2** 16). A draft of a letter to Vahan concerning the property of Edmond Henslowe is dated 9 Feb. 1593 and also belongs to this year (**72** 24). The 'Juste note what w^{m} henslow owes vnto me' contains as its first item the mention of a bond on which Philip claimed use, which is before 3 Apr., and continues till after 29 May (**125**). An agreement with Robert Welles concerning the Lockyears property is dated 24 May (**127**^{v} 4). Arthur Langworth acknowledges a debt of £206 on 7 Dec. 1594, to be repaid on 12 Dec. (**88** 6). The acquittance from Thomas Stonnard on behalf of the Tilney is dated 2 Jan. 1594[/5 ?] (**20** 1). Arthur Langworth acknowledged another debt of £100 on 16 May 1595 (**98** 4). In Lent the same year Henslowe entered an account of expenses 'abowt my playhowsse' ending with a separate item dated 4 June (**2**^{v} 1–29). The James' Head was bought 24 Aug. for £30 (**3**^{v} 14). Acquittance from Wm. Lyngare for £3 on 31 Aug. (**98**^{v} 2). Account 'a bowt the howsse w^{ch} was hew dauesses,' headed 1595 and containing the date 16 Oct. (**6** 5), with continuation of the same also headed 1595 (**6**^{v} 22). Acquittance from John Maulthouse for £6, concerning a bargain about the Bear Garden, 28 Nov. (**38** 2). Acquittance from the same for £2, concerning the bargain about the Bankside tenements, 19 Dec. (**22** 2). Further acquittances from the same, or from Hugh Wrene on his behalf, for £20 and £4, dated 21 Jan. and 2 Feb. 1596, i.e. 1595/6 (**22** 13, 20), and an undated reckoning with the same, probably refer to the same or similar transactions (**19** 3). On 16 June 1596 Gelbarte Rocket affirmed

Henslowe to be his 'caldeste sone & ayer' and made over to him a house belonging to a Mr. Wistowe (**18**ᵛ 8). On 5 July Henslow witnessed an agreement between Arthur Langworth and Edward Alleyn concerning the parsonage of Firle (**24** 15), and a payment between the same parties was to have been made at his house on 29 Sept. (**25** 4). The same year Henslowe had his wharf repaired (**21** 18). Acquittances from Robert Johnson and William Hatto on behalf of Tilney for £2, 31 May, 27 June, and 19 July, 1597, and for £6, 12 Oct. 1598 (**23**ᵛ 5, 11, 16, 24). Memorandum of demand of rent and forfeiture of lease, 8 July 1597 (**72**ᵛ 12). Acquittance from R. Carter for 24*s.* 2*d.*, 31 Oct. (**38**ᵛ 2). Acknowledgment of debt of £2 from Shaa on 11 Nov., to be paid 10 Dec. (**36** 1). Account of expenses 'a bowt the changing of ower comysion' before 12 Dec. (**38** 8). List of properties bought from 29 Dec. onwards (**43** 1). Acknowledgments of debts of £2 from Downton, 20 Mar. 1598, i.e. 1597/8 ? (**40**ᵛ 11), of £3 from Birde, 3 Apr. 1598 (**39**ᵛ 16), of 30*s.* from Spenser, 5 Apr. (**40** 29), of £6 from Birde, Spenser and Downton, 9 Apr. (**42** 3), of £4 from Spenser, 20 Apr. (**42** 17, cf. **39**ᵛ 22), of £1 from Wilson, 2 June (**81**ᵛ 1), of £9. 9 from Chettle, 22 Oct. (**62** 6), and of £10. 10 from Chapman, 24 Oct. (**90** 3). Acquittance for £1 from Hathway, 9 Apr. (**46** 2). Henslowe sold apparel to the Admiral's men, 28 Nov. (**52** 20), and bought other of Charles Rosse the same day (**131** 4). Acquittances for £2 from Drayton, 21 Jan. 1598/9 (**31** 2, cf. **52**ᵛ 27), and for £3. 10 from Dekker, 30 Jan. (**101** 2, cf. **53** 15). Henslowe witnessed an agreement between Downton and a hired servant, 25 Jan. 1599, i.e. 1598/9 (**20**ᵛ 14). On 7 Apr. 1599 Porter acknowledged a debt of £1 (**62** 7), and on 16 Apr. bound himself in £10 to pay a debt of 25*s.* the next day, and forfeited his bond (**229**ᵛ 1). Again on 26 May Porter acknowledged a fresh debt of 10*s.* (**30** 7). William Paschall acknowledged debts of £5 on 14 June to be paid 4 July (**90** 11) and of £10 on 28 Sept. to be paid 1 Nov. (**102** 4). Acquittances for £4 from Shaa, 14 Oct., for £10 from Downton, 16 Oct., for £1 from Rowley, 16 Oct./1 Nov. (**65** 2, 8, 14), for £3 from Richard Veale on behalf of Tilney, 25 Oct. and again 20 Nov. (**81**ᵛ 10, 15), for £1 from Haughton, 1 Nov. (**31** 8), for 10*s.* on behalf of Munday and others, 1/8 Nov., for £8 from Wilson, 8 Nov. (**65** 22, 25), for £1 from Haughton and Day, 8/9 Nov. (**31** 12, cf. **65**ᵛ 1), for £2 from Downton, 9 Nov., for £3 on behalf of Haughton and Day, 14 Nov. (**65**ᵛ 6, 15), for £1 from Haughton and Day, 27 Nov., for 10*s.* from Chettle, 27 Nov. (**29** 2, 6), for £1 from Shaa, 30 Nov., for £10 from Downton, 31 Nov. (**66** 1, 5), for £1 and for 10*s.* from Haughton and Day, 5 and 6 Dec. (**29** 8, 12, cf. **66** 14, 19), for £10 from Downton, 6/12 Dec. (**66** 25), and for 39*s.* from Shaa and for £4 from Downton, 19/26 Dec. (**66**ᵛ 19, 20). Account with Streete for rebuilding 'of my howsse vpon the bancksyd wᶜʰ was good man deres,' headed 1599 and containing dates from 13 Dec. to 2 Feb. 1599/1600 (**32**–**32**ᵛ). Acquittances for 6*s.* from Downton, before 4 Jan. 1599/1600 (**30**ᵛ 1), for £3 from Playstowe on behalf of Tilney, 9 Jan. and 9 Feb. 1600, i.e. 1599/

1600 (**81**^{v} 21, 26), for £1 from Shaa, 26 Jan. (**67** 21), for 22*s.* from Shaa, 7 Feb., for £2 from Birde, 1 Mar. (**67**^{v} 3, 24), for £20, £10, and £8 from Shaa, 25 Mar./2 Apr. (**68** 24, 28, 31), for £10 from William Paschall, 28 Mar. (**90**^{v} 3), for £3. 3 and £2 from Shaa, 3/13 Apr., for £1 from Haughton, 24 Apr., for 30*s.* from Shaa, 27 Apr./6 May (**68**^{v} 6, 10, 20, 31), for £1 from Chettle, 27 Apr./6 May, for £6 on behalf of Haughton and Pett, 17 May, for £5. 10 on behalf of Chettle and Day, 26 May (**69** 1, 25, 29), for £3 from Playstowe on behalf of Tilney, 28 Apr. and again 24 May (**82** 5, 11), for £3. 5 on behalf of Munday, 3 June, for £11 on behalf of Alleyn, 20 June/10 July (**69**^{v} 8, 28), for £10 from Kenricke Williams, 20 Sept. and again 10 Oct. (**96**^{v} 17, 22). Acknowledgements of debts of £1 from Massye, 9/30 Apr. (**24**^{v} 3), of £300 from the Admiral's men, 10 July (**69**^{v} 33), of £2 from Duke, 21 Sept. (**83**^{v} 14). An account of 'what we owe a bowt ou^{r} howsse' headed 1600 contains the solitary date 2 Aug. (**97–97**^{v}), while another of 'what J haue layd owte sence we went a bowt ower new howsse' also headed 1600 and consisting chiefly of sums spent on dinners for Streete and East, contains dates from 24 May to 8 Aug. (**98**^{v} 12–**99**). These refer to the building of the Fortune. Acquittances for £2 from Haughton and Day, 29 Jan. 1600/1 (**82** 14), for £5 from Robert Clyfton on behalf of Richard Wallys, 6 May (**100** 4). Note of payment on behalf of the Admiral's men to Richard Hethe of £14. 15. 7 on 5 June (**87**^{v} 14), and acknowledgement of debt of £1 from Wadeson on 13 June (**85** 13), both being in effect acquittances. Acknowledgement of debt of £23 from Birde, 11 July (**89**^{v} 8), for £2. 18 from Richard Wallys, 2 July (**168**^{v} 2), for £3 from Playstowe and Hassard on behalfe of Tilney, 31 July and 29 Aug. (**83**^{v} 2, 8), and for £2 from Hathway and Smith, 3/8 Nov. (**100** 10, cf. **94**^{v} 5). Henslowe paid the reckoning 'at the tavern where we did eatte ower venesone' on 21 Sept. (**93**^{v} 24). Agreement, jointly with Alleyn, with John Ockley or Ockey and Nicholas Dame concerning starch making (**204** 15), before 4 Feb. 1601 (i.e. 1601/2 ?) when Henslowe and Alleyn made them an advance of £5 (**112** 4). Acquittance for £18. 10 to Birde and acknowledgement of debt of £10. 10 from him, 12 Mar. 1602, i.e. 1601/2 (**89**^{v} 30). Acquittance for £10 from John Dorrington, 11 Apr. 1602 (**151** 1). Acknowledgement of debt of £5 from Munday and Dekker, 5 May, to be paid 10 June (**114** 5). Acquittance for £3 from Robert Hassard on behalf of Tilney, 9 June (**100** 15), for £3 from Playstowe on behalf of the same, 8 July (**101** 10). Henslowe charged £1 use on £16 paid for apparel, 6 Dec. (**118** 26). Memorandum of agreement with Shaa as to purchase of the *Four Sons of Aymon*, 25 Dec./24 Mar. 1602/3 (**112** 14). Note of rents headed 13 Mar. 1602/3, to be received at Lady-day (**178–177**^{v} 19), also of rents payable headed 1602 (**178**^{v} 1–6). Acknowledgement of debt of £140. 1 from Worcester's men, 16 Mar. 1603, i.e. 1602/3 (**120**^{v} 16). Acquittance for £2 on behalf of Chettle and Day, 9 May 1603 (**100**^{v} 1, cf. **121** 5). Memorandum of agreement with Pope concerning the Little Rose, 25 June 1603 (**114**^{v} 1), and of a re-entry for non-payment of rent 26 Nov. (**179** 1). Acknowledgement of debt of £10 from Francis Woodward 10 Jan. 1603 (i. e. 1603/4 ?) to be paid 1 Feb. (**129**^{v} 5). Note of debt of £24 due from the Prince's men 14 Mar. 1604, i. e. 1603/4 (**110** 10). Further lists of rents from Christmas 1604 (**177**^{v} 20–35, **177** 12–24) and list of tenants paying capons also headed 1604 (**177** 1–11). Note of confirmation of a lease to Dardes, 2 James I, 1605–6 (**178**^{v} 17). The above references include all in which Henslowe's name occurs and also a number of others concerning transactions to which he was a party and which do not find convenient mention under other heads although he does not appear by name. Philip Henslowe had two sisters both of whom married: for Margaret Henslowe, see under Cuckson, Richard; for Mary Henslowe, see under Walters, John. His wife was—

HENSLOWE, AGNES.

Formerly Woodward. First mentioned under the date 1593, Philip having sold a new gown of hers to Edmond for his wife (**39** 6; cf. **122**^{v} 7). In 1596 she made various payments to John Henslowe (**124** 25–7). So again she made loans to Langworth, 23 May 1598 (**28** 5), to Birde, 3 and 30 Aug. (**38**^{v} 23, 25), to Mrs. Keyes, 15 May 1599 (**42**^{v} 19), and to Towne, 13 Mar. 1601 (**28**^{v} 16). In all cases she was acting on behalf of her husband. She is frequently mentioned in Alleyn's correspondence with Henslowe and his household in 1593 (MS. I. 9–15). At the time of Philip's death she was very ill, but survived him by more than a year (Rendle, *Henslowe*, where, however, her will is said to have been proved on 3 July 1616, which must be a year wrong, and Joan is called widow of Edward Alleyn, though he survived her and married again). She was joined with her co-executors, Edward Alleyn and Roger Cole, as defendants in the Chancery suit in which John Henslowe sought to invalidate his uncle's will (MS. V. 22). An unexecuted assignment by her of leases which she held under her husband's will is extant (Mun. 53). Among the houses left her for her life under the same will was the 'Boare's head' on the Bankside, as appears from a bill of complaint in Chancery, 18 May 1625 (Mun. 182). The date of her death is not known, but under that of 9 Apr. 1617 the following entry appears in the Register of Dulwich College: 'Anne [Agnes] Henslowe, widoe, y^{e} late wife off Phillip Henslowe esq. and mother to Joan Alleyn, y^{e} wife of Edw. Alleyn, founder of this Coll: buried in y^{e} north side off y^{e} chapell quire' (MS. X. fol. 7; Warner, p. 196). Her will was dated 16 Jan. 1615/6, having evidently been made shortly after her husband's death when she herself was supposed to be dying. We may perhaps assume that it was proved on 3 July 1617, and that it bequeathed, after various small charitable bequests, 'the residue to my sole and well beloved daughter, Joane Allen, *wife* of Edward Allen Esq.' (see above, Rendle, *Henslowe*). There was, however, at least one other bequest, for we find Alleyn on 8 Aug. 1619 paying £10 to 'Jo: Russell His

Legacie giuen by my mother Henslowe' (MS. IX; Young, ii. p. 146). By her first marriage she had two daughters: for Joan Woodward, see under Alleyn, Edward; for Elizabeth Woodward, not mentioned in the Diary, see p. 6.

HENSLOWE, WILLIAM.

Brother of Philip. He first appears as a witness on 30 June 1592 (**19** 21). Next we find him writing to Philip from Buxted, 7 Dec., on business connected with an action at law on a copyright title of their sister Margery, i. e. probably the widow of Edmond Henslowe (MS. III. 6; cf. **41** 13, **123** 4). The beginning of a draft letter, no doubt in reply to this, is preserved in the Diary (**100** 1). The next year Philip opened an account of sums advanced to him from which it appears that he was concerned together with Edmond and Philip in the obscure transactions concerning a bond bequeathed in John's will (**125**v 5), that on 3 and 20 Apr. his business took him to visit the Lord Chamberlain as Edmond too had done (**125**v 13; cf. **39** 15, **122**v 16), that on 29 Apr. he bought a hat for 'goody mowshurste' and rode home, doubtless to Buxted (**125**v 18), that he sold a colt belonging to Philip to one Hartop for 16*s*. (**125**v 23), and that he 'feched owt his writę for his witneses at grensteade,' no doubt in connection with the suit against Phillipes concerning the property of Edmond Henslowe (**125**v 27; cf. **41** 15, **123** 7). He was in London from 28 July to 6 Aug., according to a note in the scribble (**238**v). He was a witness to Philip's letter to Vahan in the same dispute, 9 Feb. 1593 (**72** 28), and took a lease of a barn, &c., which had been Edmond's, in 1593–4 (**41** 21, **123** 12). It also appears from the accounts that he had paid £2 for Edmond's funeral (**123**v 11). When further litigation concerning the will took place in 1604 he came up to town to be examined (**123**v 25). This was probably late in the year for he appears as witnessing a loan on 26 Nov. (**129**v 27). He also held property on the Bankside and leased a messuage to Meade, 20 June 1617 (Mun. 171). He had a dispute concerning tithe with Dr. John Langworth, rector of Buxted, a cousin probably of the other John, son of Arthur, Langworth, and judgement was given against him on 30 June 1603 (MS. IV. 44). Langworth assigned his claim to Richard Heath, and William petitioned the Privy Council for a warrant against the same for 'sinister and wrongful dealings' probably in 1609 (MS. IV. 68), three letters from Langworth to Philip Henslowe explaining his efforts to arrange the dispute being dated 15 Jan., 6 Feb., and 12 Mar. 1608/9 (MS. III. 33). William appears frequently in Alleyn's diary, often as dining with him, often in connection with legal matters (MS. IX; see Warner and Young). Some of these may have related to a dispute between the Attorney-General on the one part, and William Henslowe and Jacob Meade on the other, as to the boundary of the Unicorn and other messuages in St. Saviour's, Southwark, in 1618 (Mun. 174). But there was also a suit between him and Alleyn which they finally settled by arbitration, signing bonds in £1000 to stand to the award on 24 Oct. 1618, and sealing 'our wrighting of peac' on 1 Mar. the following year (Young, ii. pp. 111, 125). There was, however, further litigation in 1621–2. I do not think that there is any reason to suppose two William Henslowes, though Warner suggests that the one appearing in the Diary may have been a nephew of Philip (p. 167). He does not seem to have been married.

HERNE, Philip.

('Herne' autograph; 'Hearen' Henslowe.) Borrowed 20*s.* from Henslowe 4 Jan. 1599/1600 ? (**28**^{v} 10).

HEWETTES, ——.

(m^{r} hewettes'.) Lent £3. 2. 6 to the Admiral's men and received payment through Henslowe, 1 Jan. 1601/2 (**85**^{v} 18).

HEYWOOD, Thomas.

('hawo(o)d(e' 'hewod(e' 'hewede' 'Hewwod', no autograph). Playwright and actor. This is not the place to discuss his career apart from the Diary. He was probably employed as a writer by the Admiral's men as early as 1594. Discussion of possible early work by him will be found under the following titles: *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (47), *Siege of London* (65), *Selio and Olimpo* ? (70); 1 and 2 *Hercules* (71–2), *Troy* (92), *Five Plays in One* (103); *Time's Triumph* (104). He is first mentioned as an author 14/29 Oct. 1596 when Henslowe lent certain of the Admiral's men 30*s.* 'for hawodes bocke' (**23** 19). He was again writing for the same company in the winter of 1598–9: *War without Blows and Love without Suit* (*Strife*) (161), 6 Dec., 26 Jan. (**52**^{v} 3, **53** 9), *Joan as good as my Lady* (166), 10, 12 Feb. (**53**^{v} 2, 8), being both completed at that time. Again in the winter of 1602–3, he collaborated with Chettle for the Admiral's men on 1 *London Florentine* (251), 20 Dec., 7 Jan. (**108**^{v} 22, **109** 9). Otherwise his recorded work of this period was confined to the Worcester's company, which is natural enough, since he was a sharer in that body, while he appears never to have been more than a hired man in the Admiral's. His record is as follows:—*Albere Galles* (264), 4 Sept. 1602, with Smith (**115**^{v} 26); *Cutting Dick* (266), 20 Sept. 1602, additions only (**116** 22); *Marshal Osric* (265), 30 Sept. 1602, with Smith (**116**^{v} 1); 1 *Lady Jane* (270), 15, 21 Oct. 1602, with Chettle, Dekker, Smith and Webster (**117** 7, 20); *Christmas Comes but once a Year* (272), 2 Nov. 1602, with Chettle, Dekker and Webster (**117**^{v} 15); *Blind eats many a Fly* (274), 24 Nov., 15 Dec. 1602, 7 Jan. 1603, alone (**118** 15, **118**^{v} 9, 24); an unnamed play (276), 14 Jan. 1603, with Chettle (**119** 14, cf. **109** 18); *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (278), 12 Feb., 6 Mar. 1603, alone (**120** 2, 25). This concludes Heywood's record as an author. We first hear of him as an actor on 25 Mar. 1598 when he came and bound himself as Henslowe's covenant servant for a period of two years, undertaking during that time not to play in any public place about London except Henslowe's house, i. e. the Rose. The fact that he is not heard of between Feb. 1599 and Sept. 1602 suggests that he did not follow the Admiral's men to the Fortune in 1600. As I have not the least doubt that he is the author of 1 and 2 *Edward IV* (*Siege of London*, 65), which was acted by Derby's men, presumably at the Curtain, after Easter 1599, and printed in 1600, I think it possible that he may have joined that body at the end of his term with Henslowe. He reappears in the Diary as a sharer in Worcester's company in the autumn of 1602, and on 1 Sept. secured a loan of half-a-crown from Henslowe to buy silk garters (**114** 15). Properties were bought for a play by him, and for another by him and Smith, on 3 and 4 Sept. (**115^v** 22, **114** 20). He also authorized payments, sometimes to himself, on behalf of Worcester's men on 21 Oct., 26 Nov., 1602, and 14 Jan., 5 Feb., and 9 May 1603 (**117** 18, **118** 18, **119** 12, **119^v** 27, **121** 5). Heywood remained a member of the company when taken under the patronage of Queen Anne in 1603 (p. 107).

HICHENSON, JOHN.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head, at £7, 1604 (**177** 24); 'good man hichenson' to pay 2 capons at Christmas according to his lease, 1604 (**177** 7); Nan Henslowe sold a boat, 'w^{ch} she had of hichenson,' for whose payment Henslowe gave his word, 20 July 1607 (**123^v** 33).

HOMES, RICHARD.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head, at 20*s*., 1604 (**177^v** 33).

HONTE, THOMAS.

Received payment from the Admiral's men through Alleyn, 14/29 Oct. 1596 (**23** 18). It is possible that he may have been the Thomas Honte who signed the duplicate bond of 29 Aug. 1611 to Henslowe as one of the Lady Elizabeth's men (MS. XVIII. 9, Mun. 47), and who seems to have belonged to the Palsgrave's men in 1621, for we find him dining together with other members of that company at Alleyn's house, 15 Apr. of that year (MS. IX; Young, ii. p. 204).

HOOPE, RICHARD.

Player (?) 'Lord chamberlenes man'. Borrowed £3 from Henslowe, 14 Jan. 1595 ? (**3** 20).

HOWSSE, —— (?).

('lytell howsse', possibly Howes, but more probably simply the little house, see p. 22). Tenant of Henslowe in the Rose rents, at £6, 1602 (**178** 37).

HUDSON, ——.

('goodman hudson'.) Paid 15*s*. rent to Joan Alleyn, 14 Aug. 1593, no doubt as tenant of Edward Alleyn then in the country (**1^v** 5). Probably the Ralph Hudson in occupation of one of six tenements in a messuage in the parish of St. Botolphs without Bishopsgate, the release of which by John to Edward Alleyn is dated 6 July 1590 (Mun. 97).

HUGSEN, ——.

(Possibly an error for Hudson.) Quarter's rent due to the Queen from 'whitt & hugsen' for a house at Greenwich, paid by Henslowe to Sir Thomas Flude, 31*s.* 8*d.*, 27 Apr. 1599 (**42**^{v} 16).

HUNTE, JOHN.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head, at 50*s.*, 1604 (**177** 23), to pay by his lease two capons at Christmas (**177** 11). Possibly the John Hunt appointed jointly with others by Letters patent of James I to determine the boundaries of the Unicorn and other messuages in the parish of St. Saviour, late in the tenure of John Alleyn and others, and now in dispute between the Attorney-General on the one part and William Henslowe and Jacob Meade on the other, 25 June 1618 (Mun. 174).

HUNTE, MATTHEW.

Tenant of Henslowe under James Russell's lease, at £2, 1602/3 (**177**^{v} 11).

INGROME, ——.

Arrested Chettle for 20*s.*, 2 May 1599 (**62** 12).

JAMES I, KING OF ENGLAND.

The Admiral's men left playing at his coming to London, 5 May 1603 (**109**^{v} 25), and began again by his licence, 9 May (**121** 2).

'JAMES.'

Richard Jones' boy. Fetched a loan from Henslowe, 17 Nov. 1599 (**13**^{v} 10). The 'James' found as witness 27 Mar. 159[8/]9 (?) may be either he or James Bristow (**61**^{v} 11). He seems to have acted in the *Battle of Alcazar*, c. 1598, and in 1 *Tamar Cam* in 1602 (Apx. II. 4, 7).

JEFFE, LORD JUSTICE (?).

Birde was committed to the King's Bench for assault on 'my lorde Jeffe Justes warant,' 26 Nov. 1600 (**42**^{v} 9). Collier interprets this, perhaps rightly, as the 'Lord Chief Justice's warrant.'

JEFFES, ANTHONY.

('J(e)affes' 'Jeff(e)s' 'geffes', but 'Jeffes' alone autograph.) Player, Admiral's man. His name first appears in the list of Admiral's men at the head of the accounts dated 11 Oct. 1597, after the junction with Pembroke's company (**43**^{v} 5). In 1598 he and Humphrey Jeffes, on the part of the company apparently, made a series of small payments to Henslowe between 29 Apr. and 21 July (**34** 1–16). In 1599 he borrowed of Henslowe on 11 Apr. 20*s.* to buy divers things against St. George's day (**33ᵛ** 17). On 23 Apr. 1600 he is represented as responsible to Henslowe for his boy James Bristow's wages then owing by the company, for which Shaa had given his word as witnessed by Jones and Towne (**61** 14). Two payments on this account are recorded on 8 and 16 Aug. following (**82ᵛ** 1). Meanwhile, on 10 July, Anthony had, as one of the sharers, acknowledged the company debt (**70** 11). On 3 Jan. 1602 he appears for the only time as authorizing a payment (**95ᵛ** 25). His name is found as acknowledging the company debt 7/23 Feb. the same year, but it is not autograph (**104** 24). He performed in the *Battle of Alcazar*, c. 1598, and in 1 *Tamar Cam*, 1602, his name appearing in the plots (Apx. II. 4, 7). We learn from a letter by Massye to Alleyn, probably belonging to 1613, that he had by that time retired with the consent of his fellows, and had received £70 from the company (MS. XI; Young, ii. p. 192).

JEFFES, HUMPHREY.

Player, Admiral's man. Like Anthony he first appears in the list of 11 Oct. 1597 (**43ᵛ** 5), and is associated with him in the payments of 29 Apr. to 21 July 1598 (**34** 1–16). From some entries beginning on 14 Jan. 1598 it appears that the company was making payments to Henslowe with a view to buying Humphrey out of a half share, but that on 8 Mar. the sums amounting to 60*s.* 6*d.* (Henslowe says £3) were returned to, and shared among, the Admiral's men (**36** 5). Unlike Anthony's his name appears among those acknowledging the company debt, 8/13 Mar. 1598 (**44ᵛ** 28). Advances were made to him by Henslowe, 6 Apr., 5 Sept. 1598 and 12 Dec. 1599 (**34** 17, 19, 21). He acknowledged the company debt on 10 July 1600 (**70** 9), but the similar entry of 7/23 Feb. 1602 is not autograph (**104** 23). On 6 July 1601 the tailor was paid for making his suit for the *Six Yeomen of the West* (**91ᵛ** 3), and on 9 Sept. 1602 he for the only time authorized a payment (**107ᵛ** 8). Like Anthony he acted in the *Battle of Alcazar* and 1 *Tamar Cam* (Apx. II. 4, 7). According to Collier (*Actors*, p. xxx) 'Humphrie Jeffes, plaier' was buried at St. Giles', Cripplegate, on 21 Aug. 1618. The mutual relation of the two Jeffes is unknown.

'JOHN.'

Griggs' man. Received payment from Alleyn, 24 Nov. 1592 (**238** 20, cf. **237** 23).

JOHNSON, ROBERT.

Of Letherhead, Surrey. The Master of the Revels man (**82** 1). Acquittances on behalf of Tilney for one month's play, 31 May and 27 June 1597, and for three months' play, 12 Oct. 1598 (**23ᵛ** 4, 10, 24). There was a Robert Johnson, merchant-tailor, to whom Alleyn leased a tenement in Golden Lane, in the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate, 6 Jan. 1612/3 (Mun. 48), and also a Robert Johnson, goldsmith, who was Sheriff of London in 1617–8 (Warner, p. 173). It may be remarked that Tilney had a house at Letherhead (Chambers, *Tudor Revels*, p. 79).

JONES, Richard.

('Jon(n)es'.) Player, Admiral's man. We first hear of Jones in the Diary on 2 Sept. 1594 when he bought of Henslowe 'a manes gowne of pechecoler Jn grayne,' and paid for the same in twelve weekly instalments of 5*s.* each between 7 Sept. and 30 Nov. following (**15** 1–16). In the same manner cloth bought on 27 May 1596 was paid for between 5 June and 7 July (**22**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 1–8). His name also appears in the first list of Admiral's men 14 Dec. 1594/14 Jan. 1595 (**3** 14). He next appears as binding himself and Shaa to play at the Rose only for three years from 6 Aug. 1597 (**232**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 1, 11), and also among the Admiral's men whose names head the accounts begun on 11 Oct. the same year (**43**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 4). On 8 Jan. 1597/8 he borrowed £2 of Henslowe on some rings, and on 21 Apr. 10*s.* more in company with W. Cartwright (**19**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 6, 10). Between these dates he had, as one of the Admiral's men, acknowledged the company debt, 8/13 Mar. 1598 (**44**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 25). Again on 4 Oct. he, Shaa, Downton, and Birde borrowed £3 of Henslowe under conditions already discussed (s. v. Birde, **33**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 9). On 2 June 1599 Jones borrowed £5 of Henslowe and repaid it in weekly instalments of 10*s.* between 7 June and 15 Sept. (**34**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 1–19). Another loan of £2 was effected on 17 Nov. (**13**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 8). His name appears in acknowledgement of the company debt on 10 July 1600 (**70** 11). Between 30 June and 29 Aug. 1601 he was engaged in working off his private debts to Henslowe (**103** 4–14). These presumably included £1 which he borrowed on 4 Aug. to lend to Richard Weabe, though Henslowe may have recovered from the latter (**29** 20). On 2 Oct., however, he borrowed a further sum and repaid 22*s.* 4*d.* in instalments between 3 Oct. and 1 Nov. (**103**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 9–16). By 7/13 Feb. 1602 he had left the company together with Shaa, and the two had received £50 on the occasion (**104** 29, **108**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 30, **109**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 21, 28). His name appears as a witness on 6 Oct. 1597 (**232** 25), 25 Mar. 1598 (**231** 12, 22), 16 Nov. 1598 (**230**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 10), and 23 Apr. 1600 (**61** 18). He also authorized payment on one occasion, 22 Dec. 1598 (**52**$^{\mathrm{v}}$ 7). He had a 'boy' or apprentice called James. Before joining the Admiral's men he had been associated, in what was apparently Worcester's company, with Alleyn, to whom he sold his share on 3 Jan. 1588/9 (MS. I. 2). To Alleyn also is addressed a letter asking for a loan on the occasion of his going abroad with Browne's company, c. Feb. 1592 (MS. I. 8). He may perhaps have been the 'Black Dick' of the plot of *Frederick and Basilea* (1597), and certainly acted in the *Battle of Alcazar*, c. 1598, and *Troilus and Cressida* (?) c. 1599 (Apx. II. 3, 4, 5). Some further letters addressed to Alleyn suggest that he and his wife were settled more or less permanently in Germany c. 1620 (MS. I. 111, 112).

JONNES, Roger.

Tenant of Henslowe at 40*s.*, 1602/3 (**178** 4).

JONSON, Benjamin.

('Johnson(e', no autograph.) Playwright. Jonson is also said to have acted himself, and, indeed, Henslowe describes him as 'player' in the Diary. It is also possible that he may at one time have contemplated acquiring a share in the Admiral's company. On 20 July 1597 Henslowe recorded the receipt of 3*s.* 9*d.* under the heading '℞ of Bengemenes Johnsones Share,' but no further payments seem to have been made (**24** 16). Of course the entry may refer to something quite different. The same day Henslowe entered an advance of £4 to 'Bengemen Johnson player' (**234** 25), and on 5 Jan. 1597/8 (?) a further advance of 5*s.* (**233**^{v} 2). Between these two loans Jonson had begun writing for the Admiral's company, the only one with which the Diary connects him. On 3 Dec. 1597 he submitted the plot of a proposed play for approval and promised to complete the piece by Christmas, drawing at the same time an advance of 20*s.* (**37**^{v} 12, **43**^{v} 25). There is good reason to suppose that he did not fulfil his engagement, for on 23 Oct. 1598 we find Chapman being paid for 'ij ectes of a tragedie of bengemens plotte' (**51**^{v} 3). However, before that Jonson had been paid, along with Chettle and Porter, in full for *Hot Anger soon Cold* (147), on 18 Aug. 1598 (**49** 21). Writing to Alleyn on 26 Sept. the same year, Henslowe reported that Gabriel Spenser 'is slayen in hogesden fylldes by the hands of bengemen Jonson bricklayer,' expressing his annoyance by the use of what he evidently thought an invidious designation (MS. I. 24). The poet had a narrow escape of seeing his career legally curtailed. However, by Aug. 1599, Jonson—the first, if not the second, of whose humorous satires had already been performed by the Chamberlain's servants—was again writing for the Admiral's men. On 10 Aug. 1599 he was paid in earnest of *Page of Plymouth* (180), written in conjunction with Dekker (**63**^{v} 23); again 3, 27 Sept. sums were paid in earnest of *Robert II* (*Scot's Tragedy*, 182) to him, Chettle, Dekker and another (**64** 16, **64**^{v} 3). Jonson then disappears again for two years, during which he wrote for the Children of the Chapel. Lastly we find him being paid on 25 Sept. 1601 for additions to *Jeronimo* (225^c), and again on 22 June 1602 for further additions to *Jeronimo* (237^a) and in earnest of *Richard Crookback* (237), a play of which we hear no more (**94** 2, **106**^{v} 8). Many years later we find Daborne in his correspondence with Henslowe, 13 Nov. 1613, mentioning 'Johnsons play' in connection with Lady Elizabeth's men. The piece intended is presumably *Bartholomew Fair*, performed by that company at the Hope, 31 Oct. the following year (MS. I. 88).

JUBY, EDWARD.

('Jube, Juby, Jubie, Jubey, Jubye, Jeube, Jewbe, Jewby, Jewbey, Jewebey'.) Player, Admiral's man. I have no doubt that the names Juby, Edward Juby and Mr. Juby all refer to the same. William Juby is carefully distinguished by his Christian name, and though there was also a Richard Juby he was never a sharer and it is unlikely that the Diary should mention him. Had Henslowe found it necessary to refer to him he would no doubt have distinguished him in the same manner as William. It is true that in one instance 'm^{r}' is inserted as if to distinguish the person intended from simple Juby, but this seems exceptional. Possibly, however, Henslowe was not always consistent. The name 'Jube' occurs in the first list of Admiral's men, 14 Dec. 1594/14 Jan. 1595 (**3** 17). He next appears as one of the company having a joint account with Henslowe in 1596 from 14 Oct. onwards (**23** 14, 25). Again he appears in the list of Admiral's men at the head of the regular accounts, 11 Oct. 1597 (**43**^{v} 4), and as acknowledging with others the company debt, 10 July 1600 (**70** 10), and 7/23 Feb. 1602 (**104** 21), though in the latter case the signature is not autograph. On 14 Mar. 1604 he and Downton represented the company, then known as the Prince's men, in reckoning with Henslowe (**110** 9). In the 1602/3 list of Henslowe's tenants, he appears as occupying 'm^{r} owers Rence' at £7, his name being substituted for that of 'm^{r} sledmore' whom he may have succeeded (**178** 43). His name appears occasionally as witness between 3 Aug. 1597 (**233** 32) and 16 Nov. 1598 (**230**^{v} 9), and frequently as authorizing payments between 1 Mar. 1598 (**44**^{v} 16) and 7 Mar. 1603 (**109**^{v} 1). Edward Juby acted in *Frederick and Basilea* in 1597, in the *Battle of Alcazar* c. 1598, and in 1 *Tamar Cam* in 1602, his name appearing in the plots (Apx. II. 3, 4, 7). He was joint-lessee of the Fortune 31 Oct. 1618 (Mun. 56), and is mentioned apparently as manager of the Prince's or Palsgrave's men in Massye's letter c. 1613 (MS. I. 67). He and his wife dined 'vnlookt for' with Alleyn on 13 Sept. 1618 (MS. IX; Young, ii. p. 103). He seems to have left a widow Francis who was one of the lessees of shares in the Fortune, 20 May 1622 (Mun. 58), and was probably the 'm^{rs} Jobye' who dined with Alleyn on 28 Apr. that year (MS. IX; Young, ii. p. 236).

JUBY, WILLIAM.

('Jube, Jewbey.') He appears as authorizing payment on behalf of the Admiral's men, 20 Jan. 1598/9, 2 Sept. 1599, 31 Sept. and 3 Nov. 1601, 23 May, 2 Sept., and 21 Oct. 1602 (**52**^{v} 30, &c.). He must therefore have been a sharer in the company though not a prominent member. He is nowhere else heard of. It seems a violent hypothesis, but can Henslowe in these seven instances have miswritten 'w^{m}' for 'm^{r}' (cf. Stonard)? We have particularly full lists of the company from the Plots and in not one of them is there a trace of a William Juby. Fleay omits all notice of him but does not explain why. In two entries 'w^{m}' has been altered to Edward (**44**^{v} 16, **107**^{v} 5).

KEDDER, ——.

('ked(d)er'.) Henslowe preferred a bill against him and others in the Star Chamber for perjury in connection with his suit against Edward Phillips, Hilary term 1594 (**41** 25, **123** 16).

KELEGRAYE, WILLIAM.

Superscription to a draft letter: 'to ou^r lovinge frende m^r william kelegraye esquyer' (not continued), c. 1596–7 (**72**^v 10). Possibly Sir William Killegrew the elder, groom of the chamber, knighted 1603.

KELLOCKE, ——.

Of 'Redereffe'. Henslowe sent his horse to grass to him, 9 Apr. 1600, at 20*d.* a week, and again on 30 Apr. (**24**^v 2, 6). Both dates are entered by Henslowe as being Tuesday which they were not either in 1600 or 1601.

KEMP, WILLIAM.

Player. Borrowed 20*s.* of Henslowe 'for his necessarye vsses,' 10 Mar. 1602? (**102**^v 5); authorized payment for Worcester's men, 22 Aug. (**115** 15) and had a suit bought for him by the company, 3 and 4 Sept. 1602 (**115**^v 18, 30). Neither the Diary nor the other documents at Dulwich afford much information about this famous actor.

KENDALL, WILLIAM.

Player. He bound himself to play in Henslowe's house, i. e. the Rose (or rather for Henslowe's company, i. e. the Admiral's men), for two years at the rate of 10*s.* a week when playing in London and 5*s.* a week in the country, 8 Dec. 1597 (p. xlix). The only other known reference to him is in the Plot of the *Battle of Alcazar* (Apx. II. 4), where we find him playing Abdelmenen and other parts; this was presumably in 1598. A Thomas Kendal was one of the managers of the children of the Queen's Revels in 1604.

KEYES (ISABEL).

('m^rs keyes, keayes', Christian name not mentioned in the Diary; elsewhere the forms 'Key' and 'Keys' also occur.) Henslowe held a lease bought from her, 8 July 1597 (**72**^v 16); Henslowe received on her behalf the rents of her houses in Westminster after 22 Apr. 1599 (**43** 13) and of these paid over to her the sums from Pare and Fortherby after 15 May (**42**^v 20, 21); he also paid on her behalf to Sir Thomas Flude a quarter's rent due by Whitt and Hugsen to the Queen, 41*s.* 8*d.*, 27 Apr. 1599 (**42**^v 14), and to her in ready money 20*s.*, 15 May (**42**^v 18), making 61*s.* 8*d.* as against 60*s.* of hers collected by him for rent as above; he again lent her 6*s.* 8*d.* 'to macke vp the Rent for the college Rent̨ at westmestters,' undated (**43** 23); Henslowe had a tenant Whotley (and probably others) on her lease at 40*s.*, 1602/3 (**178** 5; cf. p. 27). We do not learn much concerning her leases from the numerous references in other documents. She was the wife of Thomas Keyes, one of the Cooks of her Majesty's kitchen, and is first mentioned in a letter to Henslowe from Alexander White begging him to assist her, being about to be arrested at the suit of Frauncis Chambres, 21 Feb. 1576/7 (MS. III. 1). Later we find Richard

Garrett, merchant-tailor, acknowledging debts to her and her husband, 24 Mar. 1594/5 (MS. IV. 31); Lyvesey and Gore granting a lease to Edward Addyson and Joane his wife, with her consent, 20 Aug. 1596 (Mun. 112), a lease later held by Henslowe (**178** 17); Mercury Patten, Blue Mantle pursuivant since 1597, referring to Henslowe's decision matters in dispute between himself and her, 26 Sept. 1603 (MS. III. 13); and lastly, Henslowe covenanting to deliver her money, good, chattels, &c. (she being dead and her husband having predeceased her) to her daughter Katherine, wife of Thomas Newman, of the Inner Temple, 13 May 1605 (Mun. 133). It should be mentioned that in Apr. 1605 a deed of sale was drawn up, from Thomas Keyes and Thomas Newman to Henslowe, of their messuages, lands, &c., on the Bankside, in the parish of St. Saviour, bought by the said Philip of Thomas Challoner, esq. (Mun. 132). This deed was not executed presumably owing to the death of Thomas Keyes.

KYNGMAN, ——.
'm^{r} Kyngman the elder'. Witness, 16 Apr. 1599 (**229**^{v} 13).

LALEYE, ——.
Name altered to Evans (**20**^{v} 16).

LANGLEYES, ——.
('m^{r} langl(e)y(es'.) He received 13*s.* 4*d.* (or 6*s.* 8*d.*) to discharge Bird from arrest, 29 Mar. 1598 (**39** 35, cf. **38**^{v} 22); made an agreement with the Admiral's men for which they borrowed £35 of Henslowe, 19 Sept. (**50** 29); received payment of £19 for a cloak sold to them 'at ther a grement,' 4 Oct. 1598 (**50**^{v} 20, cf. 29 Sept., cancelled); while on the same occasion Jones, Shaa, Downton and Birde, in their personal capacity and not as members of the company, paid him £3 in connection with the agreement and to redeem another cloak from pawn (see Birde; **33**^{v} 10). We hear of Langles' furnace in connection with John Henslowe's forestry business (pp. xviii, xix). A Francis Langley, draper and alnager, was the proprietor of the Swan playhouse (*Remembrancia*, p. 353).

LANGWORTH, Arthur.
(Autograph as above; otherwise 'lą(n)gworth(e' 'lengworth'.) Of Ringmere and Broyle, Sussex. For the family see p. 13. Langworth first appears in the Diary as signing an acknowledgment of a debt of £206 to Henslowe, 7 Dec. 1594 (**88** 14). On 26 Apr. 1595 he witnessed, together with Henslowe and William Harris, a deed by which John Allen, innholder, sold to his brother Edward Allen, 'musicion,' his moiety in a messuage in St. Botolph's without Bishopsgate held by them jointly by will of Edward Allen their father (Mun. 106). At various dates this year down to 15 May Langworth borrowed sums of Henslowe, amounting to £15 (**21** 1). On 16 May he agreed to buy a house of Henslowe for £100 and

paid £50 in part on 3 June (**98** 3, 12). On 9 June, however, he borrowed £10 from Henslowe (**88**^{v} 1), and again a similar sum the next day (**98** 14). The house was probably that belonging to Philip Henslowe's brother, the late Edmond Henslowe, which Philip sold on behalf of his nephew and nieces to Langworth for £80 about this time (**41**^{v} 6, **124** 1). It looks as though Henslowe sold the house for £100 and only credited his wards with £80, but, as we have seen, he only notes the receipt of £50 from Langworth, and as the entries of £80 are not contemporary they probably represent what Henslowe was actually able to get for the house. It was no doubt in connection with this property that Richard Cuckson and his wife acknowledged a fine on 3 June (**41**^{v} 1, **123** 33). On 5 July 1596 Henslowe witnessed the bargain between Alleyn and 'm^{r} arthour lengworth,' whereby Alleyn agreed to sell 'm^{r} langworth' the lease of the parsonage of 'furlle' or Firle, in Sussex, for £3000 to be paid in 40 half-yearly instalments of £75 (**24** 1). It is curious that 'm^{r} langworth' here must be John Langworth, not Arthur. On 16 Mar. 1596 Arthur Langworth assigned to Alleyn a lease of the said parsonage at a yearly rent of £31. 12. 4 (Mun. 109). On 16 Dec. Alleyn assigned this to John Langworth, with a proviso that, in case of the non-performance of the terms of a defeasance of a statute-staple bond from Arthur and John Langworth to Alleyn, 'then the said lease and premisses might be lyable and extendable to the said statute' (Mun. 116). This assignment was presumably voided, for, by a further deed of 25 Nov. 1605, Alleyn assigned the lease to Robert Holmden, of London, leatherseller, for £1200 (Mun. 144). In the mean while Arthur Langworth had bought of Robert Ballard, of Hollington, Sussex, husbandman, a messuage called Buckstedes or Bukstade, in West Firles, Sussex, 20 Oct. 1598 (Mun. 117). There is also extant a release by Arthur Langworth to Alleyn of his estate in the parsonage, dated 2 July 1601 and witnessed by Henslowe and John and Richard Langworth (Mun. 124). Alleyn's list of 'the Wrightings of Firles' (MS. VIII. fol. 45; *Alleyn Papers*, p. xviii) shows that there was a regular assignment from John Langworth to Alleyn which is now lost. We also have his statement of 'What y^{e} parsnage of Firles coste me' (fol. 6; p. xiii), showing that he paid for it in all £1323. 6. 8. and received from it £873. 6. 8. Lastly he 'Sowld this parsnage to M^{r} Homden and M^{r} Bunc about Cristid, 1605, for 1300^{l}.' He was, we learn, 'forced ther vnto by reson of some great somes J haue to paye for a purchase J haue entred vpon neer London,' that is, the Manor of Dulwich (MS. III. 16). On 29 Sept. 1596 we have note of a payment, apparently not actually made, from Alleyn to Arthur Langworth of £126, probably in connection with the above transactions, though this is not specified (**25** 1). Henslowe lent Langworth sums of £2 and £1 on 23 and 27 May 1598 (**28** 3, 6). On 4 June Alleyn and his wife were staying with Arthur Langworth and his wife at the Brille or Broyle in Sussex, and thither Henslowe sent his letter of that date (MS.

II. 1). To the same month presumably must belong a letter from Langworth to Alleyn (MS. II. 2). Between 19 May 1599 and 20 Nov. 1600 Arthur Langworth made four payments to Alleyn upon a statute-staple bond, presumably that mentioned in the assignment of 16 Dec. 1596 (MS. VIII; Warner, p. 164.) On 20 Nov. 1599 he signed a bond in £16 in favour of Alleyn for the payment of £8, eight days later (Mun. 119). Again on 20 and 29 June 1604 we find advances to him from Henslowe of 10*s.* and 50*s.*, the latter being 'delyuered vnto his man mathew at the Corte of whithalle' (**89** 1, 4). His will, dated 19 Feb. 1605/6, with probate, 6 Nov. the same year, mentions Rose, his wife, Richard, Arthur, Nicholas, and Edward, his sons, and Rose, Jane, and Agnes, his daughters, and shows him possessed of land at Horsted, Pemsey Marsh, Ringmer and Langton, and Alleyn's creditor for £100 (MS. IV. 54). We also find a number of payments from Alleyn, or rather from Henslowe for Alleyn, to a 'm^{r} langworth' at unspecified dates between 1594 and 1597. One of these is as much as £100, one as low as 2*s.* 6*d.*, and the most interesting is £3 lent to him 'in presen' or 'in the marshallse' (**235** 29, 30, 32; **234** 7–12; **234**^{v} 5, 7–9; the last two sets of entries being duplicates). Whether these refer to Arthur Langworth may be questioned.

LANGWORTH (JOHN).

('m^{r} langworth'.) Agreement with Alleyn concerning the parsonage of Firle (**24** 3). See under Langworth, Arthur.

LAWRENCE, THOMAS.

('lawrence, larance'.) Undated memorandum concerning transactions with Alleyn in regard to timber (**159** 9).

LAWSSON, THOMAS.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head at 20*s.*, 1604 (**177** 18).

LEE, ——.

Timber merchant. Received payment from Henslowe for timber, 28 Mar. 159[1/]2? (**5**^{v} 10).

LEE, ROBERT.

Player. He sold 'a boock called the myller' to the Admiral's men for 20*s.*, 22 Feb. 1598 (**44**^{v} 8). Lee is first heard of in the plot of the *Dead Man's Fortune*, which may be as early as 1593 (Apx. II. 2); he was then with the Chamberlain's men. In 1603–4 he is found among the Queen's men (Fleay, *Stage*, p. 191, there is no reason to suspect the document), and was therefore probably with Worcester's men before this. When the Chamberlain's men moved to the Globe in 1599, Kemp, Beeston, Duke and Pallant separated from the rest and reappear among Worcester's men in 1602. Probably Lee went with them, the fact that he was not a sharer sufficing to account for the non-appearance of his name in Henslowe's accounts. He was still with the Queen's men when they became the Children of the Revels in 1619, and is last heard of 8 July 1622 (Fleay, *Stage*, p. 297). A Robert Lee, of London, gent., entered together with John Allen, innholder, and Thomas Goodale, mercer, into a bond to Edward Alleyn, 18 May 1593 (MS. IV. 29). There was also a Robert Lee, 'Esquire,' to whom Greene dedicated the second part of *Mamilla* in 1593; of course quite a different person.

LEICESTER, LORD.

Chettle borrowed money 'to areste one w$^{\text{th}}$ lord lester,' 3 Nov. 1598? (**51**$^{\text{v}}$ 10). Robert Dudley, however, died in 1588, and the title lapsed till his nephew Robert Sidney became first Earl of the fifth creation in 1618. If 'lester' is rightly interpreted as Leicester I can only suppose that it refers to Sir Robert Dudley, the son of Elizabeth's favourite by Douglas widow of Lord Sheffield, who about 1597 was vainly endeavouring to establish his legitimacy and consequent right to the earldoms of Leicester and Warwick.

LINCE, TEGE.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head at £2, 1604 (**177**$^{\text{v}}$ 35).

LOWE, WILLIAM.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head at £1, 1604 (**177**$^{\text{v}}$ 30).

LOWIN, JOHN.

('lewen, lowen, lowine, lowyn'.) Player, Worcester's man. He authorized payment on behalf of Worcester's men, 12 Nov. 1602 (**118** 4) to 12 Mar. 1603 (**113**$^{\text{v}}$ 14), on which day he borrowed 5*s.* of Henslowe on going with the company to play in the country. We find him and his wife dining with Alleyn 13 Aug. 1620 (MS. IX; Young, ii. p. 186). It seems that he had married Joane Hall, widow, at St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, 29 Oct. 1607 (Collier, *Actors*, p. 171).

LUTTRELL, SIMON.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head at £1, 1604 (**177** 16).

LYNGARE, WILLIAM.

Acquittance on behalf of himself and Richard Calverley to Henslowe for £3, for goods delivered to Richard Vycars, 31 Aug. 1595 (**98**$^{\text{v}}$ 9).

MAGET, STEVEN.

('maget(t' 'steuen the tyerman'.) Tireman. He bought goods of Henslowe and paid by instalments, 20 Jan. 1595/6 and 27 May 1596 (**16** 12, **23** 1). He also borrowed money from Henslowe on behalf of the Admiral's men for properties 3 Dec. 1596 (**22**$^{\text{v}}$ 21). We also find mention of 'the tyer man' on 14 Aug. 1601 (**92**$^{\text{v}}$ 34), whether the same or not it is impossible to say. There is a Stephen mentioned in the Plot of *Troilus and Cressida* (?), probably dating from 1599, as playing the part of a beggar, possibly as mute, who may have been Steven Maget (Apx. II. 5).

MALBORNE, JOHN.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head at 26*s.* 8*d.*, 1604 (**177** 20).

MARBECKE, RICHARD.

Tenant of Henslowe at £6 (cancelled), 1602/3 (**178** 11).

'MARCUM.'

Received 30*s.* from Alleyn, who borrowed it of Henslowe, 25 May 1596 (**71**^{v} 8).

MASSYE, CHARLES.

('mas(s)(e)y(e', autograph as above.) Player, Admiral's man. He bound himself under a penalty of £40 to play at Henslowe's house, i. e. the Rose (or rather with Henslowe's company, i. e. the Admiral's men), for 'a yeare & as mvche as to shraftide' (i. e. Shrovetide), 16 Nov. 1598 (**230**^{v} 2). He was, however, not a hired man but a sharer, as appears from his signing the acknowledgment of the company's debt to Henslowe, 8/13 Mar. 1598 (**44**^{v} 24; see however p. 101). He signed another acknowledgment, 10 July 1600 (**70** 12), and Henslowe appended his name to the reckoning of 7/23 Feb. 1601/2 (**104** 26). He also appears as witness, 25 Jan. 1599? (**20**^{v} 15), and borrowed 20*s.* and 10*s.* of Henslowe 9/30 Apr. and 3 Dec. 1600 (**24**^{v} 4, 17). On 18 Apr. 1602 he received £5 from the Admiral's men 'for a playe Boocke' called *Malcolm King of Scots* (231, **105** 14), and on 7 Mar. 1602/3, £2 in earnest of the *Siege of Dunkirk* (257, **109**^{v} 2). There seems no reason to question his authorship of these pieces, though as we have no other evidence of his literary activity, it is impossible to speak confidently on the point. Certainly neither was an old play. An interesting letter of c. 1613 from Massye to Alleyn respecting a loan is preserved (MS. I. 67), from which it appears that he still belonged to the Prince's company. With this company he remained when, on the death of Prince Henry, it passed under the patronage of the Elector Palatine. He was joint lessee, with the other sharers, of the Fortune under a lease from Alleyn granted 31 Oct. 1618 (Mun. 56), and lessee of one twenty-fourth part of the ground for the rebuilding of the same house under another lease from Alleyn granted 20 May 1622, by which he undertook to contribute £41. 13. 4 towards the erection of the new playhouse (Mun. 58), and further witnessed a similar lease of one-twelfth part to Margaret Grey, 29 Jan. 1623/4 (Mun. 63). We find him dining with Alleyn 18 Mar., 15 Apr. 1621 and 21 July 1622, on which last occasion he was accompanied by his cousin Ned Collins; while on 19 Nov. 1621 we find Alleyn giving him 5*s.* 'att His playe,' a slight confirmation of his literary ventures (MS. IX; Young, ii. pp. 202, 204, 246, 224). It appears from a bill in Chancery of Nov. 1637 that he died before 6 Dec. 1635, leaving a widow Elianor, and that his interest in the Fortune passed, with that of Alleyn himself and others, to Edward Marrant and John Roods (Mun. 115). Of his history previous to 1598 little is known, but he belonged to the Admiral's men previous to their amalgamation with Pembroke's, for his name appears in the Plot of *Frederick and Basilea* belonging to 3 June 1597 (Apx. II. 3). He was not then a sharer, nor was he at the time of the amalgamation, 11 Oct. the same year (see **43**^{v} 4–5). He appears also in other plots, being always referred to by his Christian name (Apx. II. 4, 6, 7). He was throughout his career intimately associated with Samuel Rowley, their records being almost identical except that Rowley never held any interest in the Fortune.

MASON, ——.

Host of the Queen's Head tavern (?). The Admiral's men authorized Henslowe to spend £1 'toward ther supe to m^{r} mason at the quenes head,' 3 Aug. 1601 (**92** 15).

'MATHEW.'

Arthur Langworth's man. He received loans of 10*s.* and 50*s.* from Henslowe on behalf of Langworth, 20 and 29 June 1604 (**89** 3, 6).

MAULTHOUSE, John.

('mavlthouse, mavlthowse' autograph; otherwise 'malthous, malthowes, malthowse.') Acquittance to Henslowe for a part payment of £6 'consaning a bargen of the beargarden,' 28 Nov. 1595 (**38** 6). Acquittance to Henslowe for a payment of £2 'Jn part of the bargen for the Tenymtę on the bankę syd,' 19 Dec. 1595 (**22** 4). Acquittance to Henslowe by Hugh Wrene on his behalf for a part payment of £20, 21 Jan. 1596 (**22** 16, cf. **22** 9, duplicate draft). Acquittance to Henslowe for a part payment of £4, 2 Feb. 1596 (**22** 23). These payments were evidently for the four tenements mentioned under 'm^{r} malthowes Rentę' in 1602 which brought in a yearly sum of £15. 6. 8, one being rented by Alleyn at £10 (**178** 21). We also find an undated account of legal expenses headed 'M^{r} malthowes Recknyinge' summed as £4. 12. 11 (rather £4. 7. 2) which probably refers to the same purchase (**19** 1). The entry in connection with this account, 'ttottalis—131^{ll}–06^{s}–11^{d},' may indicate the total sum paid by Henslowe for the property, from which he was still drawing rent in 1606 and 1609 (MS. XVIII. 6). This may have been the messuage on the Bankside known as The Barge, the Bell and the Cock, the assignment of which from John Whit of Southwark to John Malthowes, is dated 5 Feb. 1589 (MS. IV. 21), and which was assigned by Edward and Matthias Alleyn (according to the will of the former, proved 13 Dec. 1626) to Sir Nicholas Carew and Sir Thomas Grymes (*Alleyn Papers*, p. xxii).

MAXTON, ——.

('the new poete'.) He received £2 from the Admiral's men in earnest of an unnamed play, 28 Sept. 1599 (**64**^{v} 6). The interlinear gloss 'm^{r} mastone' is probably a forgery inserted in order to connect the entry with John Marston. It is quite possible that that dramatist may be meant, though there is no evidence bearing upon the point.

MIDDLETON, THOMAS.

(' m^{r} mydel(l)ton ' ' medelton ' ' midelton ' ' mydelton '.) Playwright. With one exception the entries in the Diary connect Middleton with the Admiral's men. The plays in which he was concerned for that company were:—*Caesar's Fall* (*Two Shapes*, 236), 22, 29 May 1602, with Dekker, Drayton, Munday and Webster (**105**^{v} 28, **106** 16); *Randal, Earl of Chester* (248), 21 Oct., 9 Nov. 1602, alone (**108** 8, 22); *Friar Bacon* (250^{a}), for which he wrote a prologue and epilogue, 14 Dec. 1602 (**108**^{v} 11); the *Patient Man and the Honest Whore* (260), before 14 Mar. 1604 (?), with Dekker (**110** 2). He also received one payment, on 3 Oct. 1602, in earnest of an unnamed play (269) for Worcester's men (**116**^{v} 21).

MIDELTON, JOHN.

(' midel(l)ton '.) Witness, 6 Aug. 1597 (**232**^{v} 10, 15).

MOWNTE, ROBERT.

Tenant of Henslowe, holding a house under James Russell's lease at £2. 10, and a garden under the same lease at £1. 4, 1602/3 (**177**^{v} 7, 19), and paying by his lease two capons at Christmas, 1604 (**177** 8). The original lease from Russell to Robert Mount, basket-maker, of two cottages and land on the Bankside in the parish of St. Saviour, at £2. 10 is dated 20 June 1601 (Mun. 123). There was also a John Mownte of whom Henslowe held lands in 1606 (MS. XVIII. 6).

MOWSHURSTE, ——.

(' goody mowshurste '.) William Henslowe bought her a hat, 29 Apr. 1593 (**125**^{v} 19).

MUNDAY, ANTHONY.

(' monday(e, mund(a)y(e '.) Playwright. We only find Munday connected in the Diary with the Admiral's men for whom he wrote from Dec. 1597 to Dec. 1602 with several breaks, the most important being between Aug. 1598 and Oct. 1599 and between June 1600 and Oct. 1601, while minor ones occur between Jan. and June 1600 and between May and Dec. 1602. He once appears as a witness, 25 Mar. 1598? (**231** 20). The list of his plays is as follows: *Mother Redcap* (122), 22, 28 Dec. 1597, 5 Jan. 1598, with Drayton (**43**^{v} 33, 35, **44** 3, **37**^{v} 25, 26); 1 *Robin Hood* (125), 15 Feb. 1598, alone (**44** 30); 2 *Robin Hood* (127), 20, 28 Feb. 1598, with Chettle, who also revised both parts the following Nov. (**44** 30, **44**^{v} 5, 13); the *Funeral of Richard Cœur-de-Lion* (137), 17, 23 June 1598, with Chettle, Drayton and Wilson (**46**^{v} 7, 15); *Valentine and Orson* (143), 19 July 1598, with Hathway (**47**^{v} 25); an unnamed comedy for court (146), 9 Aug. 1598 (**49** 9), the entry, however, being cancelled; *Chance Medley* (148), 19 Aug. 1598, with Chettle or Dekker, Drayton and Wilson (**49** 24), Munday's share being specified as 25*s.*; 1 and 2 *Sir John Oldcastle* (185–6), 16 Oct., 1/8 Nov. 1599, with Drayton, Munday and Wilson (**65** 8, 22), including a bonus on the first performance of Pt. I; *Owen Tudor* (194), 10/18 Jan. 1600, with Drayton, Hathway and Wilson (**67** 11); 1 *Fair Constance of Rome* (208), 3, 14 June 1600, with Dekker, Drayton and Hathway (**69ᵛ** 9, 15), also probably 2 *Fair Constance* (209), 20 June, with the same (**69ᵛ** 24); the *Rising of Cardinal Wolsey* (225), 10 Oct., 9, 12 Nov. 1601, with Chettle, Drayton and Smith (**94** 20, **94ᵛ** 24, 28); *Jephthah* (234), 5 May 1602, with Dekker (**105ᵛ** 2, **114** 4); *Caesar's Fall* (*Two Shapes*, 236), 22, 29 May 1602, with Dekker, Drayton, Middleton and Webster (**105ᵛ** 27, **106** 17); the *Set at Tennis* (250), 2 Dec. 1602, alone (**108ᵛ** 5).

NEWMAN, ——.

(' mʳ newman dier'.) He received £2 on taking John Henslowe as his apprentice, 3/5 June 1595? (**41ᵛ** 5, cf. **124** 23 duplicate under date 1596). The money was advanced by Philip Henslowe, who was likewise a dyer. Whether this ' mʳ newman' was the same as Thomas Newman is not known.

NEWMAN, THOMAS.

Acquittance from Henslowe for a part payment of £2 on a bond, 10 Jan. 1593 (?); also acquittance from Henslowe to R. Waltame for a part payment of £2 on a bond of his, 27 Dec. 1593 (**2** 14, 21). Perhaps the same as the dyer above. There was also a Thomas Newman, of Newington, smith, who received legacies under the will of Isabel Savage, of Peckham, widow, dated 17 Apr. and proved 21 July 1597 (Mun. 411); and again the Thomas Newman of the Inner Temple, son-in-law to Isabel Keyes, mentioned in documents dated Apr. and 13 May 1605 (Mun. 132, 133).

' NICK.'

(' nycke'.) The Admiral's men bought hose for him to tumble in before Queen Elizabeth, 25 Dec. 1601 (**95ᵛ** 13). He is mentioned together with Jeames [Bristow] in a letter from Joan Alleyn to her husband, 21 Oct. 1603 (MS. I. 38).

NYCOWLLES, ROBERT.

Player. Witness to a loan from Philip to Francis Henslowe, 1 June 1595, and may, therefore, have belonged to the same company as the latter (**3ᵛ** 13).

OCKLEY (OR OCKEY), JOHN.

Lorimer or Bit-maker. Entered, in company with Nicholas Dame, into an agreement with Henslowe and Alleyn for the manufacture of starch, whereby the latter were to provide free of rent a house and ground to keep hogs on, the former all appliances for starch making, while Henslowe and Alleyn were to receive three-fourths of the profits (**204** 5); the date is not given but it was apparently before

4 Feb. 1601/2 (?) when Ockley acknowledged a debt of £5 to Henslowe and Alleyn, to be paid 'at the saylle of ther starce' (**112** 10).

OGELL, ——.

The Admiral's men borrowed 10*s*. of Henslowe 'to geue vnto father ogell & other thinges,' 10 Feb. 1599/1600 (**67**^{v} 15).

OLFELLD, JOHN.

Made his mark as witness, 29 Sept. 1601 (**97**^{v} 19).

OWER, ——.

('m^{r} ower'.) Henslowe rented property of him at £14, part of which he sub-let to Sledmore or Juby at £7, 1602/3 (**178**^{v} 4, **178** 42).

PAGE, ——.

('m^{r} page'.) Tenant of Henslowe in Windover's rents, at £1, 1602/3 (**178** 41).

PALLANT, ROBERT.

('palante'.) Player, Worcester's man. He authorized payment on behalf of Worcester's men, 26 Nov. 1602 (**118** 22). This is the only time the Diary mentions the name of this well-known actor. As Strange's man he had performed in 2 *Seven Deadly Sins* at the Rose in 1592, his name appearing in the plot (Apx. II. 1). We next find him in the documents as joining the Lady Elizabeth's men in June 1614 (MS. I. 106. l. 41), though from an allusion in a letter of Daborne's to Henslowe he seems to have been connected with that company as early as 28 Mar. previously, when he was much discontented with Henslowe's neglect of him (MS. I. 97). He signed the articles with Alleyn and Meade for the discharge of the company's debt to Henslowe, 20 Mar. 1616 (MS. I. 107), and also the undated letter to Alleyn in complaint of Meade (MS. I. 110).

PALLMER, JOHN.

Groom of the Chamber to Queen Elizabeth. He borrowed sums of Henslowe, viz. £1, 5 Feb. 1598/9 (?); 5*s*., 8 July 1599, 'when he playd a shove grate [i. e. at shove-groat, a well-known game] at the cort'; and £2, 7 Apr. [1599]1600 (?), for which he gave his bond, while at some later date he further owed Henslowe 55*s*. 'w^{ch} was my wages [? as Groom] w^{ch} he tocke vp & spent at his wiffes linge in' (**31**^{v} 1, 5, 11, 16). His name as groom is appended to a warrant dated 26 Jan. 1599, in which it appears immediately above Henslowe's, and again in another dated 24 Nov. 1602 (B. M., MS. Add. 5750, fols. 116, 117). Perhaps John Palmer (p. 10).

PALLMER, JOHN, HIS WIFE.

As above (**31**^{v} 18).

PARSON, ——.

('goody parson'.) Tenant of Henslowe in the Rose rents, at 26*s*. 8*d*., 1602/3 (**178** 30).

PARSONES, THOMAS.

Thomas Downton's boy. Fetched money on behalf of the Admiral's men from Henslowe for properties, 16 (?) Apr. 1599 (**54**^{v} 30). He appears as a boy actor in the plots of the *Battle of Alcazar*, c. 1598, and 1 *Tamar Cam*, 1602 (Apx. II. 4, 7). Fleay assigns him to Pembroke's men in 1597, but I think this must be a mistake.

PARSONS, WILLIAM.

He brought a suit, conjointly with Nan Henslowe, in the spiritual court, against Forlonge, 1609 (**124**^{v} 4). Probably the William Parsons or Persons, of Southwark, waterman, who occupied a tenement in a messuage on the Bankside leased by William Henslowe, of Buxted, Sussex, to Jacob Meade, of St. Saviour's, Southwark, waterman, 20 June 1617 (Mun. 171), and who is mentioned as engaged in some dispute with Alleyn in a letter to the latter from Edward Ferrers, 13 Apr. 1619 (MS. III. 82). The date of his marriage with Nan Henslowe is July–Aug. 1616, and we find a bill of complaint in Chancery, dated 18 May 1625, of him and his wife, against Alleyn, praying for an injunction to stay his suit against them on a bond for £500, on the ground that he had obtained the same by an unfulfilled promise to procure for them from Agnes Henslowe a lease for 21 years, or the term of her life, of messuages, &c., called the 'Boares head,' on the Bankside, in Southwark, which had been bequeathed her by Philip Henslowe, her husband, for life, with remainder to the said Anne Persons, his niece (Mun. 182).

PARE, ——.

('goodman pare'.) Henslowe received his rent for a house in Westminster, after 22 Apr. 1599 (**43** 20), and paid it over to Mrs. Keyes, after 15 May (**42**^{v} 20). There was a Richard Pare, of Dulwich, husbandman, a lease to whom, of land in Dulwich (2 acres, MS. V. 2. *C*), from Alleyn is dated 20 Oct. 1611, with note of re-entry, 30 Nov. 1613 (Mun. 544).

PASCHALL, WILLIAM.

Of Maplestead, Essex, esquire, gentleman sewer to Queen Elizabeth and an officer of the Lord Chamberlain. Acknowledged debts of £5 and £10 to Henslowe, 14 June and 28 Sept. 1599 (**90** 16, **102** 14). Received 55*s*. from Henslowe for a horse on approval, which failed to give satisfaction, 28 Dec. 1599 (**89**^{v} 1). Received on behalf of the Lord Chamberlain from Henslowe £10 in part of £20, 28 Mar. 1600 (**90**^{v} 5). Entered notes, unsigned and undated, in Henslowe's Diary respecting Herin's (?) Farm, Hampnet, nr. Northleach, co. Gloucester (**111**^{v}). He is mentioned in a letter from Henslowe to Alleyn, 26 Sept. 1598 (MS. I. 24).

PERKINS, RICHARD.

('perckens, perckyns'.) Player, Worcester's man. He authorized payment on behalf of Worcester's men, 4 Sept. 1592 (**114** 18), borrowed 10*s*. from Henslowe when he rode down with the company to play in the country, 12 Mar. 16023 (**114** 22). These are the earliest records of this actor. He was later with the Queen's men (1603–19), the Revels' company (1619–23), the King's men (1623–5) and Queen Henrietta's men (1626–37), according to Fleay (*Stage*, p. 374). His portrait is at Dulwich.

'PETER'.

Henslowe's soldier, i. e. the soldier furnished and armed by him. Expenses for four days' training, 1596 (**20** 9, **21** 8). We also find an account for one day's training for 'my soger this laste traynynge the seamsters husband', undated, whether referring to 'Peter' or not is doubtful (**20** 21). We learn from a letter of Henslowe's to Alleyn, 14 Aug. 1593, that one Peter had brought the former a letter and a horse from the latter while he was travelling in the country (MS. I. 13). It may be the same man.

PETT, ——.

('m^r Pett'.) He appears in conjunction with Haughton as receiving £6 from the Admiral's men in full payment of *Strange News out of Poland* (205), on 17 May 1600 (**69** 27). He is not otherwise known.

PHILLIPES, EDWARD.

From a copy (or rather a draft?) of a letter dated 9 Feb. 1593 (?) from Henslowe to Vahan, whom he holds responsible, we learn that Phillipes had made a re-entry into a house called the Corner House, which Henslowe held as executor under his brother Edmond's will in trust for the said Edmond's children (**72** 3). After this we find a long account of expenses incurred 'to defend the Sute a geanst edward phillipes' dated 5 May 1593. It would seem that either the property involved was at Grinstead or that Phillipes lived there, for we find Henslowe going there 'to treye an Jsapryse [i. e. a *nisi prius*] be twext edward phillipes & me a bowt the lockyeares.' The Lockyers was, it would seem, the name of the house. Henslowe also preferred a bill in the Star Chamber against Phillipes and others for perjury (**41** 2, 16, 25; cf. **123** 8, 16). There is one phrase in Henslowe's letter to Vahan which deserves a word of explanation. Phillipes, says Henslowe, has threatened him with an action and has brought it to an exegent. It would seem that when Phillipes commenced proceedings Henslowe failed to appear to answer the charge and indeed allowed the prosecution to proceed by successive writs of 'venire facias,' 'distringas,' 'capias,' as far as that known as 'exegent.' If he still refused to answer the summons the next step would be to obtain judgement of outlawry, so at this point Henslowe evidently thought it necessary to appear, but at the same time wrote to Vahan intimating that he would be held responsible should the title to the property prove defective. The matter is further discussed under Henslowe, Edmond. It is possible that Edward Phillipes may have been

Alleyn's brother-in-law, for the latter mentions his 'sister phillyps' more than once in his correspondence with Henslowe in 1593 (MS. I. 11, 14; cf. p. 6). He may possibly have also been the writer of an undated letter to Alleyn signed E. Philippes, thanking him for a gift and a 'most loving letter' (MS. III. 118). If so he was a man of education, for the letter contains a passage of Greek.

PIG (OR PYK), JOHN.

('pyge, pigge', the Christian name does not appear in the Diary; autograph signature 'John pyk,' but always known as 'Pig'.) Boy player. From a comparison of two entries, undated but belonging to Dec. 1597, it appears that he acted the title rôle in *Alice Pierce* (120), a play performed about that date by the amalgamated Admiral's and Pembroke's men (**37**^{v} 11, cf. **43**^{v} 21). He appears as witness 27 Mar. 159[8/]9 (**61**^{v} 10). A letter from him to Mrs. Alleyn, undated but evidently while travelling in the country in 1593 (?), is preserved (MS. I. 15). His name occurs in the Admiral's inventories of 1598 (Apx. I. 1. l. 38) and also in two of the Plots, *Frederick and Basilea* and *Troilus and Cressida* ? (Apx. II. 3, 5), in 1597 and 1599 (?). He also appears (as John Pik) as witness to a deed dated 17 Aug. 1594 (MS. IV. 30).

PIGAT, ——.

('goodman pigat, pegette'.) Tenant of Henslowe (in succession to Goody Renowlles and at £3 ?) 1602/3 (**178** 8), paying by his lease one capon at Shrovetide (**177** 10).

PLAYSTOWE, WILLIAM.

Servant to the Master of the Revels. Acquittances on behalf of Tilney to Henslowe each for £3, dated 9 Jan., 9 Feb., 28 Apr., 24 May 1600, 31 July 1601, and 8 July 1602 (**81**^{v} 22, 27, **82** 7, 13, **83**^{v} 7, **101** 14). Another similar acquittance, together with a list of plays for the licence of which money was owing, bears the date 4 Aug. 1602 (MS. I. 37).

POPE, ——.

Memorandum by Henslowe, dated 25 June 1603, of an interview with Mr. Pope concerning the renewal of a lease of the 'littell Roosse' and the contemplated demolition of the playhouse (**114**^{v} 1). Possibly Morgan Pope who held some interest in the Bear Garden, though he is not otherwise heard of after 1585 (Mun. 7 and MS. VIII). Possibly, on the other hand, and I think more probably, Thomas Pope, of the Chamberlain's (King's) men, who were at this date, of course, in occupation of the Globe on the Bankside.

POPE, THOMAS.

Birde borrowed 10*s.* of Henslowe, 30 Aug. 1598, 'to folowe the sewt agenst

Thomas poope.' Probably the well-known member of the Chamberlain's company. Since the debt was a private one the suit presumably was too, and had nothing to do with the Admiral's men. Pope was no doubt with Strange's men when Alleyn was travelling with them in 1593 and sent a letter home by 'Thomas popes kinsman' on 1 Aug. (MS. I. 11); he appears in the Plot of 2 *Seven Deadly Sins* (Apx. II. 1).. He was one of the members of Leicester's company who were abroad in 1586-7, and is found with Strange's and the Chamberlain's men from 1589 to 1603 (Fleay, *Stage*, p. 374). His will, dated 22 July 1603, was proved 13 Feb. 1603/4 (Collier, *Actors*, p. 128).

PORTER, HENRY.

('(m^r^) (harey) Po(o)rter'; autograph 'Henr Porter'.) Playwright. Porter's career is only known from the Diary and a mention by Meres in 1598. Of his *Two Angry Women of Abington* two editions appeared with his name in 1599. He is first mentioned as receiving a payment of £5 and a oan of £4 from the Admiral's men on 16 Dec. 1596 and 7 Mar. 1597 respectively (**22**^{v} 29, 31). On 26 June 1598 he was surety for an advance to Chettle (**47** 3). On 17 Jan. and 7 Apr. 1599 he received further loans from the company (**53** 26, **54**^{v} 4, **62** 9), and again from Henslowe four small sums between 11 Apr. and 15 May (**30** 1-5). Of these the second, dated 16 Apr., of the sum of 12*d.* is cancelled. Of this transaction we get further information in an entry from which it appears that on the same date Porter, on condition of receiving 12*d.* on the spot, bound himself in £10 to pay a debt of 25*s.* the next day, which he failed to do, thereby forfeiting his bond (**229**^{v} 1). Finally on 26 May Porter acknowledged a further debt to Henslowe of 10*s.* (**30** 7, 11), and so disappears from sight. His record of authorship, all for the Admiral's men, is as follows: *Love Prevented* (136), 30 May 1598, alone (**46** 16); *Hot Anger soon Cold* (147), 18 Aug. 1598, with Chettle and Jonson (**49** 21); 2 *Two Angry Women of Abington* (162), 22 Dec. 1598, 12 Feb. 1599, alone (**52**^{v} 11, **53**^{v} 12); the *Two Merry Women of Abington* (169), 28 Feb. 1599, alone (**54** 1); the *Spencers* (170), 4, 22 Mar. 1599, with Chettle (**54** 13, 21).

PULESTON, WILLIAM.

Servant to John Willett, mercer. Received payment on behalf of his master from Worcester's men, 16 Mar. 1602/3, Willett having apparently caused John Duke to be committed to the Clinck for the company's debt (**120**^{v} 10).

PULLFERDE, WILLIAM.

Of Paul's Churchyard, tailor. His servant, Charles Rose, sold a dublet and hose to Henslowe for 58*s.*, 28 Nov. 1598 (**131** 2).

RADFORD, ——.

('Radf(f)ord' known as 'the littell tayller' to distinguish him from Dover.)

Received payment from the Admiral's men for properties, 5 May, 20 Aug., 10 Oct. and 13 Nov. 1601 (**86**^{v} 29, **93** 7, **94** 15, **95** 2).

RANKINS, William.

(Autograph as above; otherwise 'Rankens' 'Rancken(e)s' 'Rancken(e'.) Playwright. Rankins is another of those for whose dramatic career we are entirely dependent on the Diary. He, or some one of his name, had previously written against stage plays. He appears in connection with the Admiral's men only, from whom he received payment for *Mulmutius Dunwallow* (154) as early as 3 Oct. 1598 (**50**^{v} 17). His subsequent activity is confined to the early months of 1601. Thus we find: *Hannibal and Scipio* (212), 3, 11, 12 Jan. 1601, with Hathway (**71** 17, 21, 24, **31**^{v} 19, 23); *Skogan and Skelton* (213), 23, 26 Jan., 5, 8 Feb., 8 Mar. 1601, with the same (**71** 30, **85**^{v} 4, 13, 17, **86** 2); the *Conquest of Spain by John of Gaunt* (215), 24 Mar., 4, 11, 16 Apr. 1601, with the same (**86** 10, 22, 29, **86**^{v} 1). Rankins and Hathway also obtained a small loan from Henslowe, 20/27 Apr. 1601 (**86**^{v} 10). That in the partnership it was Hathway who dealt with the company would seem likely from a letter from Rowley to Henslowe begging him to 'let m^{r} hathwaye haue his papers againe of the playe of John a gante' (MS. I. 33).

RAYE, Ralph.

('my lorde chamberlenes man'.) He borrowed £10 of Henslowe, (undated, **3**^{v} 3). The letter begging for the loan is now at Dulwich: Ralphe Raye to Phyllyp Hentchloe, praying him for a month's loan of 'the ould proportyon for which I had wont to be behouldyng vnto yow,' the writer being ill; Somerset House, 13 May 1594; with acknowledgement below of £10 received and borrowed (Young, ii. p. 328). This document was sold in the Collier sale in Aug. 1884 and went to America, but was returned to the College in 1888 by the then owner.

RENOWLLES, ——.

('goody Reno(w)(e)l(l)(e)s widow'.) Tenant of Henslowe at £3, 1602/3 (**178** 9), but evicted for non-payment of rent (she seems to have paid only 10*s*.), 26 Nov. 1603 (**179** 3), and succeeded by Pigat. In 1604 Henslowe confirmed a lease granted by her to Dardes, 18 Eliz., whereby a capon was to be paid to Henslowe at St. Andrew's tide (**178**^{v} 18, cf. **177** 5). She may possibly have been Anne, widow of Edmond Reynoldes, of Dulwich (alive, 28 Aug. 1600, Mun. 427), who married, before 26 Oct. 1604, George Addams, of Dulwich, yeoman (Mun. 451), later of Luton, who jointly with her assigned leases to Henslowe, 24 Jan. 1606/7 (Mun. 504).

REVES, ——.

Birde borrowed 10*s*. of Henslowe, 22 Dec. 1598, 'when the widow came to m^{rs} Reues to super' (**41**^{v} 34).

RICHARDSON, ——.

('goodman Richardson'.) Tenant of Henslowe in the Rose rents at £2, 1602/3 (**178** 33).

RIDLEY, THOMAS.

('m^{r} doctor Ridle(y),' no Christian name in Diary.) Henslowe paid him a fee of 6*s.* 8*d.* in connection with the administration of his brother Edmond's will, 1592 (**40** 12) or 1593 (**122**^{v} 27). Evidently Thomas Ridley, LL.D., vicar-general of the Bishop of Winchester, who signed the probate of a will, 21 July 1597 (Mun. 411).

ROBARTES, ——.

He sold a lease to Alleyn for £22, 1 Mar./5 July 1594 (**235** 22). The assignment ought to be among the Dulwich documents, and we do in fact find one by John Lever to George Robertes of the manor-house of Dulwich, dated 25 June 1573, but the lease so assigned expired at Michaelmas 1581. The only other Robartes traceable is Edward, the waterman, who signed the petition of c. Aug. 1592 (MS. I. 17).

ROBINSONE, ——.

He received, on 9 Sept. 1602, £3 from the Admiral's men in part payment of a tragedy called *Felmelanco* (244), subsequent payments for which were made to Chettle (**107**^{v} 9). It was possibly one of the cases in which Chettle had pawned an unfinished play. A Thomas Robinson was joint lessee of the rebuilt Fortune, but that was between 1622 and 1639 (MS. I. 116).

ROBSONE, ——.

Witness, 10 Aug. 1597 (**232** 14).

ROCKETT, ELIZABETH.

('m^{rs} Rockette', without Christian name.) Tenant of Henslowe at 43*s.* 4*d.*, 1602/3 (**178** 14). No doubt the wife or, probably, widow of Gilbert, as below, formerly wife of Wystoc, or Wistow. It appears that her marriage must have taken place between 16 June and 20 Aug. 1596.

ROCKETT, GILBERT.

Memorandum of declaration by him, made 16 June 1596 at the Hind on the Bankside, affirming Henslowe to be his eldest son and heir and granting him a house in the occupation of a widow formerly belonging to Mr. Wistow (**18**^{v} 18). The house was evidently the messuage on the Bankside, in the parish of St. Saviour, the lease of which was granted by Robert Lyvesey, of Tooteingebeake, Surrey, and Gerrard Gore, of London, merchant, to Rockett, on the surrender of a former lease to Elizabeth Wystoc, widow, now his wife, 20 Aug. 1596 (Mun. 114). Rockett was one of the Queen's watermen who signed the petition of c. Aug. 1592 (MS. I. 17).

ROGERS, ROBERT.

Workman. Received various payments in connection with Alleyn's house, from Nov. 1592 onwards (**237–238**).

ROOSSE, ELIZABETH.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head, at 26*s.* 8*d.*, 1604 (**177**v 23).

ROSSE, CHARLES.

('Ros(s)e'.) Servant to William Pullferde of Paul's Churchyard, tailor. He sold a doublet and hose to Henslowe for 58*s.*, 28 Nov. 1598 (**131** 13).

ROSSE, JAMES.

Joiner. Joint security for the production of William Dixon's bitch, 29 Sept. 1601 (**97**v 15).

ROWDEN, ——.

('goody Rowden'.) She paid rent for Midsummer quarter, 10*s.*, and on 18 Oct. 1593, 7*s.* 10*d.*, to Joan Alleyn (1v 4, 7), no doubt as tenant of Edward Alleyn then in the country.

ROWLEY, SAMUEL.

Player and playwright. Admiral's man. Rowley's name first appears as a witness on 3 Aug. 1597 (**233** 32). He was among the sharers who acknowledged the company debt, 8/13 Mar. 1598 (**44**v 25), as also on 10 July 1600 (**70** 13), and 7/23 Feb. 1602 (**104** 25), though in the last case the names are not autograph. On 16 Nov. he and Massye became Henslowe's covenant servants binding themselves till Shrovetide year not to play at any public house but his (**230**v 2). This makes their position with regard to the company doubtful, a question which has been discussed elsewhere (p. 101). Rowley's name again appears as witness on 30 Jan. 1599 (**101** 9), and frequently as authorizing payments between 12 Dec. 1598 (**52**v 4) and 29 July 1602 (**107** 19). On 20 and 24 Dec. 1601 he and Birde received £6 in full payment for *Judas* (228c, **95** 30, **95**v 10). They may have been working on a plot or sketch supplied by Haughton (207). On 27 Sept. 1602 Rowley received £7 in payment of a play called *Joshua* (247) in which he was apparently unaided (**108** 1). Again on 22 Nov. he and Birde received, for additions to *Doctor Faustus* (249a), no less a sum than £4 (**108**v 2). Two later plays by him are extant, namely, *When you see me, you know me*, played by the Prince's men and printed in 1605, and the *Noble Soldier*, printed as by S. R. in 1634. Rowley acted in *Frederick and Basilea* in 1597, the *Battle of Alcazar*, c. 1598, *Fortune's Tennis* (?), c. 1599, and 1 *Tamar Cam* in 1602 (Apx. II. 3, 4, 6, 7). Some of his notes to Henslowe concerning the business of the company are preserved from 1601 (MS. I. 32–35, Apx. I. 5). Whether he or William is the 'mr Rowley' mentioned by Haris Joones in connection with her rents is uncertain (MS. I. 112).

RUSSELL, James.

He sold a boat to Henslowe for his nephew John, for £5 (undated; **41**^{v} 22, **124** 28). In 1602 Henslowe held 16 tenements, &c., on a lease from Russell, yielding £50. 6. 4 in rent, of which a house and yards were occupied by Russell himself at a rent of £20. The history of this property is fully illustrated in the Dulwich muniments. A lease from Richard Woar, dyer, to James Russell, of St. Saviour's, shipwright, of a messuage, &c., in the parish of St. Saviour, is dated 3 Aug. 1593 (Mun. 101); on 2 Jan. 1594/5 Russell leased to John Smythe, of St. Saviour's, waterman, a tenement, part of a messuage inhabited by him (Russell) at 40*s.* (Mun. 105, cf. **177**^{v} 13); on 20 June 1601 Russell leased to Robert Mount, basket-maker, two cottages and land on the Bankside at 50*s.* (Mun. 123, cf. **177**^{v} 7); on 18 Sept. 1602 Russell mortgaged his lease from Woar to Cuthbert Hackett, dyer, for £100 (Mun. 128), and lastly on 5 Mar. 1602/3 assigned the said lease to Henslowe for £210 (Mun. 129). From Henslowe it passed by will to his widow (Mun. 53). Consequently the date Lady Day 1602 in Henslowe's rent accounts (**177**^{v} 2, cf. **178** 3) means 1602/3. James Russell was one of the watermen who signed the petition of c. Aug. 1592 (MS. I. 17).

RUSSELL, Robert.

Tenant of Henslowe under James Russell's lease at £2. 10, 1602/3 (**177**^{v} 10).

RYGMAYDEN, Edward.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head at £10, 1604 (**177**^{v} 22).

SANDERS, Richard.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head at 24*s.*, 1604 (**177**^{v} 27).

SAVEREY (Abraham).

(Without Christian name.) He borrowed money together with Francis Henslowe from Philip when they were sued for robbing a knight, 1606? (**90**^{v} 17), and joined with Francis Henslowe and others to play in the Duke's (i. e. Lennox') name, 1604? (**100** 20). He is throughout associated with Francis Henslowe. We have his power of attorney to the latter to recover £40 from John Garland, forfeited on a bond 'for the deliuere of a warrant, which was mayd vnto me frome the gratious the duke of Linox,' 1 Mar. 1604/5 (MS. I. 41); he entered into articles of agreement with Francis and Garland as servants of the Duke, 16 Mar. 1605 (MS. I. 42), and acknowledged a debt of £1 to Philip Henslowe, payable on demand, 11 Mar. 1605/6 (MS. I. 45). There is also a bond of his (in which he is described as of Westminster, gent.) to Francis Henslowe and James Browne to secure the payment to Josua Speed, of Westminster, gent., of £10, for which they stood jointly bound, 25 Oct. 1604 (Mun. 26). It may be fairly assumed that he followed Francis Henslowe closely in his theatrical career during the few years for which we have notice of their names.

SAYE, ——.

('widow Saye'.) Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head, at £1, 1604 (**177^v** 34).

SHAA, John.

Player (?). Witness to a payment on behalf of the Admiral's men to Dekker, 24 Nov. 1599 (**65^v** 25).

SHAA, Robert.

('Shaa' autograph; others usually write 'Shaw' or 'Shawe', once we find 'Shaee'.) Player, Admiral's man. On 6 Aug. 1597 Jones bound himself to Henslowe that Shaa should fulfil the same conditions, of playing for three years at the Rose only, as he had himself undertaken (**232^v** 13). Shaa's name appears in the list of Admiral's men on 11 Oct. 1597 (**43^v** 4), and as acknowledging the company debts, 8/13 Mar. 1598 (**44^v** 25), and 10 July 1600 (**70** 6). On 11 Nov. 1597 he borrowed £2 of Henslowe for a month (**36** 3), and on 24 Nov. became security for a debt of Downton's (**37** 24). On 1 Dec. he paid Henslowe 20*s.* as from the company (**37^v** 3). He borrowed 5*s.* of Henslowe on 20 Mar. 1598 (**40^v** 14), and on 4 Oct. £3 in company with Jones, Downton and Birde in circumstances already mentioned (s. v. Birde, **33^v** 9). After 23 Apr. 1600 the wages due from the company to Henslowe for his boy James Bristow fell in arrears and Shaa gave his word for their payment (**61** 16). During the erection of the Fortune in 1600 he found it necessary to go to Greenwich with Henslowe and breakfast there some time before 24 May (**98^v** 16, 17). From 30 June to 15 Aug. 1601 he was engaged in paying off his private debts to Henslowe (**102^v** 8–16). Shaa and Jones left the company together before 7/13 Feb. 1602, and received £50 from the company (**104** 30, **108^v** 30, **109^v** 22, 28). On 19 Sept. 1602 he received a payment of 16*s.* from Worcester's men the object of which is not stated (**116** 17), but it was probably for some properties he had sold them, for we find him on 6 Dec. following receiving from them as much as £17 for four cloth cloaks (**118** 26). About this time he also received from the Admiral's men £2 for a play called the *Four Sons of Aymon* (255). The entry is dated 10 Dec. 1602, but comes between others of 14 Jan. and 1 Mar. 1603 (**109** 20), and there is evidence from his own receipt (**112** 13, 25) that the payment must have been made between 25 Dec. 1602 and 24 Mar. 1603. The question has already been discussed in connection with the play, which may have been an old one. Shaa's name appears as witness on seven occasions between 6 Oct. 1597 (**232** 23) and 28 Nov. 1598 (**131** 14), and on innumerable occasions as authorizing payments between 21 Oct. 1597 (**43^v** 6) and 21 Jan. 1602 (**104** 5). He acted in the *Battle of Alcazar*, c. 1598, his name appearing in the extant plot (Apx. II. 4). Three business notes from him to Henslowe on company matters of 1599, 1600 and 1602 are preserved (MS. I. 26, 31, 36).

SHEALDEN, ——.
('m^r shealden player'.) Witness, 24 Aug. 1594 (**40**^{v} 6).

SHEAPERD, JOHN.
Borrowed £5 of Henslowe, 14 Dec. 1594 (**3** 8).

SINGER, JOHN.
(Autograph 'Sing(g)er'; otherwise also 'Syng(g)(e)r'.) Player, Admiral's man. His name appears in the first list of the company, 14 Dec. 1594/14 Jan. 1595 (**3** 13), in the list at the head of the accounts, 11 Oct. 1597 (**43**^{v} 5), and as acknowledging the company debts, 8/13 Mar. 1598 (**44**^{v} 22), 10 July 1600 (**70** 5), and 7/23 Feb. 1602 (**104** 17, 20), though in the last case the signatures are not autograph. At some date after 14 Mar. 1597 he and Towne borrowed of Henslowe through Alleyn 40*s*. 'when they went into the contrey' (**235** 39). On another occasion between 18/28 July 1597 Henslowe lent Alleyn 20*s*. for his use (**234** 22), which is perhaps the same as the loan of 20*s*. to him from Henslowe with Alleyn as witness recorded under date of 25 July (**233** 11), this latter entry being made on the occasion of a further loan of 10*s*. on 9 Aug. (**233** 14), the debit to Alleyn being presumably crossed off at the same time. At some date before 5 Jan. 1597/8 (?) Henslowe noted that he had 'Receued of my sonne for John synger in pte of payment . . . x^s,' which more likely means a payment by them to Singer (**233**^{v} 1). On 13 Jan. 1603 the Admiral's men paid him £5 'for his playe called Syngers vallentary' (254), in the entry of which he appears for the last time in the Diary (**109** 13). His name occurs five times as witness, namely, on 27 and 28 July 1597 (**233** 8, **234** 29), 3 Aug. 1597 (**233** 31), 6 Oct. 1597 (**232** 24) and 4 Oct. 1598 (**33**^{v} 15), and on one occasion as authorizing a payment, 9 Sept. 1598 (**50** 14). He acted in *Fortune's Tennis* (?), c. 1600, and in 1 *Tamar Cam* in 1602 (Apx. II. 6, 7). Whether he was the same as the Singer (Christian name unknown) who was a member of the old Queen's company it is impossible to say.

SKEPPE, RICHARD.
Received payment of a debt of £1 from Philip Henslowe as executor of Edmond, after 5 June 1595? (**123** 39).

SLEDMORE, ——.
('m^r sledmore'.) Tenant of Henslowe in Ower's rents at £6, 1602, succeeded by (Edward?) Juby (**178** 43).

SLAUGHTER (OR SLATER), MARTIN.
('slawghter, slather, slater', often called by his Christian name only.) Player, Admiral's man. His name appears in the first list of the company, 14 Dec. 1594/14 Jan. 1595 (**3** 16), and also among those members who seem to have had joint accounts with Henslowe previous to the opening of the regular company accounts

in Oct. 1597; thus 14 Oct. 1596 (**23** 14, 16, 21, 25), 28, 29 Nov. and 11, 14 Dec. 1596 (**22**^{v}, 17, 19, 27, 28). On 22 June 1596 he personally borrowed £8 of Henslowe binding himself to repay it in a month (**22** 24). Slaughter left the Admiral's men on 18 July 1597 (**27**^{v} 5), possibly because he foresaw trouble in connection with Nashe's *Isle of Dogs* (112) then about to be produced. Whether it was in connection with this that there was a lawsuit between him and Birde, Downton and Spenser for which the latter borrowed money on 8 Mar. 1598 and Downton possibly retained counsel on 12 Dec. 1597, is uncertain (**39** 31, cf. **37** 28). On 16 May 1598 Slaughter sold the Admiral's men the books of five old plays which they had acted earlier, but the payment was not completed till 18 July following (**45**^{v} 30, **47**^{v} 16). It may possibly have been about the ownership of these that their dispute arose; if so one would like to have the breviate of the action. Lastly, Slaughter borrowed £5 of Henslowe on 22 July 1604 (**129**^{v} 17). He acted in *Frederick and Basilea* in 1597, his name appearing in the plot (Apx. II. 3). He was married as below.

SLAUGHTER, MARTIN, HIS WIFE.

Received a loan of £5 on behalf of her husband from Henslowe, as above, 22 July 1604 (**129**^{v} 21).

SLY, WILLIAM.

('Sley(e'.) He bought a jewel of Henslowe, 11 Oct. 1594, and paid by instalments 18 Oct. to 17 Jan. 1594/5 (**15** 17). In the Admiral's inventories we find mention of 'Perowes sewt, which W^m Sley were' (Apx. I. 1. l. 136), it having presumably been purchased from him. He also appears in the plot of 2 *Seven Deadly Sins*, 1592 (Apx. II. 1). This, indeed, is the first mention of him that has come down to us; he continued with the same company, Strange's, Chamberlain's and King's men, till his death in 1608, being buried 16 Aug. (Collier, *Actors*, p. 156).

SMITH, WENTWORTH.

('Wen(t)wort(h)(e Smyth(e'.) Playwright. Only known outside the Diary as possibly identical with the W. Smith whose *Hector of Germany* was printed in 1615. For the Admiral's men he was engaged in the composition of the *Conquest of the West Indies* (217), 11 Apr. 1601, with Day and Haughton (**86** 32); 1 *Six Clothiers* (226), 12, 22 Oct. 1601, with Hathway and Haughton (**94** 25, 29); 2 *Six Clothiers* (227), 3/8 Nov. 1601, with the same (**94**^{v} 6, **100** 9, 14); the *Rising of Cardinal Wolsey* (225), 12 Nov. 1601, with Chettle, Drayton and Munday (**94**^{v} 29); *Too Good to be True* (228), 6, 7 Jan. 1602, with Chettle and Hathway (**95**^{v} 29, **96** 13); *Love Parts Friendship* (232), 4 May 1602, with Chettle (**105** 27); *Merry as may be* (249), 17 Nov. 1602, with Day and Hathway (**108** 26). In connection with Worcester's men he first appears as joint author with Heywood of a comedy (263^b) for which four lances were purchased on 3 Sept. 1602 (**115**^{v} 22). This may have been the same as the first on the following list, representing the plays in which he was concerned for Worcester's men :—*Albere Galles* (264), 4 Sept. 1602, with Heywood (**115**^{v} 27); *Marshal Osric* (265), 20 Sept. 1602, with the same (**116** 19); the *Two Brothers* (268), 1, 11, 15 Oct. 1602, alone (**116**^{v} 8, 25, **117** 2); 1 *Lady Jane* (270), 15, 21 Oct. 1602, with Chettle, Dekker, Heywood and Webster (**117** 7, 19); 1 *Black Dog of Newgate* (273), 26 Nov., 20 Dec. 1602, with Day, Hathway, &c. (**118** 23, **118**^{v} 17); the *Unfortunate General* (275), 7, 10, 16, 19 Jan. 1603, with Day and Hathway (**118**^{v} 29, **119** 6, 26, **119**^{v} 3); 2 *Black Dog of Newgate* (277), 29 Jan., 3, 21, 24, 26 Feb. 1603, with Day, Hathway, &c. (**119**^{v} 16, 19, **120** 13, 16, 19), including additions; the *Italian Tragedy* (279), 7, 12 Mar. 1603, alone (**120** 29, **120**^{v} 6). Smith also received a loan of 10*s.* from Worcester's men on 12 Nov. 1602 (**118** 5), which may possibly have been in earnest of 2 *Lady Jane* (271).

SMYGHT, WILLIAM.

Player. Witness to a loan by Philip to Francis Henslowe, 1 June 1595, and probably a member of the same company as the latter (**3**^{v} 11).

SMYTHE, ——.

('widowe smythe'.) Tenant of Henslowe under James Russell's lease, at £2, 1602/3 (**177**^{v} 15).

SMYTHE, JOHN.

Tenant of Henslowe under James Russell's lease, at £2, 1602/3 (**177**^{v} 13). The original lease from James Russell to John Smythe, of St. Saviour's, waterman, of a tenement, &c., in the parish of St. Saviour, part of a messuage inhabited by Russell himself, is dated 2 Jan. 1594/5 (Mun. 105).

SMYTHE, WILLIAM.

Tenant of Henslowe under James Russell's lease, at £2. 10, 1602/3 (**177**^{v} 6).

SPARKES, HENRY.

('Harye sparkes'.) Tenant of Henslowe under James Russell's lease, at £2, 1602/3 (**177**^{v} 4).

SPENCER, ——.

The Admiral's men paid him 2*s.* 6*d.* 'for twiste' (i.e. cord?), 21 Jan. 1602 (**104** 2).

SPENCER, ——.

('Goody spencer'.) Tenant of Henslowe at £4, 1602/3 (**178** 16).

SPENSER, GABRIEL.

('Spenser' autograph; also 'spencer', once 'spences'.) Player, Admiral's man. His name first appears among those of the company heading the accounts of 11 Oct. 1597 (**43**^{v} 4), and again as acknowledging the company debt 8/13 Mar. 1598

(**44**^v 26). He joined Birde, Downton and Jones in their suit against Martin Slaughter for which they borrowed money of Henslowe 8 Mar. 1598 (**39** 30), and borrowed various sums of the same personally between 10 Mar. and 5 Apr. (**40** 23–33). From 6 Apr. to 24 June he was making payments to Henslowe out of his share in the receipts from the galleries, no doubt in discharge of debts, the first payment being handed over to Downton (**33**^v 1–8). On 9 Apr. he joined Birde and Downton in acknowledging a debt of £6 to Henslowe (**42** 2, 12), and on 20 Apr. acknowledged one of £4 on his own account (**42**, 15, 22, **39**^v 21). He borrowed further sums of 10*s.* of Henslowe on 24 Apr. and 19 May, the latter to buy a plume of feathers (**42** 23, 24). We also learn from the last entry that he had a servant named Bradshaw. His name appears as witness on 10 Dec. 1597 (**37**^v 21, **34**^v 29), and 25 Mar. 1598 (**231** 10, 21). In one entry of 25 Apr. his name has been cancelled in favour of Downton's (**36**^v 26). The only noteworthy thing that Spenser ever did was to get killed by Ben Jonson in Hoxton fields with a three shilling rapier on 22 Sept. 1598 (MS. I. 24). Spenser had himself previously slain one James Feake who attacked him with a copper candlestick value sixpence (see *Athenaeum*, 6 and 27 Mar. 1886).

STANHOPE, EDWARD.

('m^r docter stanap'.) Henslowe paid him a fee of 12*d.* 'for settynge his hand' in connection with the purchase (undated) of property from Maulthouse (**19** 8). Dr., later Sir, Edward Stanhope (LL.D., 1575; knighted 1603) was chancellor of the diocese of London from 1591 to his death in 1608.

'STEVEN.'

(See Coke, Steven, in Corrigenda to p. 253.)

STOCKES, ROBERT.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head, at £1, 1604 (**177**^v 28).

STONARD, WILLIAM.

Servant to the Master of the Revels. Borrowed 7*s.* from Henslowe, 8 Apr. 1595 (**3** 27). It is possible that this may be an error on Henslowe's part for Thomas Stonnard, or 'w^m' is perhaps a slip for 'm^r.'

STONNARD, THOMAS.

Servant to the Master of the Revels. Acquittance on behalf of his master to Henslowe, 2 Jan. 1594/5 (?) for £10, on a bond of £100, in full payment of all dues from that date to Ashwednesday following, i. e. 12 Mar. ? (**20** 8).

STONE, ——.

('m^r ston(n)e mercer'.) He received payment from the Admiral's men for properties, 10 Aug. 1601 and 18 Dec. 1602 (**92**^v 6, **108**^v 15); while his man received payment, no doubt on his behalf, 16 July 1602 (**107** 10).

STREETE, Peter.

Carpenter and builder. Henslowe's account with him for building a house on the Bankside, 'wch was good man deres,' runs from 13 Dec. 1599 to 1 Feb. 1599/1600 (**32**); he dined almost daily with Henslowe during the construction of 'ower new howsse,' i. e. the Fortune, 2 June to 8 Aug. 1600 (**98**v–**99**). Streete's contract with Henslowe and Alleyn for the building of the Fortune is dated 8 Jan. 1599/1600 (Mun. 22). Another contract between the same parties to pull down and rebuild part of the 'foreside of the messuage or tenementꝭ called the beare garden,' probably some tenements adjoining the baiting-house on the Bankside, is dated 2 June 1606 (MS. II. 7). Streete had also been employed by Richard Burbage to demolish the old Theatre and to build the Globe on the Bankside in 1598 or 1599 (Halliwell, *Illustrations*, p. 26).

STRETE, John.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head, at £1, 1604 (**177**v 32).

SYMCOCKES, ——.

Player. Joined with Francis Henslowe, Garland and Savery to act in the Duke's, i. e. Lennox', name, 1604 ? (**100** 20).

SYMES, ——.

('the cootchman symes'.) Received payment of £3 from the Admiral's men, 9 Feb. 1599/1600 (**67**v 9).

SYFERWESTE, Richard.

('dick syfer weste'.) Player, Worcester's man (?). Borrowed money from Henslowe to ride down to his fellows, i. e. into the country, 4 Sept. 1602 (**114** 20). There is, however, no evidence, nor, indeed, much likelihood that Worcester's men were travelling at this time, although his mention together with Perkins in the present entry suggests that they belonged to the same company. Nothing else is known of him.

TAYLLER, George.

Oar-maker ('owermaker'). Tenant of Henslowe at 53*s.* 4*d.*, 1602/3 (**178** 18). Probably some relation of the following.

TAYLLER, John.

Oar-maker ('owermaker'). Witness, 8 Apr. 1595 (**3** 31). John Taylor, the water-poet, was of Gloucestershire parentage, and cannot therefore be connected with any London watermen of the name.

THARE, John.

('thare', once 'thayer'.) Player, Worcester's man. He authorized payment on behalf of Worcester's men at various dates from 21 Aug. 1602 (**115** 17) to 1 Jan. 1602/3 (**118**v 20). He is not otherwise known.

THORNES, ——.

('goodman thornes'.) Tenant of Henslowe in the Rose rents, at £2, 1602/3 (**178** 32); account with Henslowe for arrears of rent from Lady Day 1604 to Michaelmas 1605 (**179** 8).

TILNEY, EDMOND.

Master of the Revels. His name only occurs eight times in the Diary, otherwise he is referred to by his title, sometimes simply as 'master,' as in the frequent entry 'm^{r} pd.' Since all the payments to him have been detailed in Chap. II. (pp. 114–8) they need not be repeated here. No personal references exist in the Diary. It will therefore be sufficient to give a list of his deputies under whose names further references will be found: Michael Bluenson, John Carnab, William Halto, R. Hassard, Robert Johnson, William Playstowe, Thomas and William (?) Stonnard, Richard Veale, Thomas Whittle. Payments were also made by Henslowe to an unnamed deputy, 26 Feb. 1591/2 to 14 June 1592 (**6**^{v} 6).

TOMSON, JOHN.

Player. Borrowed 5*s.* of Henslowe, 22 Dec. 1598 (**20**^{v} 7). There was an actor of the name John Thomson, who is first heard of as John Shank's boy with the King's men in 1621 (Fleay, *Stage*, p. 376), and may have been the son of the above.

TOWNE, JOHN.

Witness, 8 May 1593 (**2**^{v} 36). Almost certainly an error for Thomas Towne, the other witnesses being Hugh Daves and Richard Alleyn, both of whom appear later in connection with the Admiral's men, Thomas' company.

TOWNE, THOMAS.

('Towne' or 'towne' invariably.) Player, Admiral's man. He probably appears, miscalled John Towne, as a witness, 8 May 1593 (**2**^{v} 36). Anyhow his name occurs in the earliest list of the company, 14 Dec. 1594/14 Jan. 1595 (**3** 15). At some date after 14 Mar. 1597 he and Singer borrowed 40*s.* from Henslowe through Alleyn 'when they went into the contrey' (**235** 39). On 11 Oct. 1597 his name again occurs among those of the Admiral's men at the head of the company accounts (**43**^{v} 4), and he acknowledged the company debts with his fellows, 8/13 Mar. 1598 (**44**^{v} 27), 10 July 1600 (**70** 7), and 7/23 Feb. 1602 (**104** 22), though in the last case the names are not autograph. On 2 Jan., 20 Mar. and after he borrowed sums from Henslowe (**24** 19, 24, 26), and on 9 Aug. he fetched money from him for Birde (**38**^{v} 27). On 7 Apr. 1599 Towne and Richard Alleyn received 10*s.* from the company to go to court on Easter eve (**54**^{v} 11). He borrowed 10*s.* of Henslowe on 26 Apr. 1600 (**35** 18), and further sums of 20*s.* and 10*s.* on 3 and 13 Mar. 1600/1 ? (**28**^{v} 12, 15). Towne was a tenant of Henslowe at £3 a year, apparently under Mrs. Keye's lease, according to the list of 1602/3, and is noted in 1604 as paying one capon at Shrovetide (**178** 10, **177** 9). His name appears as a witness 27 July 1597 (**233** 10), 4 Oct. 1598 (**33**v 16), and 22 Apr. 1600 (**61** 19). He also authorized payments on 12 Sept. 1599 (**64** 19), 18 Jan. 1600 (**67** 18), 26 Jan. 1601 (**85**v 4), 6 Jan. 1602 (**95**v 29), 28 May 1602 (**106** 8), and 8 Sept. 1602 (**107**v 6). He acted in *Frederick and Basilea* in 1597, the *Battle of Alcazar*, c. 1598, and 1 *Tamar Cam* in 1602, his name appearing in the plots (Apx. II. 3, 4, 7). He was granted an annuity of £12 by Alleyn on 28 Oct. 1608 (Mun. 32), acquittances for which are found down to 15 Jan. 1612 (MS. II. 10). He died between that date and 5 Nov. following, when we find mention of 'widdow Towne' (MS. V. 8). This widow, Agnes Towne, received £50 from the company on his death, as we learn from a letter from Massye to Alleyn, c. 1613 (MS. I. 67). His name appears as witness to a payment from Alleyn to Sir Francis Carlton, 28 Nov. 1605 (Young, i. p. 9).

TREHEREN, ——.

('mr treheren, three heren'.) He received payment together with his wife from the Admiral's men, 6 Mar. 1600/1 (**85**v 29), and received £21. 10 from the same on a bond, 10 Apr. 1601 (**88**v 15). Possibly the John Treherne who was one of the six governors of the Free Grammar School of the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark, in 1612, Henslowe being another (Mun. 164). It was also in the place of a Mr. Treherne that Henslowe was elected vestryman in 1607 (Rendle, *Bankside*, p. vi).

TREHEREN, ——, HIS WIFE.

Received payment as above, 6 Mar. 1600/1 (**85**v 29).

TURNER, WILLIAM.

Witness, 16 June 1596 (**18**v 23).

TURNER, WILLIAM, HIS WIFE.

Witness, 16 June 1596 (**18**v 23).

TYGHTON, WILLIAM.

Tenant of Henslowe at £2, and also in Malthouse's rents at 26*s.* 8*d.*, 1602/3 (**178** 19, 26).

UNDERELL, ——.

Received 10*s.* in wages from Worcester's men, 11 Oct. 1602 (**116**v 28). Probably one of the hired men.

UNDERHER, ——.

('widow vnderher'.) Tenant of Henslowe in the Rose rents, at 30*s.*, 1602/3 (**178** 31).

VAHAN, ——.

Henslowe visited his attorney, Farmer, 5/16 May 1593 (**41** 8, **123** 1), and wrote to him concerning a re-entry made by Edward Phillipes into a house called the Corner House, held by Henslowe in trust under the will of his brother Edmond, for the untroubled possession of which he held Vahan responsible, 9 Feb. 1593?

(**72** 1). It appears that the father-in-law of Richard Jones (?) had a lease for three lives of the Leopard's Head in Shoreditch from 'Mr Vahan dwelinge in the Spitell,' and that on his death c. 1616 it passed to his daughter Haris Jones (?) for her life. The house was sublet and brought in a rent of £10 a year of which £3 was paid to Vahan. This rent Jones, being then abroad, begged Alleyn to collect and hold for him pending his return (MS. I. 111).

VALLE, ——.

('widowe valle'.) Forfeit of lease for non payment of rent, 8 July 1597 (**72v** 12).

VEALE, RICHARD.

Servant of the Master of the Revels. Acquittances on Tilney's behalf to Henslowe for sums of £3 paid 25 Oct. and 20 Nov. 1599 (**81v** 12, 17). The letter from Veale to Henslowe concerning the Chamberlain's men and the Blackfriars house, dated 3 May 1596, is a forgery (MS. I. 19).

VICKERS, RICHARD.

('vickers, vycars'.) Acquittance on his behalf from Thomas Bristo to Henslowe for £4. 10, 29 Jan. 1594/5 ? (**61v** 4); acquittance from Lyngare, on behalf of himself and Calverley, to Henslowe for £3, in full discharge for wares delivered to the above, 31 Aug. 1595 (**98v** 5).

WADE, JOHN.

Tenant of Henslowe under James Russell's lease, at £2. 10, 1602/3, succeeded possibly by Lucas Fide (**177v** 5).

WADESON, ANTHONY.

('wadeson, wasone'.) Playwright. The only reference to him in the Diary is as receiving payment from the Admiral's men for a play called the *Humorous Earl of Gloster with his Conquest of Portugal* (222), 13 and 23/25 June 1601 (**87v** 31, **91v** 33, **85** 14, 17).

WAGGHTE, ——.

('mr wagghte'.) Paid 25*s.* to Henslowe on behalf of Mrs. Keyes as one quarter's rent of a house in Westminster, after 22 Apr. 1599 (**43** 16).

WALBORNE, THOMAS.

Tenant of Henslowe in the Boar's Head, at £2, 1604 (**177** 22).

WALLYS, RICHARD.

Acquittance on his behalf from Robert Clyfton to Henslowe for a part payment of £5, 6 May 1601 (**100** 5); acquittance from him to Henslowe for £2. 18 in full payment of all reckonings, 2 July 1601 (**165v** 4).

WALTAME, RICHARD.

Paid £2 to Henslowe in part payment of a bond of Thomas Newman's, 27 Dec. 1593 (**2** 20).

WALTERS, JOHN.

Henslowe paid him £60 upon his marriage with his sister, being her legacy, probably under the will of Edmond Henslowe, together with £10 use, 23 May 1592, which, however, is more likely to be the date at which the money was due than that at which it was paid (**123**^{v} 13, 15).

WALTERS, MARY.

His wife, Henslowe's sister, as above, 22 May 1592 (**123**^{v} 14). She was also a beneficiary under the will of Philip Henslowe, and is called Mary Walters *alias* Addington, 1616 (Rendle, *Henslowe*).

WARD, ——.

('m^{r} ward'.) He received a payment of 13*s.* from Henslowe for a copy of the court rolls in connection with the suit against Edward Phillipes, Easter or Midsummer term 1594 (**41** 33, **123** 24).

WASHFELLDE, ROBERT.

Tenant of Henslowe under James Russell's lease, at £2, 1602/3 (**177**^{v} 14).

WAYSHFELLD, JOHN.

Tenant of Henslowe under James Russell's lease, at £2. 10, 1602/3 (**177**^{v} 9).

WATSONE, ——.

('goody, widowe watsone'.) Received garments of Henslowe's for sale, Mar. 1595 (**19**^{v} 26); tenant of Henslowe at £9, 1602/3 (**178** 13). It is, of course, impossible to be certain whether the two were the same; very likely they were not. (Cf. p. xxi.)

WEABE, RICHARD.

Borrowed £1 of Jones, who borrowed it of Henslowe, 4 Aug. 1601 (**29** 22).

WEBSTER, JOHN.

('web(e)ster'.) Playwright. Important as are Henslowe's references for the obscure life of this notable author they do not in themselves amount to much. Both of the companies connected with Henslowe claimed his services. For the Admiral's men he wrote, in collaboration with Dekker, Drayton, Middleton and Munday, a play called *Caesar's Fall* (*Two Shapes*, 236), receiving payments 22, 29 May 1602 (**105**^{v} 26, **106** 17). For Worcester's men he wrote 1 *Lady Jane* (270), 15, 21 Oct. 1602, together with Chettle, Dekker, Heywood and Smith (**117** 7, 20); and *Christmas comes but once a year* (272), 2 Nov. 1602, with Chettle, Dekker and Heywood (**117**^{v} 15).

WELLES, ROBERT.

('welles, wellę, weles, weales'.) Of Buxted, Sussex. On 20 May 1593 Henslowe went with his attorney to see Lord Buckhurst about 'the copey hold land w^{ch} welles doeth wth howld from vs' (**123** 5). This was evidently the property known as the Lockyers, about which Henslowe went to Grinstead soon afterwards to try a *nisi prius* between him and Phillipes (**123** 7), for on 24 May we find Welles agreeing to hand over 'on serten pece of Land lyenge in Buxted Caled Locyers' to Henslowe 'qeyetly, w^th^ owte any troble' (**127**^v^ 15), and Henslowe thereupon receiving of him £1 in part payment of rent due for the Lockyers, with a further undated payment of 10*s.* (**128** 1, 3; cf. also **100** 3). He was no doubt one of the Welles of Buxted, though his name does not appear in the pedigree given in the Sussex Visitation (B. M., MS. Harley 1562, fol. 40).

WENDOVER, HENRY.

('Harry Wendover' 'Windover'). Acquittance on his behalf, from Carter to Henslowe, for one quarter's rent 14*s.* 2*d.*, 31 Oct. 1597 (**38**^v^ 4). Later Henslowe was paying him a yearly rent of £3. 12. 4 (altered from £20. 12. 4), 1602 (**178**^v^ 7), for property which he sublet in two tenements for £7, 1602/3 (**178** 39).

WHITT, ——.

Whitt and Hugsen owed rent to the Queen for a house at Greenwich, which Henslowe paid on behalf of Mrs. Keyes to Sir Thomas Flude, 27 Apr. 1599 (**42**^v^ 16). Whitt may possibly be the same as the Alexander White who wrote to Henslowe on the behalf of Mrs. Keyes as early as 21 Feb. 1577 (MS. III. 1), and who, described as of Putney, baker, again appears in connection with the same on 1 Dec. 1596 (Mun. 115).

WHITTE, ——.

('m^r^ whitte'.) Henslowe received on behalf of Mrs. Keyes, 10*s.* from him, as one quarter's rent for a house at Westminster, after 22 Apr. 1599 (**43** 17). Possibly John Whitte, as below.

WHITTE, ——.

('m^rs^ whitte'.) Tenant of Henslowe in the Rose rents, at £3. 6, 1602/3 (**178** 38). Possibly the wife or widow of John Whitte as below, and very probably the Joan White, widow, occupying a tenement in a messuage on the Bankside, near the Thames, in the parish of St. Saviour, bounded on the west by Robinhood, late Bullheade, Alley, and on the east by another alley and a tenement, the inheritance of Sir Allen Pearcye, sold by Henslowe, one of the six governors of the Free Grammar School of the parish of St. Saviour, to the other five governors, and their successors, for £120, 28 Apr. 1612 (Mun. 164).

WHITTE, JOHN.

Witness, 16 June 1596 (**18**^v^ 22). Possibly the John Whit, of Southwark, yeoman, who assigned the Barge, the Bell and the Cock, to Maulthouse, 5 Feb. 1589 (MS. IV. 21). His name also occurs inside the cover of the Diary.

WHITTE, JOHN, HIS WIFE.

Witness, 16 June 1596 (**18**^v^ 22).

WHITTE, William.

Received payments from the Admiral's men for properties, e.g. crowns for *Mahomet* (224^{a}), 4 and 13 Aug. and 10 Oct. 1601 (**92** 22, **92**^{v} 32, **94** 15).

WHITTLE, Thomas.

Henslowe paid to him, on behalf of the Master of the Revels, on 2 and 22 Jan. 1597/8, sums of £2 each due for one month's playing on 28 Dec. 1597 and 21 Jan. 1598 respectively (**38**^{v} 7, 12).

WHOTLEY, ——.

('M^{r} whotley'.) Tenant of Henslowe under Mrs. Keyes' lease, at £2, 1602/3 (**178** 5).

WILLETT, John.

Mercer. Worcester's men paid £8. 10 to his man, William Puleston, on his behalf, it appearing that he had caused John Duke to be committed to the Clink for the company's debt, 16 Mar. 1602/3 (**120**^{v} 11).

WILLIAMS, Kenricke.

Acquittances to Henslowe and Alleyn for various sums, 2 and 20 Aug., 3 and 30 Sept., 10 Oct., 1 and 26 Nov., 1600, and 2 July 1601 (**96**^{v} and **96** 6). The nature of the transactions does not appear.

WILLIAMSONE, ——.

('m^{r} williamsone'.) Tenant of Henslowe at £6. 13. 4, 1602/3 (**178** 7). The words 'ꝑ me Johne williamsone' occur in Henslowe's scribble at the end of the Diary (**238**^{v}).

WILLSONE, John.

Opening clause of a bond from him, 1598 (**162** 2); his name entered by Henslowe as if signing a bond (**122** 1). For further similar scribble see **1** and **238**^{v} (notes) and Apx. I. 5.

WILLSONE, William.

Bearer of a letter (**215**^{v} 3).

WILSON, Robert.

(Autograph as above; Henslowe always writes 'willson(e' or 'willsones'.) Playwright. Wilson is only known as an author from Henslowe's Diary, if we except a mention by Meres which probably relates to him. He appears to have been an actor too. His plays, all written for the Admiral's men, are as follow: 1 *Earl Goodwin* (131), 25 Mar. 1598, with Chettle, Dekker and Drayton (**45** 17); *Pierce of Exton* (132), 30 Mar./7 Apr. 1598, with the same (**45** 30), if this be not the same as 2 *Earl Goodwin* (135); 1 *Black Bateman of the North* (134), 22 May 1598, with the same (**46** 6); 2 *Earl Goodwin* (135), 10 June 1598, with the same (**46** 23, 26), Wilson's share being 10*s.*; the *Funeral of Richard Cœur-de-Lion* (137), 13, 17, 26 June 1598, with Chettle, Drayton and Munday (**46** 27, **46**^{v} 7, 26); the *Madman's Morris* (140), 1, 10 July 1598, with Dekker and Drayton (**47** 8, 17); 2 *Black Bateman of the North* (139), 13, 14 July 1598, with Chettle (**47** 20, 23); 1 *Hannibal and Hermes* (142), 17, 26, 27 July 1598, with Dekker and Drayton (**47**^{v} 13, 19, **48** 4, 6); *Pierce of Winchester* (144), 8, 10 Aug. 1598, with the same (**49** 6, 16); *Chance Medley* (148), 19 Aug. 1598, with Chettle or Dekker, Drayton and Munday (**49** 24, 26), Wilson's share being 30*s.*; *Catiline's Conspiracy* (149), 21, 29 Aug. 1598, with Chettle (**49**^{v} 5, 26). Then after an interval of more than a year we find 1 and 2 *Sir John Oldcastle* (185–6), 16 Oct. 1599, with Drayton, Hathway and Munday (**65** 8), also a bonus on the first performance of Pt. I, 1/8 Nov. (**65** 23); 2 *Henry Richmond* (189), 8 Nov. 1599, alone (**65** 31); *Owen Tudor* (194), 10/18 Jan. 1600, with Drayton, Hathway and Munday (**67** 12). Thus it will be seen that Wilson's chief activity was confined to the spring and summer of 1598. This may account for the mention of him by Meres, whose book was entered S. R. 7 Sept. that year. Wilson also received a loan from Henslowe on 2 June 1598 (**81**^{v} 1, 7), was in debt 25*s.* on 26 June (**46**^{v} 30), and received a loan from the company on 1 Nov. 1599 (**65** 18). His name appears as witness, 21 Aug. 1598 (**49**^{v} 4). We further learn from a letter written by Shaa to Henslowe that he collaborated, for the Admiral's men, with Dekker, Drayton, Hathway and Munday on 1 *Fair Constance of Rome* (208), 14 June 1600 (MS. I. 31), his share being 11*s.* He may therefore also have had a hand in Pt. II (209).

WINDSOR, LORD.

The Countess of Derby represented the Queen at the christening of his child, before 20 Jan. 1597/8 ? (**113**^{v} 6). He was Henry, Lord Windsor, who succeeded his brother Frederick in Dec. 1585 and died in 1605.

WISTOWE, ——.

('m^r wistowe'.) Gilbert Rocket assigned to Henslowe the house formerly occupied by him, 16 June 1596 (**18**^{v} 20). He was dead at this date and the house was in the occupation of his widow, Elizabeth, who married Rocket before 20 Aug. the same year (Mun. 114).

WODCOKE, ——.

('m^r wodcoke', of 'Redreffe'.) Henslowe sent his horse to him to grass, 11 May, 7 June, and 5 Sept. 1600 (**24**^{v} 9, 13, 15).

WOODWARD, FRANCIS.

Acknowledged a debt of £10 to Henslowe, 10 Jan. 1603/4 (?), payable 1 Feb. following (**129**^{v} 14). Probably some connection of Henslowe's wife.

WRENE, HUGH.

Of Kingsclere, Hants. Received, on behalf of John Maulthouse, a part payment of £20 from Henslowe, 21 Jan. 1596 (**22** 19).

CHAPTER V

TABLES OF REFERENCE

Of the following tables the first gives the actual state of the Diary with regard to its completeness as a book, while the second supplies much-needed corrections in Henslowe's dates. The object of the remainder is to facilitate a general summary view of the matters set out in detail in the previous chapters.

§ I. Correspondence of Foliation in the Diary.

As pointed out in the Introduction (p. xvi) the original numbering of the folios in the Diary begins from what is now the back end of the volume, while a modern numbering has been inserted in pencil starting from the front end. The correspondence of new and old was, however, inadequately and not wholly correctly given in that place, and I therefore take this opportunity of supplying a complete table.[1]

old	new	old	new	old	new	old	new	old	new
1		22	**221**	43	**204**	64	**185**		**167**[2]
2	**238**	23	**220**	44	**203**	65	**184**	85	**166**
3		24	**219**	45	**202**	66	**183**	86	**165**
4	**237**	25	**218**	46	**201**	67	**182**	87	—
5		26	**217**	47	—	68	**181**	88	**164**
6	**236**	27	**216**	48	**200**	69	**180**	89	**163**
7	**235**	28	**215**	49	**199**	70	**179**	90	**162**
8	—	29	**214**	50	**198**	71	**178**	91	**161**
9	**234**	30	**213**	51	**197**	72	—	92	**160**
10	**233**	31	**212**	52	**196**	73	**177**	93	**159**
11	**232**	32	**211**	53	**195**	74	**176**	94	**158**
12	**231**	33	—	54	**194**	75	**175**	95	**157**
13	**230**	34	**210**	55	**193**	76	**174**	96	**156**
14	**229**	35	**209**	56	**192**	77	**173**	97	**155**
15	**228**	36	**208**	57	**191**	78	—	98	—
16	**227**	37	**207**	58	**190**	79	**172**	99	**154**
17	**226**	38	**206**	59	**189**	80	—	100	**153**
18	**225**	39	**205**	60	**188**	81	**171**	102[3]	**152**
19	**224**	40	—	61	**187**	82	**170**	103	**151**
20	**223**	41	—	62	**186**	83	**169**	104	**150**
21	**222**	42	—	63	—	84	**168**	105	**149**

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[1] Leaves now wanting are shown by rules. A few blank leaves in the middle of the volume are not numbered in the modern foliation.

[2] This folio is a modern insertion.

[3] The number 101 was omitted in entering the foliation.

old	new	old	new	old	new	old	new	old	new
106	148	147	—	188	—	229	64	270	31 30
107	147	148	123	189	98	230	63	271	
108	146	149	122	190	97	231	62	272	
109	145	150	—	191	96	232	61	273	29
110	144	151	—	192	95	233	60	274	28
111	—	152	—	193	94	234	59	275	27
112	143	153	121	194	93	235	58	276	26
113	142	154	—	195	92	236	—	277	—
114	141	155	—	196	—	237	—	278	25
115	140	156	—	197	—	238	—	279	24
116	—	157	120	198	91	239	57	280	23
117	139	158	119	199	90	240	56	281	—
118	138	159	118	200	89	241	55	282	22
119	137	160	117	201	88	242	—	283	21
120	136	161	116	202	87	243	—	284	20
121	135	162	115	203	86	244	—	285	—
122	134	163	114	204	85	245	54	286	19
123	133	164	113	205	84	246	53	287	18
124	—	165	112	206	83	247	52	288	—
125	132	166	111	207		248	51	289	17
126	131	167	—	208	82	249	50	290	16
127	130	168	—	209	81	250	49	291	15
128	—	169	110	210	80	251	—	292	14
129	129	170	109	211	79	252	48	293	13
130	128	171	108	212	78	253	47	294	12
131	127	172	107	213	—	254	46	295	—
132	—	173	106	214	77	255	—	296	11
133	—	174	105	215	76	256	45	297	10
134	126	175	—	216	75	257	44	298	9
135	—	176	—	217	74	258	43	299	8
136	blank	177	—	218	73	259	42	300	—
137	blank	178	104	219	—	260	41	301	—
138	blank	179	103	220	72	261	40	302	7
139	—	180	102	221	—	262	39	303	6
140	—	181	—	222	71	263	38	304	5
141	—	182	—	223	70	264	37	305	4
142	blank	183	101	224	69	265	36	306	—
143	—	184	100	225	68	266	35	307	3
144	—	185	—	226	67	267	34	308	2
145	125	186	—	227	66	268	33	309	1
146	124	187	99	228	65	269	32	310	

A word of warning should perhaps be added here concerning certain notes of Henslowe's which might seem to imply that the Diary had suffered greater mutilation than is actually the case. When in his accounts Henslowe came to a place where he had to turn over several leaves owing to their being already occupied by previous memoranda, he occasionally entered a direction at the foot of the page indicating the number of leaves to be skipped. He did not, however, always give it correctly. A direction on **36**$^{\text{v}}$, 'looke the 4 leaffe forward,' refers to **40**$^{\text{v}}$; one on **38**, 'looke the next leaff folowinge,' to **39**; one on **39**, 'looke the next leafe,' to **40**; one on **96**, 'looke the 8 leafe forward,' to **104**. These are all correct, and the last enables us to assert that the leaves missing between **98** and **99**, **99** and **100**, **101** and **102**, were already absent in Henslowe's day. On **40**, however, the note 'look the 2 leaf' must refer to **41** (the second page, not the second leaf), and on **87**v the note 'locke vj leaves forward' must refer to **91** (the fourth leaf, and the seventh page; possibly Henslowe meant 'skip six pages'). In neither of these cases are any leaves missing from the original numbering.

§ II. CORRECTION OF DATES IN HENSLOWE'S ACCOUNTS.

There are many instances, in the consecutive accounts kept by Henslowe, where the dates as entered are obviously and demonstrably wrong, and a close examination of the question will throw very grave suspicion upon a number of others. In those portions of the accounts which appear to have been most regularly kept, for instance the record of performances from July 1594 to Dec. 1595, it will be noticed that, as a rule, a line has been drawn opposite every sixth entry and that immediately before the line a date has been omitted. A reference to a perpetual calendar will show that the omitted date is usually a Sunday. We are led, therefore, to suspect that performances only took place on weekdays, and that Henslowe was in the habit of placing some distinguishing mark opposite the first day in each week on which the company performed. This suspicion is confirmed when we find that the correction of certain obvious errors such as the repetition of a date (e.g. **13** 20) serves to remove apparent exceptions to the rule. Again, towards the end of these accounts of performances, Henslowe adopted a more elaborate system of, entry, and appears to have devoted greater care to the avoiding of mistakes, and here we actually find in many cases a circle drawn to indicate Sunday and the line opposite it left blank (e.g. **27**). From April to July 1597 no correction of any sort is required. This makes the rule of no Sunday performances practically certain, and although it is impossible to prove that it was absolutely invariable, we are fully justified in suspecting error wherever such entries appear. In the great majority of cases there is no difficulty in discovering and rectifying the mistake, and where there is a doubt it is usually rather as to how the error should be corrected than as to whether it exists. In the following table it may be taken that the corrections are to all practical intents certain, except in the few cases in which attention is called to their conjectural character. In quoting dates in the preceding chapters of this work I have, when they were open to suspicion, given the date as it appeared in the Diary, followed by my proposed correction in parentheses.

I should like to say here that I sent a rough draft of my list of corrections to Mr. Fleay, who most kindly compared it with the corrections which he had entered in Collier's edition of the Diary. Unfortunately Collier omitted to notice the weekly lines which prove of such use in checking Henslowe's dates, so that Mr.

Fleay had not had the help of their guidance. This omission and other errors of Collier's accounted for five out of nine cases of disagreement between our tables of corrections, while a short correspondence brought Mr. Fleay round to my view in three of the remaining cases. The last point was admittedly one on which a difference of opinion was possible, but I have since come to the conclusion that Mr. Fleay's emendation is almost certainly correct, and have adopted it in the following table. It is a great pleasure to me, on such an important and difficult subject, to find myself thus fully in agreement with one who has devoted so much time and ingenuity to the elucidation of these matters.

Folio	Henslowe's date.	Correct date.
7	20–21 Feb.	21–22 Feb.
7^{v}	30 Apr.	1 May
	7–11 May	9–13 May
	13–18 May	15–20 May
	19–24 May	22–27 May
	25–31 May	29 May—3 June
8	18–22 June	19–23 June
	31 Dec.—1 Jan.	1–2 Jan.

The line opposite 6 Jan. is incorrect.

Folio	Henslowe's date.	Correct date.
	12–14 Jan.	11–13 Jan.
	30–31 Jan.	26–27 Jan.
8^{v}	30 Jan.	29 Jan.
	27–30 Dec.	26–29 Dec.

The line in this case has been inadvertently drawn opposite the first day of the year instead of the first of the week.

Folio	Henslowe's date.	Correct date.
	20–23 Jan.	21–24 Jan.
	27–28 Jan.	28–29 Jan.
9	7–8 Apr.	8–9 Apr.
	3–6 June	5–8 June
	8–13 June	10–15 June
	15 June	17 June
	17–20 June	19–22 June

So far the June dates might be set right by altering 8–9 to 7–8, but the above arrangement seems more likely, in spite of the greater alterations needed, since the whole of the discrepancies follow from the original mistake of 3 for 5. The absence of any weekly lines before 22 (24) June makes the restoration of the dates conjectural.

Folio	Henslowe's date.	Correct date.
	22–27 June	24–29 June
9^{v}	30 June	1 July
	3 Aug.	2 Aug.
	5 Aug.	3 Aug.
	blank	5 Aug.
	7–8 Aug. (bis)	9–10 Aug.
	10–15 Aug.	12–17 Aug.
	17–22 Aug.	19–24 Aug.

The line opposite 18 (20) Aug. is incorrect.

Folio	Henslowe's date.	Correct date.
10	24 29 Aug.	26–31 Aug.
10-10^{v}	8 Sept.—30 Oct.	9 Sept.—31 Oct.

In every case the date is one day wrong.

Folio	Henslowe's date.	Correct date.
10^{v}	1-4 Dec.	2-5 Dec.
	6 Dec.	7 Dec.
	8-10 Dec.	9-11 Dec.
	12-14 Dec.	13-15 Dec.
	This correction is conjectural; the original is not necessarily wrong.	
11	25-27 Dec.	26-28 Dec.
	These dates are shown to be wrong by the note 'S steuen' opposite 25.	
	29-30 Dec.	30-31 Dec.
	16-19 Jan.	15-18 Jan.
11^{v}	29 Feb.	1 Mar.
	23-27 Apr.	22-26 Apr.
	29-31 Apr.	28-30 Apr.
12^{v}	9-13 Sept.	8-12 Sept.
	blank	13 Sept.
13	22-26 Sept.	23-27 Sept.
	28-30 Sept.	29 Sept.—1 Oct.
	6-24 Oct.	7-25 Oct.
	In each case the date is one day wrong.	
	25-29 Oct.	27-31 Oct.
	30 Oct.	1 Nov.
	2-6 Nov.	3-7 Nov.
	blank	8 Nov.
14	9-10 Nov.	10-11 Nov.
	31 Nov.	1 Dec.
	14 Dec.	15 Dec.
	25-26 Dec.	62-27 Dec.
	These dates are shown to be wrong by the note 'S steuens day opposite 25.	
	28-30 Dec.	29-31 Dec.
	blank	17 Jan.
14^{v}	18-23 Jan.	19-24 Jan.
	25-30 Jan.	26-31 Jan.
	15-20 Feb.	16-21 Feb.
	22-27 Feb.	23-28 Feb.
15^{v}	2-7 May	3-8 May
	16-20 May	17-21 May
	22-27 May	24-29 May
21^{v}	19-22 June	21-24 June
	22 June (bis)	25 June
	23 June	26 June
	25-27 June	28-30 June
	4-5 (bis) June	9-10 June
	7 (bis)-12 June	12-17 June
	14-18 June	19-23 June
25^{v}	8 Dec.	7 Dec.
	10-12 Dec.	9-11 Dec.
	14 Dec.	13 Dec.
	16-17 Dec.	15-16 Dec.
	19 Dec.	18 Dec.
	21-24 Dec.	20-23 Dec.
	With the exception of 19 the dates 14-24 are not necessarily wrong; the corrections are, therefore, conjectural.	
26	19-22 Mar.	21-24 Mar.

In the subsequent debit accounts confusions also occur. Most of the cases in which dates appear in a wrong order are presumably due to error; some, however, may be accounted for by supposing the entries not to have been made at the moment but copied in subsequently from scattered notes, while others again (e.g. **46** 1–5) have obviously not been entered in the order in which they now appear. In many cases the date cannot be ascertained with certainty, and must be queried in quoting the entry, a note of the limiting dates being also sometimes useful. Cases in which impossible dates occur are easily set right; there is, for instance, no question that 31 June stands for 1 July. A list of the dates at which Henslowe changed the year-number in his consecutive accounts, will be found useful. It must be borne in mind that the old date tends to be preserved later in consecutive accounts than in scattered entries.

1591/2—5/6 May (but 1591 subsequently altered to 1592 from 29 Apr. onwards) (**7**^{v}); 28 Apr. /5 May (**6**^{v}).

1592/3—6/8 Jan. (**8**).

1593/4—6/7 Apr. (**9**).

1594/5—14 Mar./22 Apr. (**11**^{v}).

1595/6—27 Feb./12 Apr. (**14**^{v}–**15**^{v}); 27 Feb./1 May (**16**).

1596/7—1/3 Jan. (**25**^{v}).

1597/8—15/26 Jan. (**44**); 21/28 Jan. (**36**^{v}).

1598/9—31 Mar./7 Apr. (**54**^{v}); 22/29 Apr. (but 1598 subsequently altered to 1599 on 15 and 22 Apr.) (**48**^{v}).

1599/1600—25 Mar./2 Apr. **68**–(**68**^{v}); 30 Mar./6 Apr. (**62**^{v}).

1600/1—24/31 Mar. (**86**).

1601/2—23 Feb./18 Apr. (**105**).

1602/3—16 Mar. (**120**^{v}).

§ III. CHRONOLOGICAL ABSTRACT OF THE DIARY IN SO FAR AS IT RELATES TO DRAMATIC AFFAIRS.

date	entry	fol.
1592 –/6 Feb.	Payments concerning the building or repair of the Rose continued till 13 Apr. 159[1/]2 and further undated.	**4**–**5**^{v}
19 Feb.	Strange's men commence at the Rose and act till 22 (23) June.	**7**
26 Feb.	Weekly payments to the Master of the Revels, continued till 14 June.	**6**^{v}

date	entry	fol.
22 (23) June.	Strange's men cease.	
29 Dec.	Strange's men re-commence at the Rose and act till 1 Feb. 1593.	8 17, &c.
1593 1 Feb.	Strange's men cease.	
27 (26) Dec.	Sussex' men commence at the Rose and act till 6 Feb. 1594.	8^v
1594 6 Feb.	Sussex' men cease.	
1 Apr.	The Queen's and Sussex' men together commence at the Rose and act till 8 Apr.	9
8 May (?) (not 1593)	Francis Henslowe buys a share in the Queen's company when they go into the country.	2^v
14 May	The Admiral's men commence at the Rose and act till 16 May.	9
3 June	The Admiral's and Chamberlain's men together commence at Newington Butts and act till 13 June.	9
15 June	The Admiral's men re-commence at the Rose and act till 14 Mar. 1595.	9
14Dec./14Jan.(?)	First list of the Admiral's men.	3
?	Business expenses on behalf of the Admiral's men.	236
1595 2 Jan. (?)	Payment of £10 to the Master of the Revels for all dues to Ashwednesday.	20
14 Mar.	The Admiral's men cease.	
in Lent	Repairs at the Rose; further work on 4 June.	2^v
21 Apr.	The Admiral's men re-commence at the Rose and act till 26 June.	11^v–12^v
1 June	Francis Henslowe buys a half-share in an unnamed company.	3^v
26 June	The Admiral's men cease.	

date	entry	fol.
25 Aug.	The Admiral's men re-commence at the Rose and act till 27 (28) Feb. 1596.	12^v–14^v
1596 27 (28) Feb.	The Admiral's men cease.	
12 Apr.	The Admiral's men re-commence at the Rose and act till 18 (23) July.	15^v–21^v
26 Apr.	The Master of the Revels paid for two weeks.	20^v
2 May	Loans to Alleyn on behalf of the Admiral's men, continued till 25 May; also repayment of the same from 10 May to 8 July.	71^v
18 (23) July	The Admiral's men cease.	
14 Oct.	Accounts of loans and repayments with certain of the Admiral's men, continued till 27 Jan. 1597.	23
27 Oct.	The Admiral's men re-commence at the Rose and act till 15 Nov.	25
15 Nov.	The Admiral's men cease.	
25 Nov.	The Admiral's men re-commence at the Rose and act till 28 July 1597.	25^v
28 Nov.	Account with the Admiral's men for properties continued till 14 Mar. 1597.	22^v
1597 25 Mar.	Loan to the Admiral's men of £5. 14, making a total of £30.	22^v
31 May.	The Master of the Revels paid for one month £2.	23^v
27 June.	The Master of the Revels paid for one month £2.	23^v
19 July	The Master of the Revels paid £2.	23^v
27 July	Henslowe hires T. Hearne as his 'man.'	233
28 July	Received of B. Jonson's share 3*s*. 9*d*.	24
"	The Admiral's men cease.	
3 Aug.	J. Helle, the clown, binds himself to play at the Rose till Shrovetide.	233

date	entry	fol.
6 Aug.	R. Jones binds himself and R. Shaa to continue with the Admiral's men at the Rose for three years.	**232^v**
10 Aug.	W. Birde binds himself to continue with the Admiral's men at the Rose for three years.	**232**
6 Oct.	T. Downton binds himself to play at the Rose for two years and till Shrovetide.	**232**
11 Oct.	The Admiral's and Pembroke's men commence together at the Rose; entries continue irregularly till 5 Nov.	**27^v**
„	Accounts begin with the Admiral's men and continue till 5 Jan. 1598. Second list of Admiral's men.	**43^v**
21 Oct.	Weekly receipts from the Admiral's and Pembroke's men, continued till 4 Mar. 1598.	**36^v**
26 Nov.	The Master of the Revels paid for one month £2.	**27^v**
1 Dec.	A part payment of £1 from the Admiral's men.	**37^v**
8 Dec.	Henslowe hires W. Kendall as his 'man.'	p. xlix
12 Dec.	Downton fees a counsellor.	**37**
18 Dec.	Henslowe buys his boy J. Bristow.	**232**
29 Dec.	Private account for properties after Alleyn left playing, continued till 8 Nov. 1598.	**43**
1598 2 Jan.	The Master of the Revels paid for one month £2, due 28 Dec. preceding.	**38^v**
5 Jan.	Accounts with the Admiral's men continued with a fresh heading till 16 (?) Apr. 1599.	**44**
14 Jan.	Receipts of H. Jeffe's half-share, continued till 4 Mar. and repaid to the company on 8 Mar.	**36**
22 Jan.	The Master of the Revels paid for one month £2.	**38**
23 Feb.	The Master of the Revels paid for one month £2.	**38**

date	entry	fol.
4 Mar.	Weekly receipts from the Admiral's men cease.	
3/8 Mar.	Reckoning with the Admiral's men and third list of the company.	44ᵛ
25 Mar.	Thomas Heywood and Richard Alleyn bind themselves as Henslowe's 'men' for two years.	231
2 Apr.	Weekly receipts from the Admiral's men, continued till 8 July.	35
6 Apr.	Receipts of G. Spenser's share in the galleries, continued till 24 June.	33ᵛ
29 Apr.	Receipt of payments on behalf of the Jeffes, continued till 21 July.	34
8 July	Weekly receipts from the Admiral's men cease.	
29 July	Weekly receipts of whole galleries from the Admiral's men, with breaks in Feb.–Mar., and June–Oct., continued till 13 Oct. 1599.	48
12 Oct.	The Master of the Revels paid for three months £6.	23ᵛ
?	Chettle discharges his debts to the company.	61
1599		
24 Feb.	No receipts from the Admiral's men till 26 Mar.	
26 May	Accounts with the Admiral's men having closed 16 (?) Apr., a new account is opened and continued till 23 Jan. 1601.	63
3 June	No receipts from the Admiral's men till 6 Oct.	
13 Oct.	Reckoning with the Admiral's men.	48ᵛ & 64ᵛ
20 Oct.	Weekly receipts' account with the Admiral's men having closed 13 Oct., a new account is opened and continued, with a break in Feb.–Mar., till 13 July 1600.	62ᵛ
25 Oct.	The Master of the Revels paid £3.	81ᵛ
20 Nov.	The Master of the Revels paid £3.	81ᵛ

date	entry	fol.
1600 9 Jan.	The Master of the Revels paid £3.	81^{v}
25 Jan. (?)	Downton hires a ‘man.’	20^{v}
9 Feb.	The Master of the Revels paid £3.	81^{v}
10 Feb.	No receipts from the Admiral's men till 9 Mar.	
28 Mar.	Henslowe pays £10 to W. Paschall at the appointment of the Lord Chamberlain.	90^{v}
23 Apr.	The Admiral's men in Henslowe's debt for his boy's wages.	61
28 Apr.	The Master of the Revels paid £3.	82
–/24 May	Account concerning the building of the Fortune, continued till 8 Aug.	98^{v}
24 May	The Master of the Revels paid £3.	82
10 July	Reckoning with the Admiral's men, and fourth list of the company.	69^{v} & 70
13 July	The weekly receipts from the Admiral's men end.	
–/2 Aug. /–	Accounts for the building of the Fortune.	97
28–9 Oct.	Pembroke's men play two days at the Rose.	83
11 Nov./14 Dec.	Alleyn receives his share of the receipts for the first week's plays at the Fortune.	70^{v}
1601 26 Jan.	Accounts with the Admiral's men having ended 23 Jan., are continued, with a new heading, till 7 Feb. 1602.	85^{v}–104
–/10 Apr.	The Admiral's men give Henslowe a bond for their court money.	191^{v}
10 Apr.	Henslowe pays £21. 10, for the company on a bond.	88^{v}
4 May	Alleyn pays Henslowe the court money of the company amounting to £28. 10.	88^{v}

date	entry	fol.
31 July	The Master of the Revels paid for one month £3.	83^{v}
29 Aug.	The Master of the Revels paid for one month at the Fortune £3.	83^{v}
1602 7/23 Feb.	Reckoning with the Admiral's men, and fifth list of the company. Jones and Shaa receive £50 on leaving.	104
23 Feb.	Accounts with the Admiral's men having ended on 7 Feb. are continued, with a new heading, till 12 Mar. 1603.	105
18 Apr.	Chettle binds himself to write for the Admiral's men.	105
9 June	The Master of the Revels paid for one month at the Fortune £3.	100
8 July	The Master of the Revels paid for one month £3.	101
17 Aug.	Account with Worcester's men at the Rose, continued till 16 Mar. 1603.	115
Xmas.	Reckoning with the Admiral's men.	108^{v}
1603 12 Mar.	Accounts with the Admiral's men cease.	
16 Mar.	Accounts with Worcester's men cease.	
5 May	Reckoning with the Admiral's men.	109^{v}
9 May	Accounts with Worcester's men at the Rose re-open, but only one entry is made.	121
25 June	Memorandum concerning renewal of the Rose lease.	114^{v}
1604 14 Mar.	Reckoning with the Prince's (late Admiral's) men.	110
1608 Xmas.	Receipts for three days at the Fortune.	126^{v}
,,	Receipts for three days at the Bear Garden.	127

§ IV. Patronage of the Principal Companies mentioned in Chapter II.

I. The Chamberlain's Company.

Strange's men	till 1593	Ferdinando Stanley, Baron Strange;
Derby's men	25 Sept. 1593 to 16 Apr. 1594	succeeded as Earl of Derby; died.
Chamberlain's men	1594 to 22 July 1596	Henry Carey, Baron Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain; died.
Hunsdon's men	1596 to 1597	George Carey, Baron Hunsdon;
Chamberlain's men	17 Apr. 1597 to 1603	appointed Lord Chamberlain.
King's men	17 May 1603 onward	James I.

II. The Admiral's Company.

Admiral's men	till 1597	Charles, Baron Howard of Effingham;
Nottingham's men	22 Oct. 1597 to 1603	created Earl of Nottingham.
Prince's men	1603 to 6 Nov. 1612	Henry, Prince of Wales; died.
Palsgrave's men	4 Jan. 1613 onward	Frederic, Elector Palatine.

III. Worcester's Company.

Worcester's men	till 1603	Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester.
Queen's men	1603 onward	Anne of Denmark.

III. The Queen's Company.

Queen's men	1583 to 1603 (?)	Elizabeth.

IV. Sussex' Company.

Sussex' men	till 14 Dec. 1593	Henry Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex; died.
	1593 to 1594 (?)	Robert Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex (?).

V. Pembroke's Company.

Pembroke's men	1592 (?) to 1600 (?)	Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.

VI. Lennox Company.

Lennox' men	1604	Lodovick Stuart, Duke of Lennox.

VII. Lady Elizabeth's Company.

Lady Elizabeth's men	1611 (?) onward	Princess Elizabeth.

VIII. The Prince's Men.

Duke of York's men	till 1612	Charles, Duke of York;
Prince's men	6 Nov. 1612 onward	created Prince of Wales.

§ V. LIST OF COURT PERFORMANCES BY THE VARIOUS COMPANIES DURING THE YEARS 1583 TO 1603.

The following list is compiled from the references collected by Fleay from Chalmers and Cunningham, corrected and expanded by means of the entries in the Acts of the Privy Council and the important series of accounts in the Pipe Rolls published by Chambers (*Modern Language Review*, 1906, ii. p. 1). The dates given are, of course, those of the performances, not the payments, but the name of the payee where known has been added to the first entry of each company in each season.

[1580, Jan. 15. Lord Strange's tumblers.
Feb. 14. Earl of Derby's.
1581, Jan. 1. Earl of Derby's.
Dec. 28. Lord Strange's servants, feats of activity.
Dec. 30. Earl of Derby's.
1583, Jan. 1. Lord Strange's servants, feats of tumbling and activity (?).]

1583–4

26 Dec.	Queen's.
29 Dec.	Queen's.
1 Jan.	Oxford's (John Lyly).
6 Jan.	Chapel.
2 Feb.	Chapel.
3 Mar.	Oxford's.
3 Mar.	Queen's.

1584–5

26 Dec.	Queen's (Robert Wilson).
27 Dec.	Oxford's boys (?).
1 Jan.	[Strange's tumblers] 'feates of Actyvytie . . . by Symons and his fellowes' (?).
3 Jan.	Queen's.
6 Jan.	Queen's.
21 Feb.	Queen's (not shown).
23 Feb.	Queen's.

1585–6

26 Dec.	Queen's.
27 Dec.	Admiral's.
1 Jan.	Queen's.
6 Jan.	'The Servantes of the lo: admirall and the lo: Chamberlaine.'

9 Jan.	[Strange's tumblers] 'John Symonds and Mr Standleys Boyes . . . for Tumbling and shewing other feates of activitie.'	
13 Feb	Queen's.	
1586-7		
26 Dec.	Queen's.	
27 Dec.	Leicester's.	
1 Jan.	Queen's.	
6 Jan.	Queen's.	
26 Feb.	Paul's (Thomas Giles).	
28 Feb.	Queen's.	
1587-8		
26 Dec.	Queen's.	
28 Dec.	[Strange's tumblers] John Simons and his company, feats of activity.	
1 Jan.	Paul's (Giles).	
6 Jan.	Queen's.	
2 Feb.	Paul's.	
18 Feb.	Queen's.	
20 Feb. 28 Feb.		
1588-9		
26 Dec.	Queen's (?).	
27 Dec.	Paul's (Giles).	
29 Dec. 11 Feb.	Admiral's, 'and for showing other feates of activitie and tumbling.'	*Acts of Privy Council* give 9 Feb. and omit to mention tumbling.
1 Jan.	Paul's.	
12 Jan.	Paul's.	
9 Feb.	Queen's (?).	
1589-90		
26 Dec.	Queen's (John Dutton and John Lanham).	
28 Dec.	Admiral's, feats of activity.	
28 Dec.	Paul's.	
1 Jan.	Paul's.	
6 Jan.	Paul's.	
1 Mar.	Queen's.	
3 Mar.	Admiral's.	
1590-1		
26 Dec.	Queen's (L. and J. Dutton).	
27 Dec. 16 Feb.	Strange's (George Ottewell) 'and for other feates of Activitye then also done by them.'	*Acts of Privy Council* ascribe these to Admiral's.
1 Jan.	Queen's (Laneham).	

3 Jan. 6 Jan. 14 Feb.	Queen's (L. and J. Dutton).
1591-2	
26 Dec.	Queen's.
27 Dec. 28 Dec. 1 Jan.	Strange's.
2 Jan.	Sussex'.
6 Jan.	Hertford's.
9 Jan. 6 Feb. 8 Feb.	Strange's
1592-3	
26 Dec.	Pembroke's.
27 Dec.	Strange's.
31 Dec.	Strange's.
1 Jan.	Strange's.
6 Jan.	Pembroke's.
1593-4	
6 Jan.	Queen's.
1594-5	
26 Dec. 28 Dec.	Chamberlain's (Kemp, Shakespeare, Burbadge).
28 Dec. 1 Jan. 6 Jan.	Admiral's (Alleyn, Jones, Singer).
1595-6	
26 Dec. 27 Dec. 28 Dec.	Chamberlain's (Hemynge and Bryan).
1 Jan. 4 Jan.	Admiral's (Allen and Slater).
6 Jan. 22 Feb.	Chamberlain's.
22 Feb. 24 Feb.	Admiral's.
1596-7	
26 Dec. 27 Dec. 1 Jan. 6 Jan. 6 Feb. 8 Feb.	Hunsdon's (Pope and Heminges).
1597-8	
26 Dec.	Chamberlain's (Heminges and Pope).
27 Dec.	Admiral's (Shawe and Downton).
1 Jan. 6 Jan. 26 Feb.	Chamberlain's.
28 Feb.	Admiral's.

1598–9	
26 Dec.	Chamberlain's (Heming and Pope).
27 Dec.	Admiral's (Shawe and Downton).
1 Jan.	Chamberlain's.
6 Jan.	Admiral's.
18 Feb.	Admiral's.
20 Feb.	Chamberlain's.
1599–1600	
26 Dec.	Chamberlain's (Heming).
27 Dec.	Admiral's (Shaw).
1 Jan.	Admiral's.
6 Jan.	Chamberlain's.
3 Feb.	Chamberlain's.
5 Feb.	Derby's (Robert Browne).
1600–1	
26 Dec.	Chamberlain's (Hemynges and Cowley).
28 Dec.	Admiral's (Allen).
1 Jan.	Paul's (Edward Piers).
1 Jan.	Derby's (Robert Browne).
6 Jan.	
6 Jan.	Chamberlain's.
6 Jan.	Chapel.
6 Jan.	Admiral's.
2 Feb.	
22 Feb.	Chapel (Nathaniel Giles).
24 Feb.	Chamberlain's.
1601–2	
26 Dec.	Chamberlain's (Hemynge).
27 Dec.	Chamberlain's.
27 Dec.	Admiral's (Allen).
1 Jan.	Chamberlain's.
3 Jan.	Worcester's (Kempe and Heywood).
6 Jan.	Chapel (Nathaniel Giles).
10 Jan.	
14 Feb.	Worcester's.
14 Feb.	Chamberlain's.
1602–3	
26 Dec.	Chamberlain's (Hemings, &c.).
27 Dec.	Admiral's (Allen, &c.).
1 Jan.	Paul's (Edward Piers).
6 Jan.	Hertford's (Martin Slater).
2 Feb.	Chamberlain's.
6 Mar.	Admiral's.
?	

§ VI. RECORD OF PERFORMANCES; BEING AN ABSTRACT OF §§ I–VII AND XI OF CHAPTER III.

The relation between the Sections of Chapter III and the tables contained in this and the next divisions of the present chapter may be shown as follows:

dates	companies	§§	tables
19 Feb. 1592 to 1 Feb. 1593	Strange's	I	A
27 (26) Dec. 1593 to 6 Feb. 1594	Sussex'	II	B + c
1 Apr. to 8 (9) Apr. 1594	Sussex' and Queen's	III	C
14 to 16 Apr. 1594	Admiral's	IV	D + e
3 (5) June to 13 (15) June 1594	Admiral's and Chamberlain's	V	E
15 (17) June 1594 to 28 July 1597	Admiral's	VI	D + f
11 Oct. to 5 Nov. 1597	Admiral's and Pembroke's	VII	F
11 Oct. 1597 to 10 July 1600	Admiral's or Nottingham's (Rose)	VIII	G
14 Aug. 1600 to 12 Mar. 1603	Admiral's or Nottingham's (Fortune)	IX	
1 Jan /14 Mar. 1604	Prince's	X	
28 to 29 Oct. 1600	Pembroke's	XI	H
17 Aug. 1602 to 9 May 1603	Worcester's	XII	I

In cases where the same play occurs in B and C, or in D and E or F, the performances recorded in C and in E or F, are counted in under B and D respectively. Plays marked in the Diary as new are distinguished by an asterisk.

A. Plays Performed by Strange's Men. (§ I.)

fol.	ref. no.	title	performances			remarks
			first	last	no.	
			1592			
7	1	Friar Bacon	19 Feb.	30 (29) Jan. '93	7	also C, G.
	2	Muly Mollocco	20 (21) Feb.	20 Jan. '93	14	
	3	Orlando	21 (22) Feb.		1	
	4	Don Horatio	23 Feb.	20 June	7	
	5	Sir John Mandeville	24 Feb.	31 (27) Jan. '93	8	
	6	Harry of Cornwall	25 Feb.	18 (20) May	5	
	7	Jew of Malta	26 Feb.	1 Feb. '93	13	also B, C, D, E, G.
	8	Cloris and Ergasto	28 Feb.		1	
	9	Pope Joan	1 Mar.		1	
	10	Machiavel	2 Mar.	29 May	3	
	11	*Henry VI	3 Mar.	31 Jan. '93	16	
	12	Bindo and Richardo	4 Mar.	5 June	3	
	13	Four Plays in One	6 Mar.		1	
	14	Looking-Glass	8 Mar.	7 June	4	
	15	Zenobia	9 Mar.		1	
	16	Jeronimo	14 Mar.	22 Jan. '93	16	also D, F, G.
	17	Constantine	21 Mar.		1	
	18	Jerusalem	22 Mar.	25 Apr.	2	
	19	Brandimer	6 Apr.	8 May	2	
7^{v}	20	*Titus and Vespasian	11 Apr.	25 Jan. '93	10	
	21	*Tamar Cam II	28 Apr.	19 Jan. '93	6	also D, G.
	22	*Tanner of Denmark	23 (26) May		1	
8	23	*Knack to Know a Knave	10 June	24 Jan. '93	7	
			1593			
	24	*Jealous Comedy (?)	5 Jan.		1	} Possibly the same play
	25	Cosmo	12 Jan.	23 Jan.	2	
	26	*Guise	30 (26) Jan.		1	also D, G.

B. Plays Performed by Sussex' Men. (§ II and part of § III.)

fol.	ref. no.	title	performances			remarks
			first	last	no.	
			1593			
8^{v}	27	God Speed the Plough	27 (26) Dec.	5 Jan. '94	2	
	28	Huon of Bordeaux	28 (27) Dec.	11 Jan. '94	3	
	29	George a Greene	29 (28) Dec.	22 (23) Jan. '94	5	
	30	Buckingham	30 (29) Dec.	27 (28) Jan. '94	4	
	31	Richard the Confessor	31 Dec.	16 Jan.	2	
			1594			
	32	William the Conqueror	4 Jan.		1	
	33	Friar Francis	7 Jan.	20 (21) Jan.	3	
	34	Abraham and Lot	9 Jan.	31 Jan.	3	
	35	Fair Maid of Italy	12 Jan.	4 Apr.	3	including C.
	36	King Lud	18 Jan.		1	
	37	*Titus Andronicus	23 (24) Jan.	6 Feb.	3	also E.
	37^{a}	Jew of Malta (7)	4 Feb.	7 (8) Apr.	3	including C; also A, &c.

C. Plays Performed by the Queen's and Sussex' Men. (§ III.)

fol.	ref. no.	title	performances			remarks
			first	last	no.	
			1594			
9	37^b	Friar Bacon (1)	1 Apr.	5 Apr.	2	also A, G.
	38	Ranger's Comedy	2 Apr.		1	also D.
	38^a	Jew of Malta (7)	3 Apr.	7 (8) Apr.	2	also A, &c.
	38^b	Fair Maid of Italy (35)	4 Apr.		1	also B.
	39	King Lear	6 Apr.	8 (9) Apr.	2	

D. Plays Performed by the Admiral's Men. (§§ IV and VI, together with parts of §§ V and VII.)

fol.	ref. no.	title	performances			remarks
			first	last	no.	
			1594			
9	39^a	Jew of Malta (7)	14 May	21 (23) June '96	20	including E; also A, &c.; no performances between 9 Dec. '94 and 9 Jan. '96.
	39^b	Ranger's Comedy (38)	15 May	19 (18) Jan. '95	10	also C.
	40	Cutlack	16 May	26 (28) Sept.	12	including E.
	42	*Bellendon	8 (10) June	25 June '97	25	including E.
	44^a	Guise (26)	19 (21) June	25 (27) Sept.	10	also A, G.
	45	*Galiaso	26 (28) June	25 (26) Oct.	9	
9^v	46	*Philipo and Hippolito	9 July	7 (8) Oct.	12	
	47	*Godfrey of Bulloigne	19 July	16 Sept. '95	12	
	48	*Merchant of Emden	30 July		1	
	49	*Tasso's Melancholy	11 (13) Aug.	14 May '95	12	also G.
	50	Mahomet	14 (16) Aug.	5 Feb. '95	8	also G.
10	51	*Venetian Comedy	25 (27) Aug.	8 May '95	12	
	52	*Tamberlain I	28 (30) Aug.	12 Nov. '95	15	
	53	*Palamon and Arcyte	17 (18) Sept.	9 Nov.	4	
	54	*Love of an English Lady	24 (26) Sept.	24 (25) Oct.	2	
	55	Faustus	30Sept.(2Oct.)	13 (?) Oct. '97	25	including F; also G.
	56	Grecian Comedy	4 (5) Oct.	9 (10) Oct. '95	12	
	57	French Doctor	18 (19) Oct.	9 Nov. '96	14	also G.
10^v	58	*Knack to Know an Honest Man	22 (23) Oct.	3 Nov. '96	21	
	59	*Caesar and Pompey I	8 Nov.	25 June '95	8	
	60	*Dioclesian	16 Nov.	22 Nov.	2	
	61	Warlamchester	28 Nov.	16 June '95	7	
	62	*Wise Man of West Chester	2 (3) Dec.	18 July '97	32	also G.
	63	*Set at Maw	14 (15) Dec.	28 Jan. '95	4	
11	64	Tamberlain II	19 Dec.	13 Nov. '95	7	
	65	Siege of London	26 (27) Dec.	6 July '96	12	

fol.	ref. no.	title	performances			remarks
			first	last	no.	
			1595			
	66	Antonio and Vallia	4 Jan.	26 (28) Oct.	4	
	67	*French Comedy	11 Feb.	24 June	6	
	68	*Long Meg of Westminster	14 Feb.	28 Jan. '97	16	
11^{v}	69	*Mack	21 Feb.		1	
	70	*Selio and Olimpo (?)	5 Mar.	18 (19) Feb. '96	10	
	71	*Hercules I	7 May	6 Jan. '96	11	also G.
12^{v}	72	*Hercules II	23 May	25 Nov.	8	also G.
	73	*Seven Days of the Week I	3 June	31 Dec. '96	22	
	74	*Caesar and Pompey II	18 June	26 June	2	
	75	*Longshanks	29 Aug.	9 (14) July '96	14	also G.
	76	*Crack me this Nut	5 Sept.	23 (26) June '96	16	also G.
13	77	*New World's Tragedy	17 Sept.	27 Apr. 96	11	
	78	*Disguises	2 Oct.	10 Nov.	6	
	79	*Wonder of a Woman	15 (16) Oct.	1 May '96	9	
	80	*Bernardo and Fiammetta	28 (30) Oct.	12 Apr. '96	7	
14	81	*Toy to Please Chaste Ladies	14 Nov.	27 Nov. '96	9	
	82	*Henry V	28 Nov.	15 (20) July '96	13	
	83	Welsh Man	29 Nov.		1	
			1596			
	84	*Chinon of England	3 Jan.	10 Nov.	14	
	85	*Pythagoras	16 Jan.	14 (19) July	12	also G.
14^{v}	86	*Seven days of the Week II	22 (23) Jan.	26 (27) Jan.	2	
	87	Fortunatus I	3 Feb.	24 (26) May	6	also G.
	88	*Blind Beggar of Alexandria	12 Feb.	1 Apr. '97	22	also G.
15^{v}	89	*Julian the Apostata	29 April	20 (21) May	3	
	90	*Tamar Cam I	6 (7) May	13 Nov.	10	also G.
	91	*Phocas	19 (20) May	17 (22) July	7	also G.
21^{v}	91^{a}	*Tamar Cam II (21)	11 June	8 July	4	
	92	*Troy	22 (25) June	16 (21) July	4	
	93	*Paradox	1 July		1	
	94	*Tinker of Totness	18 (23) July		1	
25^{v}	95	*Valteger	4 Dec.	2 Apr. '97	12	properties 28 (?)–29 Nov. '96; also G.
	96	*Stukeley	11 (10) Dec.	27 June '97	10	properties 8 Dec. '96.
	97	*Nabuchodonozor	19 (18) Dec.	21 (23) Mar. '97	8	
	98	That Will be Shall be	30 Dec.	5 July '97	12	
			1597			
	98^{a}	*Jeronimo (16)	7 Jan.	11 Oct.	13	including F; also A, G.
	99	*Alexander and Lodovick	14 Jan.	15 July	15	'ne' again 11 Feb.
26	100	*Woman hard to Please	27 Jan.	27 May	11	
	101	Osric	3 Feb.	7 Feb.	2	
	101	*Alexander and Lodovick (99)	11 Feb.			
	102	*Guido	19 (21) Mar.	23 Apr.	5	properties 14 Mar.
	103	*Five Plays in One	7 Apr.	28 June	10	
26^{v}	104	Time's Triumph (?)	13 Apr.		1	

fol.	ref. no.	title	performances			remarks
			first	last	no.	
	104^{a}	*French Comedy (67)	18 Apr.	16 July	11	
	105	*Uther Pendragon	29 Apr.	13 June	7	
	106	*Comedy of Humours	11 May	4 Nov.	13	including F.
	107	*Henry I	26 May	1 July	6	
27	108	*Frederick and Basilea	3 June	4 July	4	
	109	*Hengist (?)	22 June		1	probably the same as *Valteger* (95).
	110	*Martin Swarte	30 June	9 July	3	
27^{v}	111	*Witch of Islington	14 July	28 July	2	
232	112	*Isle of Dogs				Restraint, before 10 Aug.

E. Plays Performed by the Admiral's and Chamberlain's Men. (§ v.)

fol.	ref. no.	title	performances			remarks
			first	last	no.	
			1594			
9	41	Hester and Assuerus	3 (5) June	10 (12) June	2	
	41^{a}	Jew of Malta (7)	4 (6) June	13 (15) June	2	also A, &c.
	41^{b}	Titus Andronicus (37)	5 (7) June	12 (14) June	2	also B.
	41^{c}	Cutlack (40)	6 (8) June		1	also D.
	42	*Bellendon	8 (10) June		1	also D.
	43	Hamlet	9 (11) June		1	
	44	Taming of a Shrew	11 (13) June		1	

F. Plays Performed by the Admiral's and Pembroke's Men. (§ VII.)

fol.	ref. no.	title	performances			remarks
			first	last	no.	
			1597			
27^{v}	112^{a}	Jeronimo (16)	11 Oct.		1	also A, &c.
	112^{b}	Comedy of Humours (106)	12 (?) Oct.	4 Nov.	2	also D.
	112^{c}	Faustus (55)	13 (?) Oct.		1	also D.
	113	Hardicanute	20/30 Oct.	3 Nov.	2	
	114	*Friar Spendleton	31 Oct.	5 Nov	2	
	115	Bourbon	2 Nov.		1	

H. Plays Performed by Pembroke's Men. (§ XI.)

fol.	ref. no.	title	performances			remarks
			first	last	no.	
			1600			
83	261	Like unto Like	28 Oct.		1	
	262	Roderick	29 Oct.		1	

§ VII. ACCOUNTS OF THE ADMIRAL'S AND WORCESTER'S COMPANIES; INCLUDING AN ABSTRACT OF §§ VIII–X AND XII OF CHAPTER III.

G. Accounts of the Admiral's Men, 1597 to 1604. (§§ VIII, IX, X.)

ol.	ref. no.	title	date limits		authorship, etc.	payment	£	s.	d.	remarks
			1597				£	s.	d.	
43^{v}	116	The Cobler	21 (?) Oct.			to buy	2			probably old.
	117		5 Nov.		Haughton	to buy		10		to buy a book (126?) of young Haughton.
	118	Branholt	26 Nov.		properties		4			brought by Pembroke's men?
			1 Dec.		properties			9		tinsell for Birde's gown.
	119		3 Dec.		Jonson	upon	1			upon a book; plot shown; see 156^{a}.
	120	Alice Pierce	8 Dec.	10 Dec.	properties		2	2	7	brought by Pembroke's men?
	121		12 Dec.		two young men	for		6	8	for two jigs?
	122	Mother Redcap	22 Dec.	5 Jan. '98	Drayton, Munday	full	6			
			1598							
44	123	Dido and Aeneas	5 Jan.		properties					£2. 5; cancelled.
			5/8 Jan.		properties					£1. 9; cancelled.
			8 Jan.		lent to the company		1	10		when they first played *Dido* at night.
	123^{a}		8 Jan.		Dekker	to buy				£1 to buy a book; cancelled; possibly 124.
	124	Phaeton	15 Jan.		Dekker	to buy	4			
				14–22 Dec. 1600	Dekker	alter.				£2; for the court; properties 2 Jan. '01.
			15/26 Jan.		two books licensed			9		14*s.*, abated 5*s.* = 9*s.*
			26 Jan.	28 Jan.	properties for *Phaeton* (124)		5			
			4 Feb.		Dekker		2			to discharge him out of the Counter.
	125	1 Robin Hood	15 Feb.		Munday	for	5			licensed 28 Mar.
				18 Nov.	Chettle	alter.				10*s.*
44^{v}	126	Woman will have her Will	18 Feb.	2/9 May	Haughton	part	2			cf. 117.
	127	2 Robin Hood	20 Feb.	8 Mar.	Chettle, Munday	full	5			licensed 28 Mar.
				25 Nov.	Chettle	alter.				10*s.*; for the court (Pt. II?); in place of *'Tis no Deceit* (160)?
	128	The Miller	22 Feb.		R. Lee	for	1			probably old.
	129	Triplicity of Cuckolds	1 Mar.		Dekker	to buy	5			*The entries of 21 Oct. to 8 Mar. are correctly summed by Henslowe, £46. 7. 3, and the debt acknowledged by the company.*

45	130	Wars of Henry I	13 Mar.	13/25 Mar.	Chettle, Dekker Drayton	full	6	5		containing the part of a Welshman.
			13/25 Mar.		lent to the company			5		at the reading of the book at the Sun in New Fishstreet.
			13/25 Mar.		for carting properties			3		when they played in Fleetstreet private; stuff lost.
	131	1 Earl Goodwin	25 Mar.	30 Mar.	Chettle, Dekker, Drayton	full	6			25 Mar. to buy a book; properties 11 Apr.
			25 Mar.		lent to the company			5		for good cheer at the tavern in Fishstreet.
			28 Mar.		for licensing *Robin Hood* (125, 127)			14		
	132	Pierce of Exton	30 Mar./7 Apr.		Chettle, Dekker, Drayton	part	2			same as 135?
			7 Apr.		properties		1			
45ᵛ			11 Apr.		properties for (1) *Earl Goodwin* (131)		1	4		a rochet for a bishop.
	133	Arthur	11 Apr.	12 Apr.	Hathway	full	5			properties 2 May.
			29 Apr.		properties		2	6	8	
			2 May		properties for *Arthur* (133)					£3; paid and cancelled.
	134	1 Black Bateman	2/9 May	22 May	Chettle, Dekker, Drayton, Wilson	bought	7			properties 13–14 June.
	135	2 Earl Goodwin	2/9 May	10 June	ditto	full	4			properties 26–27 June.
			9 May		properties		7			
	135ᵃ	1 Hercules	16 May	18 June	bought of Slaughter	old	8			also D properties 16 July '98, 14–18 Dec. '01. properties 31 Mar. '99.
	135ᵇ	2 Hercules								
	135ᶜ	Phocas								
	135ᵈ	Pythagoras								
	135ᵉ	Alexander and Lodovick								
46	136	Love Prevented	30 May		Porter	to buy	4			
			10 June		Chapman			10		a loan; for 138?
	137	Funeral of Richard C.	13 June	26 June	Chettle, Drayton, Munday, Wilson	full?	6	5		Wilson's part in full, and remains in debt 25*s.*
			13 June	14 June	properties for *Black Bateman*		8			
46ᵛ	138	Iylle of a Woman (?)	16 May	15 June	Chapman	earnest	4			first named 15 June; same as 153?
			24 June		Chettle			10		a loan; in debt 30*s.*
			26 June	27 June	properties for 2 *Earl Goodwin*		6	10		
47	139	2 Black Bateman	26 June	14 July	Chettle, Wilson	full	6			
	140	Madman's Morris	1 July	10 July	Dekker, Drayton, Wilson	full	6			properties 25 July.

fol.	ref. no.	title	date limits		authorship, etc.	payment	£	s.	d.	remarks
47^v	141	Play of a Woman	14 July		Chettle	upon	5			to be delivered in a fortnight or money returned.
			14 July		the painter			5		in earnest of his picture.
			16 July		properties for *Hercules*		2			
	142	1 Hannibal and Hermes	18/19 July	28 July	Dekker, Drayton, Wilson	full	6	10		
	143	Valentine and Orson	19 July		Hathway, Munday	full	5			
			24 July		three books licensed		1	1		
48			25 July		properties for the *Madman's Morris*		4	13	4	
			28 July		properties		1	13	4	
	144	Pierce of Winchester	28 July	10 Aug.	Dekker, Drayton, Wilson	full	5	10		properties 23 Sept. 12 Oct.
										Henslowe summed the entries from 13 Mar. to 28 July inclusive as £120. 15. 4, which, excluding the £3 cancelled under 2 May, is 5s. too much. There was no reckoning.
49	145	1 Brute	30 July		Day	to buy	2			The division of parts is conjectural.
				8–16 Sept.	Chettle	earnest	1	14		in debt £8. 10.
	146		9 Aug.		Munday	earnest				10*s.*; a comedy for the court; Drayton surety for delivery within a fortnight; cancelled.
	147	Hot Anger soon Cold	18 Aug.		Chettle, Jonson, Porter	full	6			
	148	Chance Medley	19 Aug.	24 Aug.	Chettle or Dekker, Drayton, Munday, Wilson	full	6			
49^v	149	Catiline's Conspiracy	21 Aug.	29 Aug.	Chettle, Wilson	earnest	1	5		
	150	Vayvode	29 Aug.		Chettle	alter.?	1			for his play.
			21 Aug.	25 Aug.	properties		17	5		
				21 Jan. 1598/9	bought of Alleyn					£2.
50	150^a	Bad may Amend								cancelled title.
	151	2 Hannibal and Hermes	30 Aug.	4 Sept.	Dekker, Drayton	full	5			

			19 Sept.		lent to the company		35		about the agreement between Langly and them.
			23 Sept.	12 Oct.	properties for *Pierce of Winchester*		29	2	
50^{v}	152	1 Civil Wars of France	29 Sept.		Dekker, Drayton	to buy	6		
			8 Oct.	11 Oct.	properties		10		
	153	Fount of New Fashions	1 Oct.	12 Oct.	Chapman	full	4		same as 138?
			8 Nov.	14 Nov.	properties		17		
			28 Sept. (?)	1 Oct.	properties		5		
	154	Mulmutius Dunwallow	3 Oct.		Rankins	to buy	3		
			4 Oct.		lent to the company		19		to buy a rich cloak of Mr. Langly.
			4/8 Oct.		to redeem two cloaks from pawn		12	10	redeemed 2 Nov. '97; accepted into stock 28 Sept. '98.
									Entries of 30 July to 4/8 Oct. correctly summed by Henslowe £152. 14.
51	155	2 Brute	12 Oct.	22 Oct.	Chettle	full	6		cf. 145; properties 12 Dec.; licensed 22/27 Mar. '99.
	156	Connan Prince of Cornwall	16 Oct.	20 Oct.	Dekker, Drayton	for	6		for a book; part paid to Bradshaw.
51^{v}	157		23 Oct.		Chapman	on	3		on his play-book and two acts of a tragedy of Benjamin's [i. e. Jonson's] plot (157^{a}).
	157^{a}		23 Oct.	8 Jan. '99	Chapman	full	6		same as 119; add part of payment for 157.
	158	2 Civil Wars of France	3 Nov.		Dekker, Drayton	for	6		for a book.
			19 Nov.	24 Nov.	properties		20		
	158^{a}				properties		2		to buy a sackbut of Mark Anthony (a character?).
			15 Nov.	16 Nov.	Mr. Hazlett				£2 in loans; Wm. White as surety; cancelled.
			16/18 Nov.		due from the company		2		rent of house when Cranwigge played his challenge, 4 Nov.
52	159	3 Civil Wars of France	18 Nov.	30 Dec.	Dekker, Drayton	for	6		for a book.
			18 Nov.		Chettle	alter.		10	upon the mending of 1 *Robin Hood* (125).
			25 Nov.		Chettle	alter.		10	for mending (2?) *Robin Hood* for the court (127).
			27 Nov.	28 Nov.	properties		6	18	
	160	'Tis no Deceit	28 Nov.		Chettle	earnest	1		cf. also 25 Nov.
			1 Dec. (?)		Chapman			10	a loan
									Entries of 8 *Oct. to* 1 *Dec. correctly summed by Henslowe* £88. 10.

fol.	ref. no.	title	date limits		authorship, etc.	payment	£	s.	d.	remarks
52ᵛ	161	War without Blows	6 Dec.	26 Jan. '99	Heywood	full	5			
			12 Dec.		properties for *Brute*		1	4		coats for giants.
			22 Dec.		musical instruments		2			
	162	2 Two Angry Women	22 Dec.	12 Feb. '99	Porter	full	7			properties 31 Jan.–12 Feb. '99.
			1599							
			17 Jan.		Chettle		1	10		a loan to pay his charges in the Marshalsea.
	163	William Longbeard (?)	20 Jan.		Drayton	earnest	2			in part of £6.
	164	Intro. Civil Wars of Fr.	20 Jan.		Dekker	earnest	3			possibly the payment of 30 Jan. should be added.
53			21 Jan.		bought of Alleyn	old	2			*Vayvode* (150).
	165	World runs on Wheels	22 Jan.	2 July	Chapman	full	8	10		including probably a payment for 175.
			26 Jan.		properties		2	15		
			30 Jan.		Dekker		3	10		to discharge him from the arrest of the Chamberlain's men.
			31 Jan.	12 Feb.	properties for *Two Angry Women*		11			
			1 Feb.		properties		4	10		
			1/10 Feb.		Porter		1			a loan; dated 17 Jan.
53ᵛ	166	Joan as Good as my Lady	10 Feb.	12 Feb.	Heywood	full	5			
	167	Friar Fox	10 Feb.			to buy	5	10		payee not named.
	168	Polyphemus	16 Feb.	27 Feb.	Chettle	full	3	10		with remission of 50*s.* debt = £6; properties 4 Oct.
54	169	Two Merry Women	28 Feb.		Porter	earnest	2			add perhaps loan under 1/10 Feb.; Porter undertakes to write for Henslowe only.
	170	The Spencers	8 Mar. (?)		two plays licensed			14		
			4 Mar.	22 Mar.	Chettle, Porter	full	6			
			9 Apr.	16 Apr.	properties		30			
			18 Mar.		two books licensed			14		
	171	Four Kings	18/22 Mar.		book licensed			7		
			22/27 Mar.		licensing the book of *Brute*			7		called *Brute Grenshallde* (i. e. Greenshield?); one part only.
										Entries of 6 Dec. 98–22/27 Mar. 1599 *are summed by Henslowe* £84. 16, *an understatement of* 15*s.*

54v			31 Mar.		properties for *Alexander & Lodovick*		5			
			7 Apr.		Porter		1			a loan.
	172	Troilus & Cressida	7 Apr.	16 Apr.	Chettle, Dekker	part	4			
			7 Apr.		lent to the company			10		unto Thomas Towne and Richard Alleyn to go to the court upon Easter eve.
			11 Apr.		properties			10		
			17 Apr.		Edward my Lord's page		1	10		a loan.
[**62**	173	Orestes' Furies	2 May		Dekker	earnest				5*s.*; and 20*s.* at the same time to discharge him from Ingrome's arrest.]
										At this point several leaves, probably in part filled with entries between 17 Apr. and 26 May, are lost.
63			26 May	5 July	properties (copper, lace)		15	12	4	
	174	Agamemnon	26 May	30 May	Chettle, Dekker	full	4	15		
			3 June (?)		book licensed			7		
										Entries of 26 May to 8 June correctly summed by Henslowe £21. 2. He also has the total (crossed out) £386. 17. 7. If this is correct the entries on the missing leaves amounted to £2. 0. 7.
	175	All Fools but the Fool	2 July		Chapman					£1. 10 in full for 165, and now [in earnest of?] 175.
63v			13 July		musical instruments		1	10		
	176	Gentle Craft	15 July		Dekker	to buy	3			possibly same as 179.
	177		17 July		Chapman	earnest	2			a pastoral tragedy.
	178	Stepmother's Tragedy	24 July		Dekker	earnest				10*s.*; repaid and cancelled.
			23 Aug.	14 Oct.	Chettle, Dekker	full	6			
	178a	Better Late than Never								cancelled title.
	179	Bear a Brain	1 Aug.		Dekker	full	2			possibly same as 176.
			1 Aug.		Dekker		1			a loan.
	180	Page of Plymouth	10 Aug.	2 Sept.	Dekker, Jonson	full	8			properties 12 Sept.
	181	Poor Man's Paradise	20 Aug.	25 Aug.	Haughton	for	1	10		for his book.
64	182	Robert II	3 Sept.	27 Sept.	Chettle, Dekker, Jonson & another	earnest	4	10		
			12 Sept.		properties for *Page of Plymouth*		10			

fol.	ref. no.	title	date limits		authorship, etc.	payment	£	s.	d.	remarks
64ᵛ	183		28 Sept.		Mr. Maxton	earnest	2			the new poet in earnest of a book.
										Entries of 21 June to 28 Sept. correctly summed by Henslowe £41. 12. 4.
			4 Oct.		properties for *Polyphemus*			8		
	184	Tristram of Lyons	13 Oct.			for	3			for the book; payee not named.
			13 Oct.							*Reckoning with the company, Henslowe claiming £632 and acknowledging receipt of £358, balance £274. This does not correspond with the previous figures.*
65	185	1 Sir John Oldcastle	16 Oct.		Drayton, Hathway, Munday, Wilson	for	7			also I; and in earnest of Pt. II, £10; two parts, £14, i. e. each £7.
				1/8 Nov.	Munday and the rest			10		bonus on first performance.
	186	2 Sir John Oldcastle	16 Oct.	19/26 Dec.	Drayton, Hathway, Munday, Wilson	for	7			also I; cf. 185; properties 12 Mar. '00.
	187	Patient Grissel	16 Oct/1 Nov.		Chettle, Dekker, Haughton	'earnest'	10	10		properties 26 Jan. '00; to stay printing 18 Mar.
			1 Nov.		Wilson			10		a loan.
	188	Cox of Collumpton	1 Nov.	14 Nov.	Day, Haughton	full	5			
	189	2 Henry Richmond	8 Nov.		Wilson	full	8			
65ᵛ	189ᵃ	Fortunatus	9 Nov.	30 Nov.	Dekker	full	6			
			1 Dec.	12 Dec.	Dekker	alter.	3			and for the end for the court.
				6/12 Dec.	properties		10			
			10 Nov.		Chettle					10*s.* in earnest of a book unnamed, i. e. 191.
										Some sort of reckoning probably took place 14/21 Nov., for the top half only of the page was crossed off instead of the whole page together as was usual. The page totals show that it was not a case of cancel.
	190	Thomas Merry	21 Nov.	6 Dec.	Day, Haughton	full	5			licensed 10/18 Jan. '00, as *Beech's Tragedy*.

	191	Orphans' Tragedy	10 Nov.	27 Nov.	Chettle	earnest	1			probably same as 193.
				24 Sept. '01	Chettle	part				10*s*.
66			1 Dec.		properties		10			
66ᵛ	192	Arcadian Virgin	13 Dec.	17 Dec.	Chettle, Haughton	earnest		15		
			19/26 Dec.		properties		1	5		
			19/26 Dec.		two books licensed			14		
			1600							
67			9 Jan.		properties		5			
	193		10 Jan.		Day	earnest	2			the Italian Tragedy of ——; probably same as 191; cf. I.
	194	Owen Tudor	10/18 Jan.		Drayton, Hathway, Munday, Wilson	earnest	4			
			10/18 Jan.		licensing *Beech's Tragedy*			7		same as 190.
	195	Truth's Supplication	18 Jan.	30 Jan.	Dekker	earnest	2			properties 2 Apr.
			26 Jan.		properties for *Patient Grissel*		1			
			28 Jan.		properties		3			
67ᵛ			6 Feb.		a drum			11	6	to go into the country.
			7 Feb.		two trumpets		1	2		
			9 Feb.		properties		3			
			9 Feb.		the coachman Symes		3			
	196	Jugurtha	9 Feb.		Will Boyle	for	1	10		for a new book; money to be refunded if not approved.
			10 Feb.		properties (?)			10		to give unto Father Ogell and other things.
	197	Spanish Moor's Tragedy	13 Feb.		Day, Dekker, Haughton	part	3			since we left playing.
	198	Damon and Pythias	16 Feb.	27 Apr./ 6 May	Chettle	full	6			licensed 16 May.
	199	Seven Wise Masters	1 Mar.	8/10 Mar.	Chettle, Day, Dekker, Haughton	full	6			properties 25 Mar./2 Apr.
68			10 Mar.		Haughton			10		a loan to release him out of the Clink.
			12 Mar.		properties for 2 *Oldcastle*		1	10		
	200	Ferrex and Porrex	18 Mar.	3/13 Apr.	Haughton	full	4	15		licensed 6/10 May.
			18 Mar.		to stay the printing of *Patient Grissel*		2			
			25 Mar. /2 Apr.		properties for *Seven Wise Masters*		38			

fol.	ref. no.	title	date limits		authorship, etc.	payment	£	s.	d.	remarks
68^v			2 Apr.		properties (for *Truth's Supplication*)		2			a robe for Time (i. e. for 195).
			3/13 Apr.		properties		4			
	201	English Fugitives	16 Apr.	24 Apr.	Haughton	earnest	1	10		possibly the same as 211.
			27 Apr.		lent to the company		2	10		to go to Windsor (?) to the installing.
	202	Golden Ass	27 Apr./ 6 May	14 May	Chettle, Day, Dekker	full	6			properties 5 June.
69	203	Wooing of Death	27 Apr./ 6 May		Chettle	earnest	1			possibly the next item should be added.
			6 May		Chettle			5		a loan.
			6 May		properties			8		
	204	Devil and his Dame	6 May		Haughton	earnest				5*s.* cancelled.
			6/10 May		licensing *Ferrex and Porrex*			7		
			16 May		licensing *Damon and Pythias*			7		
	205	Strange News out of Poland	17 May		Haughton and Mr. Pett	full	6			
			25 May (?)		properties		3			
	206	1 Blind Beggar of B. G.	26 May		Chettle, Day	full	5	10		
69^v	207	Judas	27 May		Haughton	earnest		10		see 228^c.
	208	1 Fair Constance	3 June	14 June	Dekker, Drayton, Hathway, Munday	full	5	9		
			5 June		properties for the *Golden Ass*		2			
	208^a		19 June		Chettle, Day	earnest		10		in earnest of a book unnamed, but probably a bonus on the production of 206 similar to that paid on Pt. II (214) 27 Apr./2 May '01.
	209	2 Fair Constance	20 June		Hathway (&c.)	earnest	1			to lend *them.*
			20 June/ 10 July		Alleyn		11			in final discharge of a debt of £50. *The correct page totals for the entries of 14 Oct. 1599 to 20 June/10 July 1600 amount to £222. 5. 6. Henslowe reckons with the company, who acknowledge a debt of £300.*

70ᵛ			14 Aug.	16 Aug.	properties		6	12		
			29 Aug.	12 Sept.	Shaa		7	8		presumably a loan to the company.
	210	Fortune's Tennis (?)	6 Sept.		Dekker	for	1			for his book.
			11 Nov.		Alleyn		4			about their composition.
			11 Nov./14 Dec.		Alleyn		1	12		for the first week's play.
	210ᵃ		14 Dec.	22 Dec.	Dekker	alter.	2			for his pains in altering *Phaeton* (124) for the court.
	211	Robin Hood's Pen'orths	20 Dec.	13 Jan. '01	Haughton	for	4			for his play; possibly the same as 201.
			20 Dec.	23 Dec.	properties		1	19		unto the little tailor.
			1601							
71			2 Jan.		properties for *Phaeton* at court		1			
	212	Hannibal and Scipio	3 Jan.	12 Jan.	Hathway, Rankins	full	6			
	213	Scogan and Skelton	23 Jan.	8 Mar.	Hathway, Rankins	full	6			including payment of 8 Feb.
85ᵛ	214	2 Blind Beggar of B. G.	29 Jan.	5 May	Day, Haughton	full	5	10		properties 27 Apr.; see also 27 Apr./2 May.
			8 Feb.		Rankins	earnest				2*s.*; play not named; included in 213.
			6 Mar.		lent to the company		1	7	6	to pay Mr. Trehern and his wife, and Mr. Harris, scrivener.
			6/8 Mar.		due from the company		6	9		for my boy James Bristow's wages, 23 Apr. '00 to 15 Feb. '01.
86	215	Conquest of Spain	24 Mar.	16 Apr.	Hathway, Rankins	part	1	19		
	216	All is not Gold	31 Mar.	6 Apr.	Chettle	full	6			
	217	Conquest of the West Indies	4 Apr.	1 Sept.	Day, Haughton, Smith	'part'	6	15		properties 1 and 10 Oct., and 21 Jan. '02.
86ᵛ	218	Sebastian of Portingale	18 Apr.	22 May	Chettle, Dekker	full	6			
			20 Apr.		properties			16		
			27 Apr.		properties for 2 *Blind Beggar of B. G.*		1	10		
			27 Apr./2 May		Day			10		bonus after the playing of 2 *Blind Beggar of B. G.*
	218ᵃ	Blind Beggar of A.	2 May	22 May/4 June	properties		9	3	4	also D.
			5/8 May		loan to the company					10*s.*, to get the boy into the hospital which was hurt at the Fortune; not included in page total.

fol.	ref. no.	title	date limits		authorship, etc.	payment	£	s.	d.	remarks
87			8 May	13 May	properties		10	5		to Mr. Heath, mercer, &c.
	218^{b}	Jew of Malta	19 May		properties		5	10		also A, D.
	219	Six Yeomen of the West	20 May	8 June	Day, Haughton	full	5			properties 1–6 July; cf. 224.
	220	3 Blind Beggar of B. G.	21 May	30 July	Day, Haughton	full	6	10		properties 27 Aug.–23 Sept.; licensed 3 Sept.
87^{v}			5 June		properties		14	15	7	unto Mr. Richard Hethe, silkman.
	221	Life of Cardinal Wolsey	5 June	18 Aug.	Chettle	full (?)	6			licensed 3 Sept.; properties 7–21 Aug., and 18 May–2 June '02.
			6 June		properties		6			for copper lace.
	222	Earl of Gloster	13 June	23/25 July	Wadeson	(?)	1	10		
91			1 July	6 July	properties for *Six Yeomen*		6	1		including a suit for H. Jeffes.
			1 July	3 July	properties		4	6		
	223	Friar Rush	4 July	29 Nov.	Day, Haughton	full	5			
				21 Jan. '02	Chettle	alter.				10*s.* for mending.
91^{v}			10 July	23 July	properties		3	16	10	copper lace.
92	224	2 Tom Dough	30 July	11 Sept.	Day, Haughton	part	4			possibly sequel to 219.
			2 Aug.	4 Aug.	properties for *Mahomet*		3	12	4	bought 22 Aug.; see 224^{a}.
			3 Aug.		lent to the company		1			toward their supper to Mr. Mason at the Queen's Head.
			5 Aug.	1 Sept.	Day, Haughton	'part'				£2. 10, continued payments for *Conquest of the West Indies* (217).
										the page-total of **92** is given as £10. 13. 4, a slip for £10. 17. 4.
92^{v}			7 Aug.	21 Aug.	properties for *Life of Wolsey*		38	12	2	also 18 May–2 June '02.
93	224^{a}	Mahomet	10 Aug.		properties			5	6	
			22 Aug.		bought of Alleyn	old	2			
	225	Rising of Cardinal Wolsey	24 Aug.	12 Nov.	Chettle, Drayton, Munday, Smith	full	7			
				15 May '02	Chettle	alter.				£1, for the mending.
			27 Aug.	23 Sept.	properties for 3 *Blind Beggar of B. G.*		6	6	10	including a suit for a fire drake.
			29 Aug.		lent to the company		1	16		to pay the jury and the clerk of assize and for dinner.

93^{v}			3 Sept.		licensing 3 *Blind Beggar of B. G.* and the remainder of *Life of Wolsey*			10		i. e. 7*s.* and 3*s.*
	225^{a}	Wise Man of Westchester	19 Sept.		bought of Alleyn	old	2			also D.
			21 Sept.		lent to the company		3	12	9	for our meeting at the tavern when we did eat our venison.
	225^{b}	Orphans' Tragedy	24 Sept.		Chettle	part		10		see 191.
94	225^{c}	Jeronimo	25 Sept.		Jonson	add.	2			upon his writing his additions in *Jeronimo* (16); also A, &c.
				22 June '02	Jonson	add.				a portion of £10 (237^{a}).
			1 Oct.	10 Oct.	properties for *Conquest of West Indies*		13	17	9	including bills of Radford the tailor and Mr. Whitte.
	226	1 Six Clothiers	12 Oct.	22 Oct.	Hathway, Haughton, Smith	part	5			
			3 Nov.	26 Nov.	properties for the *Massacre of France*		7	14	6	including bills of Radford and the little tailor; bought 18 Jan. '02; see 230^{c}.
94^{v}	227	2 Six Clothiers	3/8 Nov.		Hathway, Haughton, Smith	earnest	2			for the mending of Hugh Davies' tawney coat which was eaten with the rats.
			9 Nov.		lent to the company			7	6	
95	228	Too Good to be True	14 Nov.	7 Jan. '02	Chettle, Hathway, Smith	full	6	5		
	228^{a}	Valteger	20 Nov.		bought of Alleyn	old	2			also D.
			4 Dec.		properties for *Crack me this Nut*			5		bought 18 Jan.'02; see 230^{d}; also D.
			14 Dec.	18 Dec.	properties for *Hercules*		1	5		to the little tailor; see 135^{ab}.
	228^{b}	Judas	20 Dec.	24 Dec.	Birde, Rowley	full	6			see 207; properties 3 and 21 Jan. '02.
95^{v}			21 Dec.	25 Dec.	properties		2	4		to Mrs. Gosson for a head tire, to him of the Eagle and Child for halberds, and for hose for Nick to tumble in before the Queen.
			26 Dec.		lent to the company			17	3	unto Shaa to discharge his reckoning at the Sun.

fol.	ref no.	title	date limits		authorship, etc.	payment	£	s.	d.	remarks
			1602				£	s.	d.	
			1 Jan.	2 Jan.	properties		3	12	6	to repay an advance by Mr. Hewettes and for dyeing.
			3 Jan.		properties for *Judas*		1	10		
96	229	Spanish Fig	6 Jan.		(payee unnamed)	part	3			N.B. The first entry on **96** does not belong to these accounts.
	230	Pontius Pilate	12 Jan.		Dekker	add.		10		for a prologue and epilogue.
	230^{a}	Tasso's Melancholy	16 Jan.		Dekker	alter.	1			toward the altering of *Tasso* (49); cf. 3 Nov.; also D.
	230^{b} 230^{c} 230^{d}	French Doctor Massacre of France Crack me this Nut	18 Jan.		bought of Alleyn	old	6			properties 3–26 Nov. '01 properties 4 Dec. '01 also D.
			18/21 Jan.		properties			16		
104			21 Jan.		properties for the *Conquest of the West Indies*			10		
					properties			18		to Spencer, &c.
	230^{e}	Friar Rush	21 Jan.		Chettle	alter.		10		for mending the *Proud Woman*, i. e. 223.
			25 Jan.	7 Feb.	properties		2	7		for copper lace and to Mrs. Gosson for a head tire.
										The entries of 14 *Aug.* 1600 *to* 7 *Feb.* 1602, *as correctly represented by the page totals (except* **92**) *amount to* £304. 0. 4; *Henslowe debits the company with* £308. 6. 4, *which reckoning is however not acknowledged, the names being in his own hand.*
105			23 Feb.		Alleyn		1	7	6	due to my son out of the gallery money.
			25 Mar.		Chettle		3			at the sealing of his bond to write for them.
	231	Malcolm K. of Scots	18 Apr.		Massey	for	5			for a play book.
			27 Apr.		properties		1	10		a suit of motley for the Scotchman.
			21 Apr.		properties		2			
	232	Love Parts Friendship	4 May		Chettle, Smith	to buy	6			to buy a book; properties 31 May.

	233	Bristow Tragedy	4 May	28 May	Day	full	5		
105ᵛ	234	Jephthah	5 May		Dekker, Munday	earnest	5		properties 8 June (?)–5 July; see also 16/18 May.
	234ª	Rising of Cardinal Wolsey	15 May		Chettle	alter.	1		for the mending.
	235	Tobyas	16 May	27 June	Chettle	full	6	5	
			16 May		properties		4	10	
			16/18 May		lent to the company			2	for wine at the tavern when they read 234.
			18 May	2 June	properties for *Life of C. Wolsey*		11	6	including Will Somers' coat.
	236	Caesar's Fall (Two Shapes)	22 May	29 May	Dekker, Drayton, Middleton, Munday, Webster	full	8		
106			31 May		properties		1		
			31 May		properties for *Love Parts Friendship*		2	10	
									Page-total for **106** *incorrectly given as* £17. 2, *instead of* £17. 1.
106ᵛ			8 June (?)	5 July	properties for *Jephthah*		13	17	
	237	Richard Crookback	22 June		Jonson	earnest	10		in earnest and for new additions; cf. 225ᶜ.
	237ª	Jeronimo	22 June		Jonson	add.			
107	238	Danish Tragedy	7 July		Chettle	earnest	1		
	239	Widow's Charm	9 July	11 Sept.	'Anthony the Poet'	part	1	10	
			16 July		properties		1	10	to Mr. Stone's man; cancelled and reinstated.
	240	Medicine for a Curst Wife	19 July	31 July	Dekker	part	4		entries cancelled and reinstated; also I.
	241	Samson	29 July		(payee unnamed)	for	6		to pay for the book.
	242 242	Philip of Spain Longshanks	8 Aug.		bought of Alleyn	old	4		also D.
107ᵛ	243	William Cartwright	8 Sept.		Haughton	for	2	10	for a play.
	244	Felmelanco	9 Sept.	15/27 Sept.	Mr. Robinson and Chettle	full	6		
	245	Mortimer	10 Sept.		properties		6	18	*After* 15 *Sept. Henslowe has entered the total* £718. 12. 10, *which is an increase of* £110. 6. 6 *since the reckoning, though the entries come to* £118. 5. 6.
	246	Earl of Hertford	15/27 Sept.		properties		1	12	for the new play.

fol.	ref. no.	title	date limits		authorship, etc.	payment	£	s.	d.	remarks
108	247	Joshua	27 Sept.		Rowley	full	7			
	247^{a}	1 (?) Tamar Cam	2 Oct.		bought of Alleyn	old	2			also D.
	248	Randal E. of Chester	21 Oct.	9 Nov.	Middleton	full	6			
			22 Oct.		properties					£20, cancelled ; see I.
			3 Nov.	4 Dec.	Dekker	alter.	3			for mending of the play of *Tasso* and in part for the same (230^{a}).
	249	Merry as may be	9 Nov.	17 Nov.	Day, Hathway, Smith.	full	8			for the court.
108^{v}	249^{a}	Doctor Faustus	22 Nov.		Birde, Rowley	add.	4			
	250	Set of Tennis	2 Dec.		Munday	'full'	3			
	250^{a}	Friar Bawn	14 Dec.		Middleton	add.		5		prologue and epilogue for the court.
			18 Dec.		properties		8	18		unto Mr. Stone, mercer.
	251	1 London Florentine	18/20 Dec.	7 Jan. '03	Chettle, Heywood	full	6	10		
										Henslowe balances his accounts at Christmas debiting the company with £226. 16. 8. The sum of the entries since 23 Feb. is £170. 0. 6.
109	252^{a}		29 Dec.		Chettle	add.		5		for a prologue and an epilogue for the court ; possibly for 251.
	253	Hoffman	29 Dec.		Chettle	part		5		
			1603							
	254	Singer's Voluntary	13 Jan.		Singer	for	5			for his play.
			14 Jan.		Chettle, Heywood	earnest				£2, play not named ; cancelled ; see I.
	255	Four Sons of Aymon	14 Jan. /1 Mar.		Shaa	for	2			for a book (? old).
	256	Boss of Billingsgate	1 Mar.	12 Mar.	Day, Hathway, &c.	full	6			
109^{v}	257	Siege of Dunkirk	7 Mar.		Massey	earnest	2			
	258		7 Mar.		Chettle		1			unto Mr. Blomfield for a play by Chettle in pawn (? 259).
	259	2 London Florentine	12 Mar.		Chettle	earnest	1			*Henslowe makes a correct addition of £188. 11. 6 (incorrectly altered by addition of 10s. in one place), but reckoning on 5 May charges £197. 13. 4 against the company.*

			5 May/–		properties		9			entered after the reckoning.
			1604							
110	260	Patient Man	/14 Mar. (?)		Dekker, Middleton	earnest	5			*Reckoning* 14 *Mar.* '04 *giving total as* £194. 10. 6, *and claiming balance of* £24.

I. Accounts of Worcester's Men, 1602 to 1603. (§ XII.)

			1602							
115	262^a	Sir John Oldcastle	17 Aug.	7 Sept.	Dekker	add.	2	10		for new additions; also G.
			22/24 Aug.	24 Aug.	properties		15	10		for Freshwater and the mercer &c. including a payment for 263.
			18 Aug.	27 Aug.	properties		15	19		including a pair of giant's hose.
			21 Aug.		lent to the company			9		at the Mermaid towards our supper.
	263		24 Aug.		Chettle	earnest				part of £3. 10. for an unnamed tragedy, including payment of 8 Sept.; cf. 276.
				7–9 Sept.	Chettle	part	1	10		
	263^a	Medicine for a Curst Wife	27 Aug.	2 Sept.	Dekker	full	6			
				27 Sept.	Dekker	bonus		10		over and above his price of his book; cf. G.
115^v			28 Aug.	4 Sept.	properties		10	19	4	including Kemp's suit and the boy's, and a flag of silk.
	263^b		3 Sept.		properties			8		four lances for the comedy of Heywood and Smith (? 264 or *Four Prentices*).
	264	Albere Galles	4 Sept.		Heywood, Smith	full	6			
										The page-total of **115** should be £34. 8, not £34. 7.
116			8 Sept.		Chettle					10*s*., for unspecified object; included in 263.
			10 Sept.		properties		2	16	4	
			19 Sept.		Shaa			16		object unspecified.
	265	Marshal Osric	20 Sept.	30 Sept.	Heywood, Smith	full	6			properties 3 Nov.
	266	Cutting Dick	20 Sept.		Heywood	add.	1			for the new additions.
			21 Sept.	30 Sept.	properties		2			for targets.
	267	Biron	25 Sept.	2/3 Oct.	properties		5	13		a black satin suit, and a scaffold and a bar.

fol.	ref. no.	title	date limits		authorship, etc.	payment				remarks
							£	s.	d.	
			27 Sept.		Dekker					10*s.* as bonus on 263^{a}.
										The page-total of **116**, £16. 2. 3, is 1*d.* short.
116^{v}	268	Two Brothers	1 Oct.	15 Oct.	Smith	full	6			properties 15/21–23 Oct.
			2 Oct.		*Tamar Cam* bought of Alleyn					£2; cancelled, cf. G.
	269		3 Oct.		Middleton	earnest	1			play not named.
	269^{a}		3/11 Oct.		properties			1	2	pulleys to hang Absalom; possibly for 268.
			11 Oct.		Underell			10		for wages.
117	270	1 Lady Jane	15 Oct.	21 Oct.	Chettle, Dekker, Heywood, Smith, Webster	full	8			properties 6 Nov.
			15/21 Oct.	23 Oct.	properties for *Two Brothers*		3	9		including devils', witches', and spirits' suits, a table and a coffin, and paying the painter of the properties.
			22 Oct.		properties		20			paid to Alleyn; cf. G.
			26 Oct.		properties		1			paid to Beeston.
	271	2 Lady Jane	27 Oct.		Dekker	earnest		5		add perhaps payments to Smith and Chettle on 12 Nov.
	272	Christmas comes &c.	2 Nov.	26 Nov.	Chettle, Dekker, Heywood, Webster	full	7			properties 6/9 Dec.
			2 Nov.	12 Nov.	properties		1	16	8	tinsel and copper lace.
			3 Nov.		properties for *Marshal Osric*		1	6		
			6 Nov.		properties for (1) *Lady Jane*		5			
118			12 Nov.		Smith			10		objects unspecified; cf. 271.
			12 Nov.		Chettle			3		
	273	1 Black Dog	24 Nov.	20 Dec.	Day, Hathway, Smith, &c.	full	6			properties 10–16 Jan. '03.
	274	Blind eats many a Fly	24 Nov.	7 Jan. '03	Heywood	full	6			
			6 Dec.		properties		17			four cloaks at £4 = £16 and £1 use.
118^{v}			6/9 Dec.	9 Dec.	properties for *Christmas &c.*		5	8	8	
			18 Dec.	1 Jan. '03	properties		2	9		including two coronets from Mrs. Calle.

			1603							
	275	Unfortunate General	7 Jan.	19 Jan.	Day, Hathway, Smith	full	7			properties 24 Jan.
119			10 Jan.	16 Jan.	properties for (1) *Black Dog*		1	2		including lamb skins and payment to Freshwater.
			10 Jan.	16 Jan.	properties		3	6	4	
	276		14 Jan.		Chettle, Heywood	earnest	2			an unnamed play, possibly same as 263 or 280; cf. G.
119^{v}			24 Jan.		properties for *Unfortunate Gen.*		2	10		a citizen's coat and sleeves.
			24 Jan.	7 Feb.	properties		3	2		
			29 Jan.	3 Feb.	Day, Hathway, Smith, &c.	full	7			
	277	2 Black Dog		21–26 Feb.		add.	2			unto the four poets for their additions.
			15 Feb.		properties		5	2		
	278	Woman Killed with kindness	12 Feb.	6 Mar.	Heywood	full	6			
			5 Feb.	7 Mar.	properties		7	3		
120			16 Feb.	4 Mar.	properties		2			copper lace.
	279	Italian tragedy	7 Mar.	12 Mar.	Smith	full	6			
										After the first entry of 7 Mar. Henslowe enters a total of £220. 13. 3, but the sum of the entries so far is £220. 14. 6.
120^{v}			16 Mar.		various expenses		8	10		to W. Puleston for J. Willett, mercer, for satin, charges in the Clink and arresting Duke.
										Henslowe makes a reckoning on 16 Mar. entering a total of £140. 1, which he debits to the company, Blackwood appending his name. The total of the entries as summed at the foot of the pages is £233. 14. 6.
			16 Mar. /9 May		properties		10	4		copper lace.
121	280	Shore	9 May		Chettle, Day	earnest	2			cf. 276.

§ VIII. PLAYS APPEARING IN THE DIARY IN CONNECTION WITH MORE THAN ONE COMPANY.

From the lists given in §§ VI and VII it will be seen that the same play sometimes appears in connection with more than one company. Since this often supplies important evidence concerning the mutual relations of the dramatic bodies a summary list may be found useful.

tables	no.	title	companies
A, C, G.	1	Friar Bacon	Str.—Sux. + Qu.—Adm.
A, B, C, D, E, G.	7	Jew of Malta	Str.—Sux.—Adm.
A, D, F, G.	16	Jeronimo	Strange's—Admiral's.
A, D, G.	21	2 Tamar Cam *ne*	Strange's—Admiral's.
A, D, G.	26	Guise *ne*	Strange's—Admiral's.
B, E.	37	Titus Andronicus *ne*	Sux.—Adm. + Chamb.
C, D.	38	Ranger's Comedy	Sux. + Qu.—Adm.
G, I.	185	1 Sir John Oldcastle	Admiral's—Worcester's.
G, I.	186	2 Sir John Oldcastle	Admiral's—Worcester's.
G, I.	240	Medicine for a Curst Wife	Admiral's—Worcester's.

§ IX. PRIVATELY OWNED PLAYS.

Although at all times the stock of plays was usually the common property of the company, there is clear evidence in individual cases of a piece being the private property of an actor. It is possible that in the early days some of the plays which we find performed by more than one company really belonged to Henslowe, and that he leased them to the players; but this is doubtful, for he never sold any old play during the period for which detailed accounts are extant. Both Alleyn and Slaughter, on the other hand, sold old play-books to the Admiral's men, and there is some evidence of the company having bought others from outsiders. Fleay misunderstood these entries, for he writes (*Drama*, i. p. 284): '1, 2 *Hercules* were bought of Martin Slaughter (who represents the company, I think, as Allen does elsewhere in similar instances) 1598, May 18.' But since the record of sale occurs in the accounts of purchases on behalf of the company, Fleay's statement reduces itself to saying that the company bought the plays of itself. The following is a list of what are apparently old plays bought by the Admiral's men.

date	no.	title	seller
1597, Oct. 21 (23)	116	The Cobler	unknown (?)
1598, Feb. 22	128	The Miller	R. Lee (?)
May 16 and July 17	135^a	1 Hercules	M. Slaughter
	135^b	2 Hercules	
	135^c	Phocas	
	135^d	Pythagoras	
	135^e	Alexander and Lodovick	
1599, Jan. 21	150	Vayvode	E. Alleyn
1600, Feb. 9	196	Jugurtha	W. Boyle (?)
1601, Aug. 22	224^a	Mahomet	E. Alleyn
Sept. 19	225^a	Wise Man of Westchester	
Nov. 20	228^a	Valteger	
1602, Jan. 18	230^b	French Doctor	
	230^c	Massacre of France	
	230^d	Crack me this Nut	
Aug. 8	242	Philip of Spain	
	242^a	Longshanks	
Oct. 2	247^a	1 Tamar Cam	
1603, Feb. 4	255	Four Sons of Aymon	R. Shaa (?)

§ X. Printed Plays purporting to have been acted by Companies mentioned in the Diary.

I extract the following list of titles of plays purporting to have been acted by companies mentioned in Henslowe's Diary or their immediate successors from the *List of English Plays* printed for the Bibliographical Society in 1900. I have allowed myself a certain latitude as to which of the later plays should be included, and have made one or two corrections in the light of more recent information.

Queen Elizabeth's Men.

The Troublesome Reign of John King of England. By the Queen's Majesty's Players. 1591.

The True Tragedy of Richard the Third. By the Queen's Majesty's Players. 1594.

The Honourable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, by Robert Greene. By her Majesty's Servants. 1594.

The first part of the Tragical Reign of Selimus (by Robert Greene?). By the Queen's Majesty's Players. 1594.

The Old Wives Tale, by G(eorge). P(eele). By the Queen's Majesty's Players. 1595.

The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth. By the Queen's Majesty's Players. 1598.

The History of the two Valiant Knights, Sir Clyomon Knight of the Golden Shield, and Clamydes the White Knight. By her Majesty's Players. 1599.

THE EARL OF SUSSEX' MEN.

The most lamentable Roman Tragedy of Titus Andronicus (by W. Shakespeare?). By the Earl of Derby, Earl of Pembroke, and Earl of Sussex, their Servants. 1594.

The pleasant conceited Comedy of George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield. By the Servants of the Right Honourable the Earl of Sussex. 1599.

THE EARL OF PEMBROKE'S MEN.

The most lamentable Roman Tragedy of Titus Andronicus (by W. Shakespeare?). By the Earl of Derby, Earl of Pembroke, and Earl of Sussex, their Servants. 1594.

A pleasant conceited History called the Taming of a Shrew. By the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke his Servants. 1594.

The troublesome Reign and lamentable Death of Edward the Second, by Chri. Marlowe. By the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke his Servants. 1594.

The true Tragedy of Richard Duke of York, and the Death of good King Henry the Sixth. By the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke his Servants. 1595.

THE LORD STRANGE'S MEN, &c.

A most pleasant and merry new Comedy, entitled, A Knack to Know a Knave, with Kemp's applauded Merriments. By Ed. Alleyn and his Company. 1594.

A pleasant Comedy of Fair Em, the Miller's Daughter of Manchester. By the Right Honourable Lord Strange his Servants. n.d. and 1631.

The most lamentable Roman Tragedy of Titus Andronicus (by W. Shakespeare?). By the Right Honourable the (fifth) Earl of Derby, Earl of Pembroke, and Earl of Sussex, their Servants. 1594.

[The first and second parts of King Edward the Fourth (by Thomas Heywood?). By the Right Honourable the (sixth) Earl of Derby his Servants. 1600.]

[The History of the Trial of Chivalry, with the life and death of Cavaliero Dick Bowyer. By the Right Honourable the (sixth) Earl of Derby his Servants. 1605.]

An excellent conceited Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet (by W. Shakespeare). By the Right Honourable the L. of Hunsdon his Servants. 1597.

The Tragedy of King Richard the Second (by W. Shakespeare). By the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain his Servants. 1597.

The Tragedy of King Richard the Third (by W. Shakespeare). By the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain his Servants. 1597.

A Warning for Fair Women. By the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain his Servants. 1599.

The second part of Henry the Fourth, by William Shakespeare. By the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain his Servants. 1600.

The Chronicle History of Henry the Fifth (by W. Shakespeare). By the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain his Servants. 1600.

A Midsummer-Night's Dream, by William Shakespeare. By the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain his Servants. 1600.

Much Ado about Nothing, by William Shakespeare. By the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain his Servants. 1600.

The comical Satire of Every Man out of his Humour, by B(en). I(onson). 1600. (By the Lord Chamberlain his Servants. 1616.)

Every Man in his Humour, by Ben. Jonson. By the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain his Servants. 1601.

A most pleasant and excellent conceited Comedy of Sir John Falstaff and the Merry Wives of Windsor, by William Shakespeare. By the Right Honourable my Lord Chamberlain's Servants. 1602.

The true chronicle History of the whole Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell (Pseudo-Shakespearian). By the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain his Servants. 1602.

A Larum for London, or the Siege of Antwerp. By the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain his Servants. 1602.

The tragical History of Hamlet Prince of Denmark, by William Shakespeare. By his Highness' Servants. 1603.

The London Prodigal, by William Shakespeare (Pseudo-Shakespearian). By the King's Majesty's Servants. 1605.

The Miseries of Inforced Marriage, by George Wilkins. By his Majesty's Servants. 1607.

M. William Shakespeare, his True Chronicle History of the Life and Death of King Lear and his three Daughters. By his Majesty's Servants usually playing at the Globe on the Bankside. 1608.

A Yorkshire Tragedy, by W. Shakespeare (Pseudo-Shakespearian). By his Majesty's Players at the Globe. 1608.

The Merry Devil of Edmonton. By his Majesty's Servants at the Globe. 1608.

The History of Troilus and Cressida, by William Shakespeare. By the King's Majesty's Servants at the Globe. 1609.

The late and much admired Play called Pericles Prince of Tyre, by William Shakespeare (Pseudo-Shakespearian). By his Majesty's Servants at the Globe on the Bankside. 1609.

A most pleasant comedy of Mucedorus, the King's son of Valentia, and Amadine, the King's daughter of Aragon. By his Highness' Servants usually playing at the Globe. (1598) 1610.

THE LORD ADMIRAL'S MEN, &c.

Tamburlaine the Great, who from a Scythian Shepherd by his rare and wonderful Conquests became a most puissant and mighty Monarch (by Christopher Marlowe). Shewed upon Stages in the City of London by the Right Honourable the Lord Admiral his Servants. 1590.

The Wounds of Civil War, by Thomas Lodge. By the Right Honourable the Lord High Admiral his Servants. 1594.

The Battle of Alcazar, fought in Barbary, between Sebastian King of Portugal and Abdelmelec King of Morocco (by George Peele). By the Lord High Admiral his Servants. 1594.

The blind Beggar of Alexandria, by George Chapman. By the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, his Servants. 1598.

A pleasant Comedy entitled, An Humorous Day's Mirth, by G(eorge). C(hapman). By the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, his Servants. 1599.

The pleasant History of the Two Angry Women of Abington, by Henry Porter. By the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, his Servants. 1599.

The pleasant Comedy of Old Fortunatus, by Thomas Dekker. By the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, his Servants. 1600.

The Shoemaker's Holiday, or the Gentle Craft (by Thomas Dekker). Before the Queen's most excellent Majesty on New Year's Day at night last, by the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, his Servants. 1600.

The first part of the true and honourable History of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle, the good Lord Cobham (Pseudo-Shakespearian). By the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, his Servants. 1600.

A pleasant Comedy called Look about You. By the Right Honourable the Lord High Admiral his Servants. 1600.

The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingdon, afterwards called Robin Hood of Merry Sherwood (by Anthony Munday). By the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, his Servants. 1601.

The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon, otherwise called Robin Hood of Merry Sherwood (by Anthony Munday). By the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, his Servants. 1601.

The pleasant Comedy of Patient Grissel (by Thomas Dekker). By the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, his Servants. 1603.

The tragical History of Faustus, by Ch. Marl(owe). By the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham his Servants. 1604.

The Massacre at Paris, with the death of the Duke of Guise, by Christopher Marlowe. By the Right Honourable the Lord High Admiral his Servants. n.d.

When you see me, You know me.; or the famous chronicle History of King Henry the Eighth, with the birth and virtuous life of Edward Prince of Wales, by Samuel Rowley, servant to the Prince. By the high and mighty Prince of Wales his Servants. 1605.

The Whore of Babylon, by Thomas Dekker. By the Prince's Servants. 1607.

The Roaring Girl, or Moll Cut-Purse, by T. Middleton and T. Dekker. On the Fortune Stage by the Prince's Servants. 1611.

The Blind Beggar of Bednal Green, with the Merry Humour of Tom Strowd the Norfolk Yeoman, by John Day. By the Prince's Servants. 1659.

THE EARL OF WORCESTER'S MEN, &c.

A pleasant conceited Comedy, Wherein is showed how a Man may choose a good Wife from a bad. By the Earl of Worcester's Servants.

The Travels of the Three English Brothers, Sir Thomas, Sir Anthony, Mr. Robert Shirley, by John Day, William Rowley and George Wilkins. By her Majesty's Servants. 1607.

The famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat, with the Coronation of Queen Mary and the Coming of King Philip, by Thomas Dekker and John Webster. By the Queen's Majesty's Servants. 1607.

The Rape of Lucrece, a true Roman Tragedy, by Thomas Heywood. By her Majesty's Servants at the Red Bull, near Clerkenwell. 1608.

The Golden Age, or the Lives of Jupiter and Saturn, with the deifying of the Heathen Gods, by Thomas Heywood. At the Red Bull, by the Queen's Majesty's Servants. 1611.

The Four Prentices of London, with the Conquest of Jerusalem, by Thomas Heywood. At the Red Bull, by the Queen's Majesty's Servants. 1615.

A Woman Killed with Kindness, by Thomas Heywood. By the Queen's Majesty's Servants. (1607) 1617.

No-Body and Some-Body, with the true chronicle History of Elydure who was fortunately three several times crowned King of England. By the Queen's Majesty's Servants. n.d.

§ XI. SURVEY OF AUTHORSHIP, SHOWING COLLABORATION.

The following list will explain itself. I need only say that the first column gives the dates between which payments for each play were made, the second the number, and the third the title of the play, the fourth the names of collaborators. An asterisk in the third column indicates a play belonging to Worcester's men, an obelus in the fourth a play which there is reason to suppose was completed for the company. As will be seen, it is only occasionally that anything approaching a permanent combination of collaborators can be traced.

'ANTHONY THE POET.'

1602			
9 July–11 Sept.	239	Widow's Charm	

BIRDE.

1601			
20–24 Dec.	228^c	Judas	†(Haughton, 207,) Rowley.
1602			
22 Nov.	249^a	Faustus	Rowley; additions only.

BOYLE.

1600			
9 Feb.	196	Jugurtha	old play (?).

CHAPMAN.

1598			
16 May–15 June	138	Iylle of a Woman (?)	
1–12 Oct.	153	Fount of New Fashions	†
23 Oct.	157	a play book	
23 Oct.–8 Jan. '99	157^a	tragedy on Jonson's plot	†
1599			
22 Jan.–2 July	165	World runs on Wheels	†
2 July	175	All Fools but the Fool	
17 July	177	a pastoral tragedy	

CHETTLE.

1598			
20 Feb.–8 Mar.	127	2 Robin Hood	†Munday.
13–13/25 Mar.	130	Wars of Henry I	†Dekker, Drayton.
25–30 Mar.	131	1 Earl Goodwin	†Dekker, Drayton, Wilson.
30 Mar. /7 Apr.	132	Pierce of Exton	Dekker, Drayton, Wilson.
2/6–22 May	134	1 Black Bateman	†Dekker, Drayton, Wilson.
6 May–10 June	135	2 Earl Goodwin	†Dekker, Drayton, Wilson.
13–26 June	137	Funeral of Richard C.	†Drayton, Munday, Wilson.
26 June–14 July	139	2 Black Bateman	†Wilson.
14 July	141	Play of a Woman	
30 July–16 Sept.	145	1 Brute	Day.
18 Aug.	147	Hot Anger soon Cold	†Jonson, Porter.
19–24 Aug.	148	Chance Medley	†Drayton, Munday, Wilson (?).
21–29 Aug.	149	Catiline's Conspiracy	Wilson.
29 Aug.	150	Vayvode	alterations only.
12–22 Oct.	155	2 Brute	†
18 Nov.	159^a	1 Robin Hood	alterations only.
25 Nov.	159^b	2 Robin Hood	alterations only.
25–28 Nov.	160	'Tis no Deceit	

1599			
16–27 Feb.	168	Polyphemus	†
4–22 Mar.	170	The Spencers	†Porter.
7–16 Apr.	172	Troilus and Cressida	Dekker.
26–30 May	174	Agamemnon	†Dekker.
24 July–14 Oct.	178	Stepmother's Tragedy	†Dekker.
3–27 Sept.	182	Robert II	Dekker, Jonson, and another.
16 Oct./1 Nov.–29 Dec.	187	Patient Grissel	†Dekker, Haughton.
10 Nov.–24 Sept. '01	191	Orphans' Tragedy	
13–17 Dec.	192	Arcadian Virgin	Haughton.
1600			
16 Feb.–27 Apr./6 May	198	Damon and Pythias	†
1–8 Mar.	199	Seven Wise Masters	†Day, Dekker, Haughton.
27 Apr./6 May	203	Wooing of Death	
27 Apr./6 May–14 May	202	Golden Ass	†Day, Dekker.
26 May	206	1 Blind Beggar of B. G.	†Day.
19 June	208^{a}	a play (?)	Day.
1601			
31 Mar.–6 Apr.	216	All is not Gold	†
18 Apr.–22 May	218	King Sebastian of P.	†Dekker.
5 June–4 July	221	Life of Cardinal Wolsey	†Drayton, Munday, Smith.
14 Nov.–7 Jan. '02	228	Too Good to be True	†Hathway, Smith.
1602			
21 Jan.	230^{e}	Friar Rush	mending only.
4 May	232	Love Parts Friendship	†Smith.
15 May	234^{a}	Rising of Card. Wolsey	alterations only.
16 May–27 June	235	Tobyas	†
7 July	238	Danish Tragedy	
24 Aug.–9 Sept.	263	*a tragedy	
9–15/27 Sept.	244	Felmelanco	†(Robinson?).
15–21 Oct.	270	*1 Lady Jane	†Dekker, Heywood, Smith, Webster.
2–26 Nov.	272	*Christmas comes &c.	†Dekker, Heywood, Webster.
17 Dec.–7 Jan. '03	251	1 London Florentine	†Heywood.
29 Dec.	252	prologue and epilogue	for court.
29 Dec.	253	Hoffman	
1603			
14 Jan.	276	*a play	Heywood.
12 Mar.	259	2 London Florentine	
9 May	280	*Shore	Day.

DAY.

1598			
30 July–16 Sept.	145	1 Brute	†Chettle.
1599			
1–14 Nov.	188	Cox of Collumpton	†Haughton.
21 Nov.–6 Dec.	190	Thomas Merry	†Haughton.
1600			
10 Jan.	191 193	Orphans' Tragedy (?)	Chettle.
13 Feb.	197	Spanish Moor's Tragedy	Dekker, Haughton.
1–8 Mar.	199	Seven Wise Masters	†Chettle, Dekker, Haughton.
27 Apr./6 May–14 May	202	Golden Ass	†Chettle, Dekker.
26 May	206	1 Blind Beggar of B. G.	†Chettle.
19 June	208^{a}	a book	Chettle.

1601			
29 Jan.–5 May	214	2 Blind Beggar of B. G.	†Haughton.
4 Apr.–1 Sept.	217	Conquest of West Indies	†Haughton, Smith.
20 May–8 June	219	Six Yeomen of the West	†Haughton.
21 May–30 July	220	3 Blind Beggar of B. G.	†Haughton.
4 July–29 Nov.	223	Friar Rush	†Haughton.
30 July–11 Sept.	224	2 Tom Dough	Haughton.
1602			
4–27 May	233	Bristow Tragedy	†
9–17 Nov.	249	Merry as may be	†Hathway, Smith.
24 Nov.–20 Dec.	273	*1 Black Dog	†Hathway, Smith, and another.
1603			
7–19 Jan.	275	*Unfortunate General	†Hathway, Smith, and another.
29 Jan.–26 Feb.	277	*2 Black Dog	†Hathway, Smith, and another; also additions.
1–12 Mar.	256	Boss of Billingsgate	†Hathway.
9 May	280	*Shore	Chettle.

DEKKER.

1598			
8–15 Jan.	124	Phaeton	†
1 Mar.	129	Triplicity of Cuckolds	†
13–13/25 Mar.	130	Wars of Henry I	†Chettle, Drayton.
25–30 Mar.	131	1 Earl Goodwin	†Chettle, Drayton, Wilson.
30 Mar./7 Apr.	132	Pierce of Exton	Chettle, Drayton, Wilson.
2/6–22 May	134	1 Black Bateman	†Chettle, Drayton, Wilson.
6 May–10 June	135	2 Earl Goodwin	†Chettle, Drayton, Wilson.
1–10 July	140	Madman's Morris	†Drayton, Wilson.
18/19–28 July	142	1 Hannibal and Hermes	†Drayton, Wilson.
28/29 July–10 Aug.	144	Pierce of Winchester	†Drayton, Wilson.
19–24 Aug.	148	Chance Medley	†Drayton, Munday, Wilson (?).
30 Aug.–4 Sept.	151	2 Hannibal and Hermes	†Drayton.
29 Sept.	152	1 Civil Wars of France	†Drayton.
16–20 Oct.	156	Connan, Prince of C.	†Drayton.
3 Nov.	158	2 Civil Wars of France	†Drayton.
18 Nov.–30 Dec.	159	3 Civil Wars of France	†Drayton.
1599			
20 Jan.	164	Introd. to Civil Wars	
7–16 Apr.	172	Troilus and Cressida	Chettle.
2 May	173	Orestes' Furies	
20–30 May	174	Agamemnon	†Chettle.
15 July	176	Gentle Craft	
24 July–14 Oct.	178	Stepmother's Tragedy	†Chettle.
1 Aug.	179	Bear a Brain	†
10 Aug.	180	Page of Plymouth	†Jonson.
3–27 Sept.	182	Robert II, K. of S.	Chettle, Jonson, and another.
16 Oct./1 Nov.–29 Dec.	187	Patient Grissel	†Chettle, Haughton.
9 Nov.–12 Dec.	189^a	Fortunatus	†including alterations for court.
1600			
18–30 Jan.	195	Truth's Supplication	
13 Feb.	197	Spanish Moor's Tragedy	Day, Haughton.
1–8 Mar.	199	Seven Wise Masters	†Chettle, Day, Haughton.
27 Apr./6 May–14 May	202	Golden Ass	†Chettle, Day.
3–14 June	208	1 Fair Constance	†Drayton, Hathway, Munday.
6 Sept.	210	Fortune's Tennis (?)	
14–22 Dec.	210^a	Phaeton	alterations for court.
1601			
18 Apr.–22 May	218	King Sebastian of P.	†Chettle.

1602			
12 Jan.	230	Pontius Pilate	Prologue and Epilogue only.
16 Jan.–4 Dec.	230^n	Tasso's Melancholy	alterations only.
5 May	234	Jephthah	Munday.
22–29 May	236	Caesar's Fall	†Drayton, Middleton, Munday, Webster, [&c.
19 July–27 Sept.	240	Medicine for a Curst Wife	
17 Aug.–7 Sept.	262^n	*Sir John Oldcastle	additions only.
15–21 Oct.	270	*1 Lady Jane	†Chettle, Heywood, Smith, Webster.
27 Oct.	271	*2 Lady Jane	
2–26 Nov.	272	*Christmas comes &c.	†Chettle, Heywood, Webster.
1604			
–/14 Mar. (?)	260	Patient Man	Middleton.

DRAYTON.

1597			
22 Dec.–5 Jan. '98	122	Mother Redcap	†Munday.
1598			
13–13/25 Mar.	130	Wars of Henry I	†Chettle, Dekker.
25–30 Mar.	131	1 Earl Goodwin	†Chettle, Dekker, Wilson.
30 Mar./7 Apr.	132	Pierce of Exton	Chettle, Dekker, Wilson.
2/6–22 May	134	1 Black Bateman	†Chettle, Dekker, Wilson.
6 May–10 June	135	2 Earl Goodwin	†Chettle, Dekker, Wilson.
13–26 June	137	Funeral of Richard C.	†Chettle, Munday, Wilson.
1–10 July	140	Madman's Morris	†Dekker, Wilson.
18/19–28 July	142	1 Hannibal and Hermes	†Dekker, Wilson.
28/29 July–10 Aug.	144	Pierce of Winchester	†Dekker, Wilson.
19–24 Aug.	148	Chance Medley	†Chettle or Dekker, Munday, Wilson.
30 Aug.–4 Sept.	151	2 Hannibal and Hermes	†Dekker.
29 Aug.	152	1 Civil Wars of France	†Dekker.
16–20 Oct.	156	Connan, Prince of C.	†Dekker.
3 Nov.	158	2 Civil Wars of France	†Dekker.
18 Nov.–30 Dec.	159	3 Civil Wars of France	†Dekker.
1599			
20 (21) Jan.	163	William Longbeard (?)	
16 Oct.	185	1 Sir John Oldcastle	†Hathway, Munday, Wilson.
16 Oct.–19/26 Dec.	186	2 Sir John Oldcastle	†Hathway, Munday, Wilson.
1600			
10/18 Jan.	194	Owen Tudor	Hathway, Munday, Wilson.
3–14 June	208	1 Fair Constance	†Dekker, Hathway, Munday.
1601			
24 Aug.–12 Nov.	225	Rising of Card. Wolsey	†Chettle, Munday, Smith.
1602			
22–29 May	236	Caesar's Fall	†Dekker, Middleton, Munday, Webster

HATHWAY.

1598			
11–12 Apr.	133	King Arthur	†
19 July	143	Valentine and Orson	†Munday.
1599			
16 Oct.	185	1 Sir John Oldcastle	†Drayton, Munday, Wilson.
16 Oct.–19/26 Dec.	186	2 Sir John Oldcastle	†Drayton, Munday, Wilson.
1600			
10/18 Jan.	194	Owen Tudor	Drayton, Munday, Wilson.
3–14 June	208	1 Fair Constance	†Dekker, Drayton, Munday.
20 June	209	2 Fair Constance	(and others?).

1601			
3–12 Jan.	212	Hannibal and Scipio	†Rankins.
23 Jan.–8 Mar.	213	Scogan and Skelton	†Rankins.
24 Mar.–16 Apr.	215	Conquest of Spain	Rankins.
12–22 Oct.	226	1 Six Clothiers	Haughton, Smith.
3/8 Nov.	227	2 Six Clothiers	Haughton, Smith.
14 Nov.–7 Jan. '02	228	Too good to be true	†Chettle, Smith.
1602			
9–17 Nov.	249	Merry as may be	†Day, Smith.
24 Nov.–20 Dec.	273	*1 Black Dog	†Day, Smith, and another.
1603			
7–19 Jan.	275	*Unfortunate General	†Day, Smith, and another.
29 Jan.–26 Feb.	277	*2 Black Dog	†Day, Smith, and another (including additions).
1–12 Mar.	256	Boss of Billingsgate	†Day, &c.

HAUGHTON.

1597			
5 Nov.	117	a book	
1598			
18 Feb.–2/9 May	126	Woman will have her Will	
1599			
20–25 Aug.	181	Poor Man's Paradise	
16 Oct./1 Nov.–29 Dec.	187	Patient Grissel	†Chettle, Dekker.
1–14 Nov.	188	Cox of Collumpton	†Day.
21 Nov.–6 Dec.	190	Thomas Merry	†Day.
13–17 Dec.	192	Arcadian Virgin	Chettle.
1600			
13 Feb.	197	Spanish Moor's Tragedy	Day, Dekker.
1–8 Mar.	199	Seven Wise Masters	†Chettle, Day, Dekker.
18 Mar.–3/13 Apr.	200	Ferrex and Porrex	†
16–24 Apr.	201	English Fugitives	
6 May	204	Devil and his Dame	cancelled.
17 May	205	Strange News out of P.	†'Mr. Pett.'
27 May	207	Judas	(Birde, Rowley, 228^{c}.)
20 Dec.–13 Jan. '01	211	Robin Hood's Pen'orths	
1601			
29 Jan.–5 May	214	2 Blind Beggar of B. G.	†Day.
4 Apr.–1 Sept.	217	Conquest of West Indies	†Day, Smith.
20 May–8 June	219	Six Yeomen of the West	†Day.
3 May–30 July	220	3 Blind Beggar of B. G.	†Day.
4 July–29 Nov.	223	Friar Rush	†Day.
30 July–11 Sept.	224	2 Tom Dough	Day.
12–22 Oct.	226	1 Six Clothiers	Hathway, Smith.
3/8 Nov.	227	2 Six Clothiers	Hathway, Smith.
1602			
8 Sept.	243	William Cartwright	

HEYWOOD.

1598			
6 Dec.–26 Jan. '99	161	War without Blows	†
1599			
10–12 Feb.	166	Joan as good as my Lady	†

1602			
4 Sept.	264	*Albere Galles	†Smith.
20–30 Sept.	265	*Marshal Osric	†Smith.
20 Sept.	266	*Cutting Dick	additions only.
15–21 Oct.	270	*1 Lady Jane	†Chettle, Dekker, Smith, Webster.
2–26 Nov.	272	*Christmas comes &c.	†Chettle, Dekker, Webster.
24 Nov.–7 Jan. '03	274	*Blind eats many a Fly	†
17 Dec.–7 Jan. '03	251	1 London Florentine	†Chettle.
1603			
14 Jan.	276	*a play	Chettle.
12 Feb.–6 Mar.	278	*Woman killed with K.	†

JONSON.

1597			
8/10 Dec.	119	a book	plot only shown.
1598			
18 Aug.	147	Hot Anger soon Cold	†Chettle, Porter.
1599			
10 Aug.–2 Sept.	180	Page of Plymouth	†Dekker.
3–27 Sept.	182	Robert II, King of S.	Chettle, Dekker, and another.
1601			
25 Sept.–22 June '02	225^{c}	Jeronimo	additions only.
1602			
22 June	237	Richard Crookback	

LEE.

1598			
22 Feb.	128	The Miller	probably an old play.

MASSYE.

1602			
18 Apr.	231	Malcolm, King of S.	†
1603			
7 Mar.	257	Siege of Dunkirk	

MAXTON.

1599			
28 Sept.	183	a book	

MIDDLETON.

1602			
22–29 May	236	Caesar's Fall	†Dekker, Drayton, Munday, Webster.
3 Oct.	269	*a play	
21 Oct.–9 Nov.	248	Randal, Earl of Chester	†
14 Dec.	250^{a}	Friar Bacon	prologue and epilogue only.
1604			
–/14 Mar. (?)	260	Patient Man	Dekker.

MUNDAY.

1597			
22 Dec.–5 Jan. '98	122	Mother Redcap	†Drayton.

1598			
15 Feb.	125	1 Robin Hood	†
20 Feb.–8 Mar.	127	2 Robin Hood	†Chettle.
13–26 June	137	Funeral of Richard C.	†Chettle, Drayton, Wilson.
19 July	143	Valentine and Orson	†Hathway.
9 Aug.	146	a comedy	for court, cancelled.
19–24 Aug.	148	Chance Medley	†Chettle or Dekker, Drayton, Wilson.
1599			
16 Oct.	185	1 Sir John Oldcastle	†Drayton, Hathway, Wilson.
16 Oct.–19/26 Dec.	186	2 Sir John Oldcastle	†Drayton, Hathway, Wilson.
1600			
10/18 Jan.	194	Owen Tudor	Drayton, Hathway, Wilson.
3–14 June	208	1 Fair Constance	†Dekker, Drayton, Hathway.
1601			
24 Aug.–12 Nov.	225	Rising of Card. Wolsey	†Chettle, Drayton, Smith.
1602			
5 May	234	Jephthah	Dekker.
22–29 May	236	Caesar's Fall	†Dekker, Drayton, Middleton, Webster.
2 Dec.	250	Set at Tennis	†

Mr. PETT.

1600			
17 May	205	Strange News out of P.	†Haughton.

PORTER.

1598			
30 May	136	Love Prevented	
18 Aug.	147	Hot Anger soon Cold	†Chettle, Jonson.
22 Dec.–12 Feb. '99	162	2 Two Angry Women	†
1599			
28 Feb.	169	Two Merry Women	
4–22 Mar.	170	The Spencers	†Chettle.

RANKINS.

1598			
3 Oct.	154	Mulmutius Dunwallow	
1601			
3–12 Jan.	212	Hannibal and Scipio	†Hathway.
23 Jan.–8 Mar.	213	Scogan and Skelton	†Hathway.
24 Mar.–16 Apr.	215	Conquest of Spain	Hathway.

Mr. ROBINSON.

1602			
9–15/27 Sept.	244	Felmelanco	†Chettle.

ROWLEY.

1601			
20–24 Dec.	228[c]	Judas	†(Haughton, 207,) Birde.
1602			
27 Sept.	247	Joshua	
22 Nov.	249[a]	Doctor Faustus	†Birde, additions only.

SINGER.

1603			
13 Jan.	254	Singer's Voluntary	†

SMITH.

1601			
4 Apr.–1 Sept.	217	Conquest of West Indies	†Day, Haughton.
24 Aug.–12 Nov.	225	Rising of Card. Wolsey	†Chettle, Drayton, Munday.
12–22 Oct.	226	1 Six Clothiers	Hathway, Haughton.
3/8 Nov.	227	2 Six Clothiers	Hathway, Haughton.
14 Nov.–7 Jan. '02	228	Too Good to be True	†Chettle, Haughton.
1602			
4 May	232	Love parts Friendship	†Chettle.
4 Sept.	264	*Albere Galles	†Heywood.
20–30 Sept.	265	*Marshal Osric	†Heywood.
1–15 Oct.	268	*Two Brothers	†
15–21 Oct.	270	*1 Lady Jane	†Chettle, Dekker, Heywood, Webster.
9–17 Nov.	249	Merry as may be	†Day, Hathway.
24 Nov.–20 Dec.	273	*1 Black Dog	†Day, Hathway, and another.
1603			
7–19 Jan.	275	Unfortunate General	†Day, Hathway, and another.
29 Jan.–26 Feb.	277	2 Black Dog	†Day, Hathway and another including additions.
7–12 Mar.	279	Italian Tragedy	†

WADESON.

1601			
13 June–23/25 July	222	Earl of Gloster	

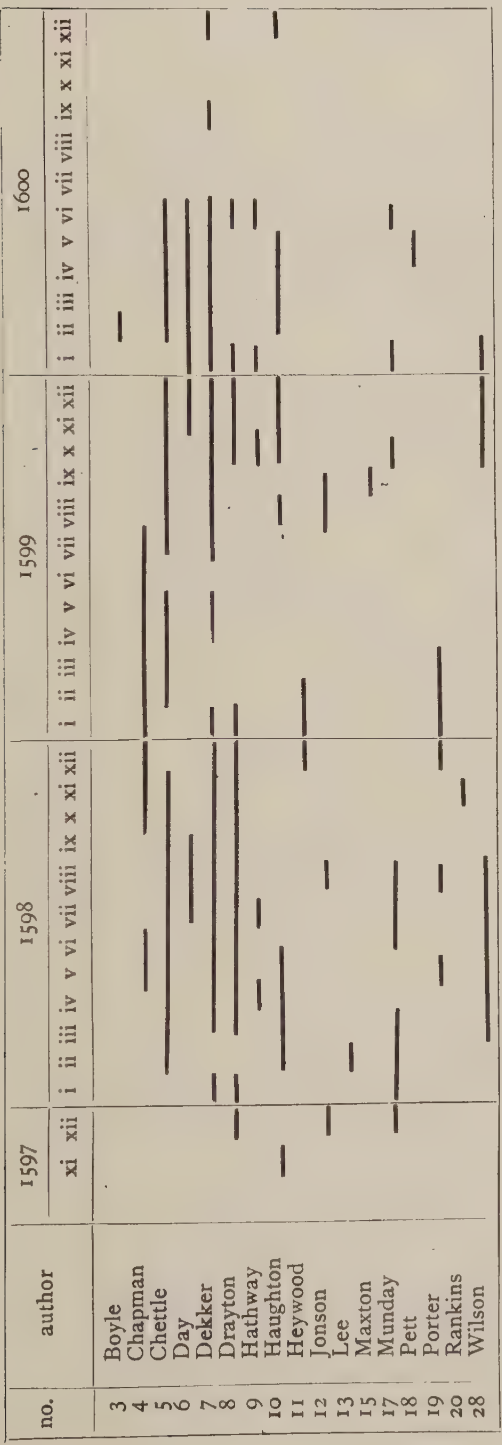
WEBSTER

1602			
22–29 May	236	Caesar's Fall	†Dekker, Drayton, Middleton, Munday.
15–21 Oct.	270	*1 Lady Jane	†Chettle, Dekker, Heywood, Smith.
2–26 Nov.	272	*Christmas comes &c.	†Chettle, Dekker, Heywood.

WILSON.

1598			
25–30 Mar.	131	1 Earl Goodwin	†Chettle, Dekker, Drayton.
30 Mar./7 Apr.	132	Pierce of Exton	Chettle, Dekker, Drayton.
2/6–22 May	134	1 Black Bateman	†Chettle, Dekker, Drayton.
6 May–10 June	135	2 Earl Goodwin	†Chettle, Dekker, Drayton.
13–26 June	137	Funeral of Richard C.	†Chettle, Drayton, Munday.
26 June–14 July	139	2 Black Bateman	†Chettle.
1–10 July	140	Madman's Morris	†Dekker, Drayton.
18/19–28 July	142	1 Hannibal and Hermes	†Dekker, Drayton.
28/29 July–10 Aug.	144	Pierce of Winchester	†Dekker, Drayton.
19–24 Aug.	148	Chance Medley	†Chettle or Dekker, Drayton, Munday.
21–29 Aug.	149	Catiline's Conspiracy	Chettle.
1599			
16 Oct.	185	1 Sir John Oldcastle	†Drayton, Hathway, Munday.
16 Oct.–19/26 Dec.	186	2 Sir John Oldcastle	†Drayton, Hathway, Munday.
8 Nov.	189	2 Henry Richmond	†
1600			
10/18 Jan.	194	Owen Tudor	Drayton, Hathway, Munday.

The following table summarizes the results of the foregoing list. It supplies practically conclusive evidence of the suspension of dramatic activity from July to Nov. 1600, and from Feb. to April 1602 (cf. Chap. II. pp. 95–6).


no.
author
1597
xi xii
1598
i ii iii iv v vi vii viii ix x xi xii
1599
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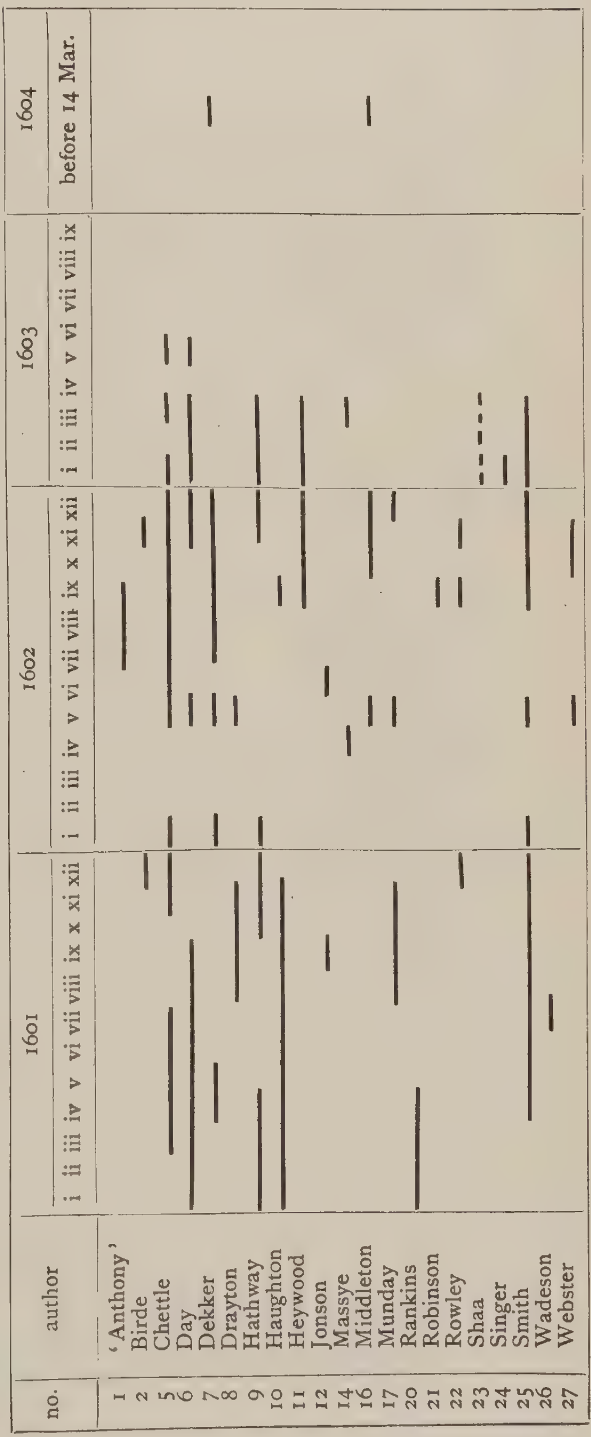
1600
i ii iii iv v vi vii viii ix x xi xii
3 Boyle
4 Chapman
5 Chettle
6 Day
7 Dekker
8 Drayton
9 Hathway
10 Haughton
11 Heywood
12 Jonson
13 Lee
15 Maxton
17 Munday
18 Pett
19 Porter
20 Rankins
28 Wilson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1601
i ii iii iv v vi vii viii ix x xi xii
1602
i ii iii iv v vi vii viii ix x xi xii
1603
i ii iii iv v vi vii viii ix
1604
before 14 Mar.
1 ‘Anthony’
2 Birde
5 Chettle
6 Day
7 Dekker
8 Drayton
9 Hathway
10 Haughton
11 Heywood
12 Jonson
14 Massye
16 Middleton
17 Munday
20 Rankins
21 Robinson
22 Rowley
23 Shaa
24 Singer
25 Smith
26 Wadeson
27 Webster

§ XII. LISTS OF ACTORS, SHOWING COMPOSITION OF COMPANIES.

The following tables give the composition of Lord Strange's and the Lord Admiral's companies respectively as illustrated in the extant Plots (Apx. II). An obelus is prefixed to the names of actors filling boys' rôles. The composition of the Earl of Worcester's company, so far as it is known, has been already given in full in Chap. II. § v.

	2 Seven Deadly Sins 1592	Dead Man's Fortune 1593 (?)	Warrant 6 May 1593	Diary
Edward Alleyn			Edward Allen	
William Kemp			William Kemp	
George Bryan	Mr. Bryan		George Bryan	
Augustine Phillips	Mr. Phillips		Augustine Phillips	
Thomas Pope	Mr. Pope		Thomas Pope	
John Hemings	(? Lydgate)		John Hemings	
W. Shakespeare ?	(? Henry VI)			
Richard Burbage	R. Burbage	Burbage		
Henry Condell	Harry			
Robert Cowley	R. Cowley			
John Duke	John Duke			
Robert Pallent	Ro. Pallant			
John Sincler	John Sincler			
Thomas Goodale	Tho. Goodale			
William Sly	W. Sly			
Christopher Beeston	Kitt			
John Holland	J. Holland			
Vincent	Vincent			
T. Belt	†T. Belt			
Sander (Cooke ?)	†Sander			
Nicholas (Tooley ?)	†Nick			
R. Go(ugh ?)	†R. Go.			
Ned (?)	†Ned			
Will (Tawler ?)	†Will			
Darlowe		Darlowe		
Robert Lee		Robert Lee		
Sam (Gilburne ?)		†b. Sam		
Wm. Blackwage ?				3^v 1
Ralph Raye ?				3^v 3
Richard Hoope ?				3 20

	Frederick & Basilea 1597	Battle of Alcazar 1598 (?)	Troilus & Cressida (?) 1599 (?)	Fortune's Tennis (?) 1600 (?)	1 Tamar Cam 1602
Edward Alleyn	Mr. Allen	Mr. Ed. Allen			Mr. Allen
James Dunstan	Mr. Dunstan				
Edward Juby	Mr. Juby	Mr. Juby			Mr. Juby
Martin Slaughter	Mr. Martyn				
Thomas Towne	(Mr.) Tho. Towne	Mr. Towne			Mr. Towne
Thomas Downton		Mr. Dowghton			Mr. Denyghten
Robert Shaa		Mr. Shaa			
Richard Jones	? Black Dick	Mr. Jones	Mr. Jones		
Richard Alleyn	Richard Allen	Mr. Rich. Allen			
Samuel Rowley	Sam	Mr. Sam		Sam	Mr. Sam
Charles Massye	Charles	Mr. Charles		Charles	Mr. Charles
Thomas Hunt	Thomas Hunt	Mr. Hunt	Mr. Hunt		
John Singer				Mr. Singer	Mr. Singer
William Borne					Mr. Burne
Richard Juby	†? Dick (Dutton's)	Dick Juby			Dick Juby
Edward Dutton	Edward Dutton				
Robert Ledbeter	Robert Ledbeter				
Anthony Jeffes		Antho. Jeffes			A. Jeffes
Humphrey Jeffes		H. Jeffes			H. Jeffes
William Cartwright		W. Cartwright		W. Cartwright	W. Cartwright
William Kendal		W. Kendall			
Robert Tailor		Rob. Tailor		R. Tailor	
Thomas Drom		Tho. Drom			
Stephen (Magget?)			Stephen		
Pavy				Pavy	
William Parr					W. Parr
Griffin	†Griffin				
John Pyk	†Pigg	†? Alleyn's boy	Pig		
Boy (Towne's)		†Towne's boy			
Dab (Dobe ?)		†Dab			
Harry		†Harry			
George Somerset		†George Somerset		George	†George
James (Jones')		†James	†Jones' boy		†(James)
Thomas Marbeck					†Tho. Marbeck
Thomas Parsons		†Parsons			†Tho. Parsons
Jack Jones					†? Jack Jones
Jack Gregory					†Jack Gregory
Boy (Downton's)					†Denyghten's boy
William Barne	†? Will	(? Calipolis)			†? Will Barne

ADDENDA

p. xliv. With regard to the *Robin Goodfellow* forgeries, see Collier's account of the entries in his Introduction to the Percy Society reprint of the *Mad Pranks and Merry Jests of Robin Goodfellow* (p. viii). This proves these entries to be not later than 1841. He adds the remark: 'It seems pretty evident that Henslowe had in his mind some confused notion of a connexion between Robin Hood and Robin Goodfellow, but it must have been purely accidental on his part: whether there were really any such connexion may form a curious point for speculation.'

p. 35, l. 19. The shambles remained, however, a continual nuisance and danger. Among the precautions taken against the plague in 1580 we find the following recommendation: 'Item that killing of Cattell within or nere the Cittie, be restrained and that the same be done in places to be prouided a myle or twoo distant from London and so the vitall to be brought by cartℓ or boatℓ/ for not onely the bludd and entrailes are noysome but also by occasion thereof they kepe swine that sture vp the same and increase the anoyance/' (Remembrancia, I. 41; 17 June 1580).

p. 36, l. 10. That the Bear Garden was rebuilt after the accident appears from a letter to the Privy Council, in which the Lord Mayor mentions the 'late terrible example at Paris garden in w^c place in great contempt of god, the scaffoldℓ ar new builded' (Remembrancia, I. 520; 3 July 1583). It does not follow, however, that the house was rebuilt on the old site.

p. 56, l. 9. It is possible that the determination of Henslowe and Alleyn to obtain a playhouse in the northern liberties may have been suggested by friction with their fellow parishioners of St. Saviour. On 19 July 1598, according to the Vestry minutes, the churchwardens determined to petition the Privy Council for the demolition of the playhouses on the Bankside (Rendle, *Inns*, p. 337). The only known houses there at this date were the Rose and the Swan. As Rendle points out, Henslowe and Alleyn had probably quite sufficient influence in the parish to ensure that the petition, of which we hear no more, should not be pressed, but the fact of its being put forward at all may have made them feel a little uncertain of their position.

p. 95, l. 18. So far as I have been able to discover there was no installation of Knights of the Garter on St. George's day, 1600. On 27 Apr., however, the very date mentioned in the Diary, no less a person than Henry IV of France was installed by proxy (N. H. Nicolas, *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, 1842, ii. lxii).

p. 106. Worcester's men. The document, incidentally mentioned at the end of the note on p. 107 (i. e. *Remembrancia*, p. 355), is of some importance for the history of the company. It is a letter from the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor, dated 31 Mar. 1602, and shows that there had been a junction, if not an amalgamation, between Worcester's and Oxford's men. The joint company had been performing about the City and chiefly at the Boar's Head—no doubt the tavern in Eastcheap. Thanks to her Majesty, the company was now to be allowed, similarly with those of the Admiral and Chamberlain, but it was to confine itself to one house. Their Lordships require that the Lord Mayor should permit the company to perform at the Boar's Head. This command no doubt met with opposition, and finally in Aug. matters seem to have been compromised by allowing the company to re-open the Rose. Whether the company as we find it in the Diary represents an amalgamation of Worcester's and Oxford's men we do not know. The letter is important as showing not only how the re-opening of the Rose came to be tolerated, but also how it was that three companies were later taken under royal patronage, whereas only two had previously received official recognition. (Remembrancia, II. 189.)

l. 31. The 'kynges licence' was doubtless the same as 'my Lo^r worsters mens warant for playinge' for which Henslowe paid 7*s*. 'at the cort vnto the clarke of the cownselles for geatynge the cownselles handℓ to yt' (MS. XI, fol. 29^v).

p. 210. No. 195. The entry in the Report of the Historical MSS. Commission (iii. p. 291 a) runs: 'Received by me Thomas Dekker, at the handes of Mr. Phillip Hynchlow, the some of twenty shillinges in . . . . play called "Truthes Supplication to Candle light." by me Thomas Dekker. 18th January 1599. Witness, Thomas Towne.'

p. 253. *Insert*: COKE, STEVEN. Carpenter. He is given his full name in the accounts for the Rose in Feb. (?) 1592, when Henslowe paid 3*s*. for his man's wages (**4**^{v} 10), and is clearly the same as 'steven the carpenter,' who received 4*s*. in wages from Alleyn before 9 Feb. 1593/4 (**235** 6).

CORRIGENDA

p. xiii. l. 18. This is wrong. It was Alleyn's, not Henslowe's, Diary that was mislaid.

xvii. l. 7. *add* 277 *before* 281.

note 2. These correspondencies are inadequate and not quite correct; see p. 322.

xix. last line. *for* Henslowe *read* Edmond Henslowē. (Philip only held the property as his brother's executor; see p. 16, note.)

note 1, l. 2. *for* held *read* is mentioned as holding. (See p. 2, note 1.)

xxxi. l. 11. I must differ from Dr. Warner. The signature was written by Henslowe in imitation of Alleyn's hand.

l. 20. Ralph Bowes' signature is probably not autograph, but only a copy by Henslowe; see p. 37, note 1.

xxxvi. l. 6. I was wrong in saying that Robert Lee's name does not occur in the Diary. It is found **44^{v}** 8 (ed. Collier, p. 119, but omitted in his index, whence my mistake). To make the balance even, however, see p. 64, note 2.

F. **2** 2. *for* q^{r} *read* oz.

2^{v} 30. *for* 3 *read* 8.

3^{v} 22 (note). *John* is right, cf. Mun. 110; *her* refers to the widow.

4^{v} 23–5. *the side note should read* smyth had iiij^{ll}—ij^{ll} of Jorne.

37. *for* iij ⟨for⟩ bordes *read* iij fore bordes.

7 3. *for* strangers *read* stranges.

8 6. *for* 1 day *read* 1{0} day.

34. *for* 6 the 16 *read* 6 of 16.

10^{v} 13 (note). *for* 'stands *e*' *read* 'stands, *c*'.

17^{v} 2. *for* stythe *read* styche.

25. *for* ey^{r}amone *read* eg^{r}amone.

18 14. *for* you^{r} bolle torpentine *read* you^{r} ⟨bolle⟩ torpentine.

15. *for* & yt you *read* & yf you.

16. *for* favorer *read* savover.

19 14. *for* brem̄n^{r} *read* ḅreuiū.

19^{v} 7. *for* diamond *read* dimon.

12. *for* w^{ch} *read* wth. (Cf. p. 247.)

20 8. *for* Stonnare *read* Stonnard.

21 19. *for* wendinge *read* mendinge.

25^{v} 31. *insert* {ne} *before* ℞ at Joronymo.

33^{v} (note). *for* ll. 10–14 and 18–20 *read* ll. 9–13 and 17–19.

34^{v} 1. *for* m *read* m^{r}.

38 7. *for* Alley *read* Alleȳ.

39 14. *for* a tachen *read* a tached.

41^{v} 1–2. *for* xx^{s}xx *read* xxxx^{s}.

42 7. *for* of & *read* of ∧ &.

48^{v} 32 *for* Receved *read* Reconed.

51 5. *for* xx *read* xx^{s}.

51^{v} 24–5. *for* xx *read* xx^{s}.

53^{v} 6. *dele* branforde the.
62 18. *for* growue *read* growne (*and dele note*).
68^{v} 29. *for* goo winswarth *read* goo to winswarth.
72^{v} 8. dele note. The signature is probably a copy by Henslowe
85^{v} 30. *for* haies *read* hares.
89^{v} 24. *for* xviiij^{ll} x^{s} *read* xviij^{ll} x^{s}.
25. *for* pticulertie *read* pticulerlie.
30. *for* Henslow *read* Henslow̄.
32. *for* puker *read* Pub Scr (*dele note and cf. Mun.* 22, l. 117).
95 6. *for* or northern Man *read* **or northern Man**.
116 2. *for* dickers *read* deckers.
118^{v} 6. *for* iiij^{ll} x^{s} *read* iij^{ll} x^{s}.
120^{v} 16. *for* Henslow *read* Henslow̄.
123^{v} 8. *for* 8[3]4 *read* 8[*3*]4.
27. *for* kacke *read* tacke.
124^{v} 5. *for* Somme *read* Sonne (*see note*).
235 10. *for* wryngynge *read* bryngynge.
178 29. seasey *should doubtless be* feasey ; *cf.* **178**^{v} 12, *also* p. 266.
159 3. *for* Leventrosse *read* Leventresse.
162. the blank should be indicated above, not below, the entry.
GLOSSARY. This is now superseded : see Index.

I should like also to take this opportunity of adding certain Corrigenda to the *Henslowe Papers* (necessitated in part by the fact of alterations having been made by the printer after the sheets had been passed for press).

P. 23, notes, l. 7. *for* ll. 3 and 20 *read* ll. 5 and 20.
P. 25. l. 14. for *se*[*veral*]? read *se*[*veral* ?
P. 45. Art. 22. heading. *for* to Richard *read* from Richard.
P. 75, notes, l. 4. *for* 'Book' *read* 'book.'
P. 94. Art. 112, l. 6 and note. *for* bapties *read* babties.
P. 166. l. 13. *for* ch⌊il]d *read* ch⌊il⌉d.
P. 167. l. 11. for *1354–5* read *1354–6*.
notes, l. 8. for *wise* (?) *one* read *wise (?) one*.
P. 180. col. 2. *for* Hopkinss *read* Hopkins.

INDEX AND GLOSSARY

THIS Index is intended to include references to every occurrence of every proper name or title in the text of the Diary as printed in Vol. I. The more important names and matters in the Introduction are also included.

The detailed indexes to Warner's *Catalogue* and to the *Henslowe Papers* renders the full indexing of the present volume unnecessary. As a rule, therefore, only the more important references are given. In the case of Chap. III, however, the intention has been to index all allusions to dramatic authors which do not find mention in Chap. IV.

A new Glossary has been made to supersede that printed in Vol. I, and is incorporated in the present Index.

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